THE
WORKS
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,
THE LEARNED AND AUTHENTIC JEWISH HISTORIAN,
AND CELEBRATED WARRIOR.
TO WHICH IS ADDED,
THREE DISSERTATIONS,
CONCERNING
JESUS CHRIST, JOHN THE BAPTIST, JAMES THE JUST,
GOD'S COMMAND TO ABRAHAM,
&c., &c.
TRANSLATED BY
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COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

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EXTRACT FROM BISHOP PORTEUS' WORKS.

"This History is spoken of in the highest terms by men of the greatest learning and the soundest judgment, from its first publication to the present time.

"The fidelity, the veracity, and the probity of Josephus, are universally allowed: and Scaliger in particular declares, that not only in the affairs of the Jews, but even of foreign nations, he deserves more credit than all the Greek and Roman writers put together. Certain at least it is, that he had the most essential qualification for an historian—a perfect and accurate knowledge of all the transactions which he relates; that he had no prejudices to mislead him in the representation of them; and that, above all, he meant no favour to the Christian cause. For even allowing the so much controverted passage, in which he is supposed to bear testimony to Christ, to be genuine, it does not appear that he ever became a convert to his religion, but continued probably a zealous Jew to the end of his life."

Vide Bishop Porteus's Lectures, Vol. II. p. 234
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§ 1. The family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from the priests; and as nobility among several people is of a different origin, so with us to be of the sacerdotal dignity, is an indication of the splendour of a family. Now, I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first of the twenty-four courses; and as among us there is not only a considerable difference between one family of each course and another, I am of the chief family of that first course also; nay, farther, by my mother I am of the royal blood; for the children of Asamoneus, from whom that family was derived, had both the office of the high priesthood, and the dignity of a king, for a long time together. I will accordingly set down my pedigree in order. My grandfather's father was named Simon, with the addition of Pseullus: he lived at the same time with that son of Simon the high priest, who first of all the high priests was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Pseullus had nine sons, one of whom was Matthias, called Ephlias: he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest; which Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asamoneus, who was high priest, and was the brother of Simon the high priest also. This Matthias had a son named Matthias Curtus, and that in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus: his son's name was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexander; his son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus; as was I born to Matthias in the first year of the reign of Caesar. I have three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, as was Justus born in the seventh, and Agrippa in the ninth. Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family as I have found it described in the public records, and so bid adieu to those who calumniate me [as of a lower original.]

2. Now, my father Matthias was not only eminent on account of his nobility, but had a higher commendation on account of his righteousness; and was in great reputation in Jerusalem, the greatest city we have. I was myself brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias, for he was my own brother, by both father and mother; and I made mighty proficiency in the improvements of my learning, and appeared to have both a great memory and understanding. Moreover, when I was a child, and about fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had to learning; on which account the high priests and principal men of the city came then frequently to me together, in order to know my opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the law; and when I was about sixteen years old, I had a mind to make trial of the several sects that were among us. These sects are these — The first is that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essenes, as we have frequently told you; for I thought that by this means I might choose the best, if I were once acquainted with them all; so I contented myself with hard fare, and underwent great difficulties, and went through them all. Nor did I content myself with these trials only; but when I was informed that one, whose name was Bannus, lived in the desert, and used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both night and day, in order to preserve his chastity, I imitated him in those things, and continued with him three years.† So when I had accomplished my desires, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is of kin to the sect of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them.

3. But when I was in the twenty-sixth year of my age, it happened that I took a voyage to Rome; and this on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judæa, I When Josephus here says, that from sixteen to nineteen, or for three years, he made trial of the three Jewish sects, the Pharisees, the Essenes, and the Essenes, and the Essenes, and yet says, presently, in all our copies, that he stood besides with one particular sectick, called Bassus, παπάς, with kiss, and this still before he was nineteen, there is little room left for his trial of the three other sects. I suppose, therefore, that for παπάς, with kiss, the old reading might be παπάς, with kiss; which is a very small emendation, and takes away the difficultly before us. Nor is Dr. Hudson's conjecture hinted at by Mr. Hall in his preface to the Dodsor's edition of Josephus at all improbable, that this Bannus, by this his description, might well be a follower of John the Baptist, and that from him Josephus might easily imbibe such notions, as afterwards prepared him to have a favourable opinion of Jesus Christ himself, who was attested to by John the Baptist.
there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very excellent persons they were, whom on a small and trifling occasion he had put into bonds, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Caesar. There I was desirous to procure deliverance for; and that I became thereby because I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God, or under their afflictions; but supported themselves with figs and nuts. Accordingly I came to Rome, though it were through a great number of hazards, by sea; for, as our ship was drowned in the Adriatic Sea, we that were in it, being about six hundred in number, swam for our lives all the night; when, upon the first appearance of the day, and upon our sight of a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, by God's providence, prevented the rest, and were taken up into the other ship; and when I had thus escaped, and was come to Diciaecia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I became acquainted with Aliturus, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, a Jew by birth; and through his interest became known to Poppaea, Caesar's wife; and took care, as soon as possible, to entreat her to procure that the priests might be set at liberty; and when, besides, this favour, I had obtained many presents from Poppaea, I returned home again.

4. And now I perceived innovations were already begun, and that the Jews were a great many very much elevated, in hopes of a revolt from the Romans. I therefore endeavoured to put a stop to these tumultuous persons, and persuaded them to change their minds; age laid before their eyes against whom it was that they were going to fight, and told them that they were inferior to the Romans not only in martial skill, but also in good fortune; and desired them not rashly, and after the most foolish manner, to bring on the dangers of the most terrible mischiefs upon their country, upon their families, and upon themselves. And this I said with very earnest exhortation, because I foresaw that the end of such an action would be most unfortunate to us. But I could not persuade them; for the madness of desperate men was quite too hard for me.

5. I was then afraid, lest by inciting these things so often, I should incur their hatred and their suspicions, as if I were of our enemies' party, and should run into the danger of being seized by them and slain, since they were already possessed of Antonius, which was the citadel; so I retired into the inner court of the temple; yet did I go out of the temple again, after Manahem and the principal of the band of robbers were put to death, when I abode among the high priests and the chief of the Pharisees; but no small fear seized upon us when we saw the people in arms, while we ourselves knew not what we should do, and were not able to restrain the seditious. However, as the danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the same opinion with them; but only advised them to be quiet for the present, and to let the enemy go away, still hope that Gessius [Florus] would not be long ere he came, and that with great forces, and so put an end to these seditious proceedings.

6. But, upon his coming and fighting, he was beaten, and a great many of those that were with him fell; and this disgrace which Gessius [with Caesius] received, became the calamity of our whole nation for the time of the war were so far elevated with this success, that they had hopes of finally conquering the Romans. Of which war another occasion was ministered; which was this:—Those that dwelt in the neighbouring cities of Syria seized upon such Jews as dwelt among them, with their wives and children, and slew them, when they had not the least occasion of complaint against them; for they did neither attempt any innovation or revolt from the Romans, nor had they given any marks of hatred or treacherous designs towards the Syrians: but what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis was the most impious and most highly criminal of all; for when the Jews, their enemies, came upon them from without, they forced the Jews that were among them to bear arms against their own countrymen, which it is unlawful for us to do; and when, by their assistance, they had joined battle with those who attacked them, and had beaten them, after that victory they forgot the assurances they had given their fellow-citizens and confederates, and slew them all; being in number many ten thousands [15,000]. The like miseries were undergone by those Jews that were the inhabitants of Damascus; and we have given a more accurate account of these things in the books of the Jewish war. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my readers that the Jews' war with the Romans was not voluntary, but that, for the main, they were forced by necessity to enter into it.

7. So when Gessius had been beaten, as we have said already, the principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that the robbers and innovators had arms in great plenty, and fearing lest they, while they were unprovided with arms, should be in subjection to those enemies, sent to the spoils, which also came to be the case afterwards;—and, being informed that all Galilees had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet, they sent me and two others of the priests, who were men of excellent characters, Joazar and Judas, in order to persuade the ill men there to lay down their arms, and to teach them this lesson,—That it were better to have those arms reserved for the most courageous men that the nation had [than to be kept there]; for that it had been resolved, That those our best men should always have their arms ready against fury; but still so, that they should wait to see what the Romans would do.

8. When I had therefore received these instructions, I came into Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris in no small agony about their country, by reason that the Galilean had resolved to plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the Romans; and because they had given their right hand, and made a league with Cestius Gallus,
the president of Syria: but I delivered them all out of the fear they were in, and persuaded the multitude to deal kindly with them, and permitted them to send to those that were their own hostages with Gessius to Dora, which is a city of Phcenicia, as often as they pleased; though I still found the inhabitants of Tiberias ready to take arms, and that on the occasion following:—

9. There were three factions in this city. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity; of these Julius Capellius was the head. Now he, as well as all his companions, Herod the son of Miarus, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compus the son of Compus (for as to Compus's brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the great king [Agrippa], he was beyond Jordan in his own possessions); all these persons before named gave their advice, that the city should then continue in their allegiance to the Romans and to the king; but Pistas, who was guided by his son Justus, did not acquiesce in that resolution, otherwise he was himself naturally of a good and virtuous character; nor was he composed of the most ignoble persons, and was determined for war. But as for Justus, the son of Pistas, who was the head of the third faction, although he pretended to be doubtful about going to war, yet he was really desirous of innovation, as supposing that he should gain power to himself by the change of affairs. He therefore came into the midst of them, and endeavoured to inform the multitude that "the city Tiberias had ever been a city of Galilee; and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch, who had built it, it had obtained the principal place; and that he had ordered that the city Saphaphis should be subordinate to the city Tiberias: that they had not lost this pre-eminence even under Agrippa the father; but had retained it until Felix was procurator of Judea; but he told them, that now they had been so unfortunate as to be made a present by Nero to Agrippa, junior; and that, upon Sephoria's submission of itself to the Romans, that was become the capital city of Galilee, and that the royal treasury and the archives were now removed from them." When he had spoken these things, and a great many more, and the crowd greatly approved of him, though they advised what was more to their advantage, and this by his craftiness and his fallacies, for he was not unskilful in the learning of the Greeks; and in dependence on that skill it was that he undertook to write a history of these affairs, as aiming, by this way of haranguing, to disguise the truth; but as to this man, and how ill were his character and conduct of life, and how he and his brother were, in great measure, the authors of our dis-struction, I shall give the reader an account in the progress of my narration. So when Justus had, by his persuasions, prevailed with the citizens of Tiberias to take arms, nay, and had forced a great many so to do against their wills, he went out, and set the villages that belonged to Gadara and Hippo on fire; which villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias, and of the region of Scythopolis.

10. And this was the state Tiberias was now in; but as for Gischala, its affairs were thus:—When John, the son of Levi, saw some of the citizens much elevated upon their revolt from the Romans, he exhorted to restrain them; and entreated them that they would keep their allegiance to them; but he could not gain his purpose, although he did his endeavours to the utmost; for the neighbouring people of Gadara, Gabara, and Sogana, with the Tyrians, got together a great army, and fell upon Gischala, and took Gischala by force, and set it on fire; and when they had entirely demolished it, they returned home. Upon which John was so enraged that he armed all his men, and joined battle with the people forementioned; and rebuilt Gischala after a manner better than before, and fortified it with walls for its future security.

11. But Gamala persevered in its allegiance to the Romans for the reason following:—Philip, the son of Jacimus, who was their governor under king Agrippa, had been unexpectedly preserved when the royal palace at Jerusalem had been besieged; but, as he fled away, had fallen into another danger; and that was of being killed by Mammeh, and the robbers that were with him; but certain Babyloniens, who were of his kindred, and were then in Jerusalem, hindered the robbers from executing their design. So Philip said there four days, and fled away. In the fifth, being disguised himself with fictitious hair, that he might not be discovered; and when he was come to one of the villages to him belonging, but one that was situated at the borders of the citadel of Gamala, he sent to some of those that were under him, and commanded them to come to him; but God hindered that his intention, and this for his own advantage also; for had it not so happened, he had certainly perished; for a fever having seized upon him immediately, he wrote to Agrippa and Bernice, and gave them to one of his freedmen to carry them to us, who said that he was procurator of the kingdom, which the king and his sister had intrusted him withal, while they were gone to Berythus with an intention of meeting Ges- sius. When Varus had received these letters of Philip, and had learned that he was preserved, he was very uneasy at it, as supposing that he should appear useless to the king and his sister, now Philip was come. He therefore produced the carrier of the letters before the multitude, and accused him of forging the same; and said, that he spoke falsely when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem, fighting amongst the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And when this freedman of Philip did not return again, Philip was doubtful what should be the occasion of his stay, and sent a second messenger with letters, that he might, upon his return, inform him what had befallen the other that had been sent before, and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this messenger also, when he came, of telling a falsehood, and slew him; for he was puffed up by the Syrians that were at Cesarea, and had great expectations; for they said that Agrippa would be slain, and the Romans for it; and that the Jews had committed, and that he should himself take the government, as derived from their
kings; for Varus was, by the confession of all, of the royal family, as being a descedant of Sohenum, who had enjoyed a tetarchery about Libanus; for which reason it was that he was puff'd up, and kept the letters to himself. He contrived also that the king should not meet with those writings, by guarding all the passes, lest any one should escape, and inform the king what had been done. He moreover slew many of the Jews, in order to gratify the Syrians of Caesarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in Batanon, and to take up arms and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana; for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Caesarea, of the best character, and ordered them to go to Ecbatana, and inform their countrymen who dwell there, That Varus hath heard that you intend to march against the king; but, not believing that report, he hath sent us to persuade you to lay down your arms; and that this compliance will be a sign that he did well not to give credit to those that raised the report concerning you. He also enjoined them to send seventy of their principal men to make a defense for them as to the accusation laid against them by Varus. But the twelve messengers came to their countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no designs of innovation at all, they persuaded them to send the seventy men also; who, not at all suspecting what would come, sent them accordingly. So these seventy went down to Cesaras, together with the twelve ambassadors; where Varus met them with the king's forces, and slew them all together with the [twelve] ambassadors, and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. But one there was of the seventy who escaped, and made haste to inform the Jews of their coming; upon which they took their arms, with their wives and children, and retired to the citadel at Gamala, leaving their own villages full of all sorts of good things, and having many ten thousands of cattle therein. When Philip was informed of these things, he also came to the citadel of Gamala; and when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to resume the government, and to make an expedition against Varus and the Syrians of Cesaras; for it was reported that they had already left Jotapata. But Philip restrained their zeal, and put them in mind of the benefits the king had bestowed upon them; and told them how powerful the Romans were, and said it was not for their advantage to make war with them; and at length he prevailed with them. But now, when the king was acquainted with Varus's design, which was to cut off the Jews of Cesaras, being many ten thousands, with their wives and children, and all in one day, he called to him Equinicus Modius, and sent him to be Varus's successor, as we have elsewhere related how still Philip retained the possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country adjoining to it, which thereby continued in their allegiance to the Romans.

12. Now, as soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this state of things by the information of such as told me of them, I wrote to the sanhedrim at Jerusalem about them, and required their direction what I should do. Their direction was, that I should continue there, and that, if my fel-low-legates were willing, I should join with them in the care of Galilee. But those my fellow-legates, having got great riches from those tribes which as priests were their dues, and were given to them, determined to return to their own country. Yet when I desired them to stay so long, that we might first settle the public affairs, they complied with me. So I removed, together with them, from the city of Sepphoris, and came to a certain village called Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and thence I sent messengers to the senate of Tiberias, and desired that the principal men of the city would come to me: and when they were come, Justus himself being also with them, I told them that I was sent to them by the people of Jerusalem as a legate, together with these other priests, in order to persuade them to demolish that house which Herod the tetrarch had built there, and which had the figures of Jupiter and his wives, al though our laws have forbidden us to make any such figures; and I desired that they would give us leave so to do immediately. But for a good while Capellus and the principal men belonging to the city would not give us leave, but were at length entirely overcome by us, and were induced to be of our opinion. So Jesus the son of Sapphias, one of those whom we have already mentioned as the leader of a seditious tumult of mariners and poor people, prevented us, and took with him certain Galileans, and set the entire palace on fire, and thought he should get a great deal of money thereby, because he saw some of the roofs girt with gold. They also plundered a great deal of the furniture, which was done without our approbation; for, after we had discoursed with Capellus and the principal men of the city, we departed from Bethmaus, and went into Upper Galilee. But Jesus and his party slew all the Greeks that were inhabitants of Tiberias, and as many others as were their enemies before the war began.

13. When I understood this state of things, I was greatly provoked, and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could of the royal furniture, to recover all that could be recovered from such as had plundered it. They consisted of candlesticks made of Corinthian brass, and of royal tables, and of a great quantity of un coined silver; and I resolved to preserve whatsoever came to my hand for the king. So I sent for ten of the principal men of the senate, and for Capellus the son of Antyllus, and committed the furniture to them, with this charge, That they should part with it to nobody else but to myself. From thence I and my fellow-legates went to Gischala, to John, as desirous to know his intentions, and soon saw that he was for innovations, and had a mind to the principality, for he desired me to give him authority to carry off that corn which belonged to Caesar, and lay in the villages of Upper Galilee; and he pretended that he would expend what it came to in building the walls of his own city. But when I perceived what he endeavoured at, and what he had in his mind, I said I would not permit him to do; for that I thought either to keep it for the Romans or for myself, now I was entrusted with the public affairs there by the people of Jerusalem; but, when he was not able to prevail with me, he betook himself to my fellow-legates; for they had no sagacity in providing for futurity, and were very ready to take bribes: so he corrupted them with money to declare, That all that corn which was within his province should be delivered to him; while I, who was but one, was outvoted by two, and held my tongue. Then did John introduce another cunning
THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

contrivance of his; for he said that those Jews who inhabited Cesarea Philippi, and were shut up by the order of the king's deputy there, had sent to him to desire him, that, since they had no oil that was pure for their use, he would provide a sufficient quantity of such oil for them, lest they should be forced to make use of oil that came from the Greeks, and thereby transgress their own laws. Now this was said by John, not out of his regard to religion, but out of his most flagrant desire of gain; for he knew that two sectaries were sold with them of Cesarea for one drachma; but that at Gischala fourscore sectaries were sold for four sectaries: so he gave order that all the oil which was there should be carried away, as having my permission for so doing; which yet I did not grant him voluntarily, but only out of fear of the multitude, since, if I had forbidden him, I should have been stoned by them.—When I had therefore permitted this to be done by John, he gained vast sums of money by this his knavery.

14. But when I had dismissed my fellow-legates, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to have arms provided, and the cities fortified; and when I had sent for the most hardy among the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms from them; but I persuaded the multitude to allow them money as pay, and told them it was better for them to give them a little willingly rather than to [be forced to] overlook them when they plundered their goods from them. And when I had obliged them to take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were invited to come, or else when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them, and charged them neither to make an expedition against the Romans, nor against those their neighbours that lay round about them; for my first care was to keep Galilee in peace. So I was willing to have the principal of the Galileans, in all seventy, as hostages for their fidelity, but still under the notion of friendship. Accordingly, I made them my friends and companions as I journeyed, and set them to judge causes; and with their approbation it was that I gave my sentences, while I endeavoured not to mistake what justice required, and to keep my hands clear of all bribery in those determinations.

15. It was now about the thirtieth year of my age; in which time of life it is a hard thing for any one to escape the calamities of the envious, although he restrain himself from fulfilling any unlawful desires, especially where a person is in great authority. Yet did I preserve every woman free from injuries; and as to what presents were offered me, I dejected them, as not standing in need of them; nor indeed would I take those titles, which were due to me as a priest, from those that brought them. Yet do I confess, that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians which inhabited the cities that adjoined to us, when I had conquered them, and that I sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem; although, when I twice took Sepphoris by force, and Tiberias four times, and Gadara once, and when I had subdued and taken John, who often laid treacherous snares for me, I did not punish [with death] either him or any of the people fore-named, as the progress of this discourse will show. And on this account, I suppose, it was that God, who is never unaccustomed with those providence upon his mind; and ascribed all his numerous and wonderful escapes and preservations, in time of danger, to God's blessing him, and taking care of him; and this on account of his acts of piety, justice, humanity, and charity, to the Jews his brethren.

16. Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were solicitous for my preservation. But when John saw this, he envied me, and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot baths of Tiberias for the recovery of the health of his body. Accordingly, I did not hinder him, as having no suspicion of any wicked designs of his; and I wrote to those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberias by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him, and should procure him what necessary soever he should stand in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee, which is named Cana.

17. But when John came to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded the men to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to adhere to him; and many of them gladly received that invitation of his, as ever fond of innovations, and by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions; but they were chiefly Justus and his father Pitus that were earnest for their revolt from me, and their adherence to John. But I came upon them, and prevented them; for a messenger had come to me from Silas, whom I had made governor of Tiberias, as I have said already, and conveyed to me the sentiments of the people of Tiberias, and advised me to send haste thither; for that if I made any delay, the city would come under another's jurisdiction. Upon the receipt of this letter of Silas, I took two hundred men along with me, and travelled all night, having sent before a messenger to let the people of Tiberias know that I was coming to them. When I came near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me, and John came with them, and saluted me, but in a most disturbed manner, as being afraid that my coming was to call him to an account for what he was now sensible he was doing. So he, in great haste, went to his lodging. But when I was in the open place of the city, having dismissed the guards I had about me, excepting one, and ten armed men that were with him, I attempted to make a speech to the multitude of the people of Tiberias; and standing on a certain elevated place, I entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt; for that such a change in their behaviour would be to their reproach, and that they would then justly be suspected by those that should be their governors hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them neither.

18. But before I had spoken all I designed, I heard one of my own domestics bidding me come down; for that it was not a proper time to take care of retaining the good-will of the people of Tiberias, but to provide for my own safety, and escape my enemies there; for John had chosen the most trusty of those armed men that were about him out
of those thousand that he had with him, and had given them orders, when he sent them to kill me, having learned that I was alone, excepting some of my domestics. So those that were sent came, as they were ordered, and they had executed what they came about, had I not leaped down from the elevation I stood on, and with one of my guards, whose name was James, been carried [out of the crowd] upon the back of one Herod of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake, where I seized a ship, and got into it, and escaped my enemies unexpectedly, and came to Taricheae.

19. Now, as soon as the inhabitants of that city understood the perfidiousness of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly provoked at them. So they snatched up their arms, and desired me to be their leader against them; for they said they would avenge their commander's cause upon them. They also carried the report of what had been done to me to all the Galileans, and eagerly endeavoured to irritate them against the people of Tiberias, and desired that vast numbers of them would get together, and come to them, that they might act in concert with their commander, what should be determined as fit to be done. Accordingly, the Galileans came to me in great numbers, from all parts, with their weapons, and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by force, and to demolish it, till it lay even with the ground, and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Those that were Josephus's friends also, and had escaped out of Tiberias, gave him the same advice. But I did not comply with them, thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war among them; for I thought that this contention ought not to proceed farther than words; nay, I told them that it was not for their own advantage to do what they would have me to do, while the Romans expected no other than that we should destroy one another by our mutual seditions; and by saying this, I put a stop to the anger of the Galileans.

20. But now John was afraid for himself; since his treachery had proved unsuccessful; so he took the armed men that were about him, and removed from Tiberias to Gischala, and wrote to me to apologize for himself concerning what had been done, as if it had been done without his approbation; and desired me to have no suspicion of him to his disadvantage. He also added oaths and certain horrible curses upon himself, and supposed he should be thereby believed in the points he wrote about me.

21. But now another great number of the Galileans came together again with their weapons, as knowing the man, how wicked and how sadly perjured he was, and desired me to lead them against him, and promised me that they would utterly destroy both him and Gischala. Hereupon I professed that I was obliged to them for their readiness to serve me; and that I would more than requite their good-will to me. However, I entreated them to consider how wrong they were to give me leave to do what I intended, which was to put an end to these troubles without bloodshed; and when I had prevailed with the multitude of the Galileans to let me do so, I came to Sepphoris.

22. But the inhabitants of this city having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my coming to them; and tried, by putting me upon another action, to divert me, that the...
their usual way of living, and that in great plenty also.

24. Now King Agrippa sent an army to make themselves masters of the citadel of Gabara, and over it Equiculus Modius; but the forces that were sent were not enough to encompass the citadel quite round, but lay before it in the open places, and besieged it. But when Eubutius the decurion, who was intrusted with the government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias, a village situated in the confines of Galilee, and was distant from his sixty furlongs, he took a hundred horsemen that were with him by night, and a certain number of footmen, about two hundred, and brought the inhabitants of the city Gibeon along with him as auxiliaries, and marched in the night, and came to the village where I abode. Upon this I pitched my camp over against him, which had a great number of forces in it; but Eubutius tried to draw us down into the plain, as greatly depending upon his horsemen; but we would not come down; for when I saw that success was to this end, that his horsemen would have if we came down into the plain, while we were all footmen, I resolved to join battle with the enemy where I was. Now Eubutius and his party made a courageous opposition for some time: but when he saw that his horse were useless to him in that place, he retired back to the city Gibeon, having lost three of his men in the fight. So I followed him directly with two thousand armed men; and when I was at the city Besara, that lay in the confines of Potomais, but twenty furlongs from Gibeon, where Eubutius abode, I placed my armed men on the outside of the village, and gave orders that they should guard the passes with great care, that the enemy might not disturb us until we should have carried off the corn, a great quantity of which lay there; it belonged to Bernice the queen, and had been gathered together out of the neighbouring villages into Besara: so I loaded my camels and asses, a great number of which I had brought along with me, and sent the corn into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Eubutius battle; but when he would not accept of the offer, for he was terrified at our numbers and at my reputation, I ordered my rearguard, and marched towards Neopontianus, because I had heard that the country about Tiberias was laid waste by him. This Neopontianus was captain of a troop of horse, and had the custody of Scythopolis intrusted to his care by the enemy; and when I had hindered him from doing any farther mischief to Tiberias, I set myself to make provision for the affairs of Galilee.

25. But when John, the son of Levi, who, as we before told you, abode at Gischala, informed me how all things had proceeded to my mind, and that I was much in favour with those that were under me, as also that the enemy were greatly afraid of me, he was not pleased with it, as thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin. So he took up a bitter envy and enmity against me; and hoping, that if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to the prosperity I was in, he tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias, and of Sepphoris (and for those of Gabara he supposed they would be also of the same mind with the others), which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from their subjection to me, and to be of his party; and told them that he would command them better than I did. As for the people of Sepphoris, who belonged to neither of us, because they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans they did not comply with his proposal; and for those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far comply as to make a revolt from under me, but they agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John; and it was Simon that persuaded them so to do, one who was both the principal man in the city and a particular friend and companion of John. It is true, these did not openly own the making a revolt, because they were in great fear of the Galileans, and had frequent experience of the good-will they bore to me; yet did they privately watch for a proper opportunity to lay snares for me; and indeed I thereby came into the greatest danger on the occasion following.

26. There were some bold young men of the village of Dabarita, who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, was to make a progress over the great plain with a mighty attendance, and with some horsemen that followed as a guard to them, and this out of a country that was subject to the king and people into the territories of the Romans; and fell upon them on a sudden, and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to fly away, and plundered all the carriages. They also came to me to Taricheea, with four mules' loading of garments, and other furniture; and the weight of the silver they brought was not small; and there were five hundred pieces of gold also. Now I had a mind to preserve these spoils for Ptolemy, who was my countryman; and it is prohibited by our laws even to spoil our enemies; so I said to those that brought these spoils, that they ought to be kept, in order to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem when they had been sold; but the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part of those spoils for themselves, as they expected to have done; so they went among the villages in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and told the people that I was going to betray their country to the Romans, and that I used deceitful language to them, when I said that what had been thus gotten by rapine should be kept for the rebuilding of the walls of the city of Jerusalem; although I had resolved to make those spoils mine, and indeed they were herein not mistaken as to my intentions; and when I had gotten clear of them, I sent for two of the principal men, Dassion, and Janneus the son of Levi, persons that were among the chief friends of the king, and commanded them to take the furniture that had been plundered, and to send it to him; and I threatened that I would order them to be put to death by way of punishment, if they discovered this my command to any other person.

27. Now, when all Galilee was filled with this rumour, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exasperated against me, and ready to bring me to punishment, the inhabitants of Taricheea did also themselves suppose that what the young men said...
was true, and persuaded my guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to come presently to the hippodrome, in order there to take counsel against me their commander; and when they had prevailed with them, and they were gotten together, they found there a great company assembled already, who all joined in one clamour, to bring the man who was so wicked to them as to betray them, to his due punishment; and it was Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who principally set them on. He was ruler in Tiberias, a wicked man, and naturally disposed to make disturbances in number of consequence; a seditious person he was indeed, and an innovator beyond every body else. He then took the laws of Moses into his hands, and came into the midst of the people, and said, "O my fellow-citizens! if you are not disposed to hate Josephus on your own account, have regard, however, to these laws of your country, which your commander-in-chief is going to betray: hate him therefore on both these accounts, and bring the man who hath acted thus insolently, to his deserved punishment."

28. When he had said this, and the multitude had openly applauded him for what he had said, he took some of the armed men, and made haste away to the house in which I lodged, as if he would kill me immediately, while I was wholly insensible of all till this disturbance happened; and by reason of the pains I had been taking, was fallen fast asleep; but Simon, who was intrusted with the care of my body, and was the only person that stayed with me, and saw the violent incursion the citizens made upon me, waked me and told me of the danger I was in, and desired me to let him kill me, that I might die bravely and like a general, before my enemies came in, and forced me to kill myself or killed me themselves. Thus did he discourse to me; but I committed the care of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. Accordingly, I put on a black garment, and hung my sword at my neck, and went by such a different way to the hippodrome, wherein I thought none of my adversaries would meet me; so I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and believed I was teaching to them an object of consolation, and when I perceived the change that was made in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions before the armed men should return from my house; so I granted them that I had been as wicked as they supposed me to be; but still I entreated them to let me first inform them for what use I had kept that money which arose from the plunder; and that they might then kill me, if they pleased; and, upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came upon me, and when they saw me, they ran to kill me; but when the multitude bade them hold their hands, they complied; and expected that as soon as I should own to them, that I kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a confession of my treason, and they should then be allowed to kill me.

29. When, therefore, silence was made by the whole multitude, I spake thus to them:—"O my countrymen! I refuse not to die, if justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth of this matter before I die; for as I know that this city of Tarsicheon was a city of great hospitality of such men as countries, and are done either to be partakers of your fortune, whatever it be, I had a mind to build walls about it, out of this money, for which you are so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended in building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Tariicheon and the strangers cried out, That "they gave me thanks; and desired me to be of good courage," although the Galileans and the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me, insomuch that there arose a tumult among them, while some threatened to kill me, and some bade me not to regard them; but when I promised them that I would build walls at Tariicheon, and that for others that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes; and returned to my own house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men also.

30. However, these robbers and other authors of this tumult, who were afraid on their own account, lest I should punish them for what they had done, took six hundred armed men, and came to the house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When this news was told me, I thought it indecent for me to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger, and to act with some boldness; so I gave order to shut the doors, and went up into an upper room, and desired that they would send in some of their men to receive the money from the spoils; for I told them they would then have no occasion to be angry with me; and when they had sent in one of the boldest of them all, I had him whipped severely; and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off, and hung about his neck; and in this case was he put out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were greatly affrighted, and in no small consternation; and were afraid that they should themselves be served in like manner, if they stayed there; for they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had themselves; so they ran away immediately, while I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped this their second treacherous design against me.

31. But there were still some that irritated the multitude against me, and said that those great men that belonged to the city ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change their religion to the religion of those to whom they fled for safety; they spake reproachfully of them also, and said that they were wizards, and such as called in the Romans upon them. So the multitude was soon deluded by such plausible pretences as were agreeable to their own inclinations, and were prevailed on by them; but when I was informed of this, I instructed the multitude again, that those who fled to them for refuge ought not to be persecuted; I also laughed at the allegation about witchcraft; and told them that the Romans would not maintain so many ten thousand soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by wizards. Upon my saying this, the people assembled for a while; but they returned again afterwards, as irritated by some ill people against the great men; nay, they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Tariicheon, in order to kill them; which, when I was informed of, I was afraid lest so horrid a crime should take effect, and no-
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body else would make that city their refuge any more. I therefore came myself, and some others with me, to the house where those great men lived, and locked the doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked therein with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippus; I also paid them the value of their horses; nor in such a flight could I have their horses brought to them. I then dismissed them; and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear this distress which befell them. I was also myself greatly displeased that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me, to go again into an enemy's country; yet did I think it more eligible that they should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in the country that was under my jurisdiction. However, they escaped at length, and king Agrippa forgave them their offences; and this was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be a guard to their country; for that they were desirous to come over to him. This was what they wrote to him; but when I came to them, they desired me to build their walls, as I had promised them to do; for they had heard that the walls of Tarichee were already built. I agreed to their proposal accordingly; and when I had made preparation for the entire building, I gave order to the architects to go to work; but on the third day, when I was gone to Tarichee, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, it so fell out, that some Roman horsemen were discovered on their march, not far from the city, which made it to be supposed that the forces were come from the king; upon which they shouted, and lifted up their voices in commendations of the king, and in reproaches against me. Hereupon one came running to me, and told me what their dispositions were; and that they had resolved to revolt from me — upon hearing which I was much troubled; for I had already sent away my armed men from Tarichee to their own homes, because the next day was our Sabbath; for I would not have the people of Tarichee disturbed [on that day] by a multitude of soldiers; and, indeed, whenever I sojourned at that city, I never took any particular care for a guard about my own body, because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends, and was doubtful what to do; for to send to recall my own forces I did not think proper, because in those days was almost over; and had those forces been with me, I could not take arms on the next day, because our laws forbade us so to do, even though our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the people of Tarichee, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose, and I perceived that I should be obliged to delay my assistance a great while; for I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king would prevent me, and that I should be driven out of the city. I considered, therefore, how to get clear of these forces by a stratagem; so I immediately placed those my friends of Tarichee, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch those very carefully who went out at those gates; I also called to me the heads of families, and bade every one of them seize upon a ship,* to go on board it, and to take a master with them, and follow him to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went on board one of those ships, with my friends, and the seven armed men already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

33. But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the king, and yet saw the whole lake full of ships, they were in fear what would become of their city, and were greatly terrified, as supposing that the ships were full of men on board; so they then changed their minds, and threw down their weapons, and met me with their wives and children, and made acclamations to me with great commendations; for they imagined that I did not know their former inclinations [to have been against me], so they persuaded me to spare the city; but when I was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to cast anchor good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships had no men on board; but I went nearer to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were so fickle as, without any just occasion in the world, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, I assured them that I would entirely forgive them for the time to come, if they would send ten of the ring-leaders of the multitude to me; and when they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me the men forementioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them away to Tarichee, and ordered them to be kept in prison.

34. And by this stratagem it was that I gradually got all the senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city forementioned, with many of the principal men among the populace; and those not fewer in number than the other; but, when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought themselves, they desired me to punish the author of this sedition; his name was Citius, a young man bold and strong. Now since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own people to death, and yet found it necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Citius's hands; but as he was ordered to do this, was afraid to go out of the ship alone among so great a multitude, I was not willing that the timorousness of the soldier should appear to the people of Tiberias;—so I called to Citius himself, and said to him, "Since thou deservest to lose both thine hands for thy ingratitude to me, be thou the first to execute thine own punishment; lest if thou art the first, be thou undergo a worse punishment." And when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So, in order to prevent the loss of both his hands, he willingly took his sword, and cut off his own left hand; and this put an end to the sedition.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Tarichee, perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and they admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition, without shedding of

* In this section, as well as in the 18 and 38, those small words that sailed on the sea of Galilee, are called by Josephus Νερικ, and Παλαιοι, and Σκαφην; i. e. plainly ships; so that we need not wonder at our translators, who still call them ships; nor ought we to render them boats, as some do. Their number was in all 281, as we learn from our author elsewhere. Jewish War, b. II. ch. xxi. sect. 8.
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Blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those multitude of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Justus and his father Pustus, I made them to sup with me; and during our supper time I said to them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others; but did not say so [publicly] because of the robbers. So I advised them to do as I did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneasy at my being their commander; for that they could not expect to have another who would use the like moderation that I had done. I also put Justus in mind how the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands before ever I came to Jerusalem, upon an accusation laid against him, as if he had been a rabble, and had forged some letters; as also how the people of Gamala, in a sedition they raised against the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, slew Chares, who was a kinsman of Philip, and withal how they had wisely punished Jesus, who was Justus's brother's murderer [with death]. When I had said this to them during supper-time, I in the morning ordered Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away.

36. But before this, it happened that Philip, the son of Jacimus, went out of the citadel of Gamala upon the following occasion: When Philip had been informed that Varus was put out of his government by king Agrippa, and that Eucleclus Modius, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him, he wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had, and desired him to forward the letters he sent to the king and queen. Now, when Modius had received these letters, he was exceedingly glad, and sent the letters to the king and queen, who were then about Berytus. But when king Agrippa knew that the story about Philip was false (for it had been given out, that the Jews had begun a war with the Romans, and that this Philip had been their commander in that war), he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him; and when he came, he saluted him very obligingly, and showed him all his commanders, and told them that this was the man of whom the report had gone about as if he had revolted from the Romans. He also bid him to take some horsemen with him, and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out thence all his domestics, and to restore the Babylonians to Batanea again. He also gave him in charge to take all possible care that none of his subjects should be guilty of making any innovation. Accordingly, upon these directions from the king, he made haste to do what he was commanded by the king, and took up arms, and gave them hopes that they should, by his means, recover their liberty: and some they forced into the service; and those that would not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they slew. They also slew Chares, and with him Jesus, son of this Kinemon, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as well as had already been. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the walls of their city. And I rejected either of their requests.

37. Now there was one Joseph, the son of a female physician, who excited a great many young men to join with him. He also insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from the king, and take up arms, and gave them hopes that they should, by his means, recover their liberty: and some they forced into the service; and those that would not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they slew. They also slew Chares, and with him Jesus, son of this Kinemon, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as well as had already been. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the walls of their city. And I rejected either of their requests. But Gaulanitis did also revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyma. I also built a wall about Selenica and Scopam, which are villages naturally of very great strength. Moreover, I, in like manner, walled several villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names are Janma, and Meroth, and Achabare. I also fortified, in the Lower Galilee, the cities Taricheae, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and the villages, the cave of Arbea, Bercob, Selamin, Jotapata, Capharecho, and Sigo, and Japha, and Mount Tabor. I also laid up a great quantity of corn in these places, and arms withal, that might be for their security afterward.

38. But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me; and built the walls of Gischala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan, the son of Simeon, and about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon, the son of Gamaliel; in order to persuade him to induce the commonalty of Jerusalem to take from me the government over the Galileans, and to give their suffrages for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the city of Jerusalem, and of a very noble family, of the sect of the Pharisees, which are supposed to excel others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great wisdom and reason, and capable of restoring public affairs by his prudence, when they were in an ill posture. He was also an old friend and companion of John; but at that time he had a difference with me. When therefore he had received such an exhortation, he persuaded the high priests, Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamala, and some others of the same seditious faction, to cut me down, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook me while I was aggrandizing myself to the height of glory; and he said that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans if I were deprived of my government there. Ananus also, and his friends, desired them to make me a figure away, as they said, that they should get the knowledge of what was doing too soon, and should come and make an assault upon the city with a great army. This was the counsel of Simon; but Ananus the high priest demonstrated to them that this was not an easy thing to be done, because many of the high priests and of the rulers of the people, bore witness that I had acted like an excellent general, and that it was the work of ill men to accuse one against whom they had nothing to say.

39. When Simon heard Ananus say this, he desired that the messengers would conceal this thing, and not let it come among the people, lest they should take care to have Josephus removed out of Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother [Simon], and charged him that they should send presents to Ananus and his friends; for, as he said, they might probably by that means, persuade them to change their minds. And indeed Simon did at length thus compass what he aimed at; for Ananus, and those with him, being corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me out of Galilee, without making the rest...
...of the citizens acquainted with what they were doing. Accordingly they resolved to send men of distinction as to their families, and of distinction as to their learning also. Two of these were of the populace, Jonathan* and Amanias, by sect Pharisees; while the third, Joazar, was of the stock of the priests, and a Pharisee also; and Simon, the last of them, was of the youngest of the high priests. These had it given them in charge, that, when they were come to the multitude of the Galileans, they should ask them what was the reason of their love to me! and if they said that it was because I was born at Jerusalem, that they should reply, that they four were all born at the same place; and if they should say, it was because I was well versed in their law, they should reply, that neither were they unacquainted with the practices of their country; but if, besides these, they should say they loved me because I was a priest, they should reply, that two of these were priests also.

40. Now, when they had given Jonathan and his companions these instructions, they gave them forty thousand drachmae out of the public money: but when they heard that there was a certain Galilean that they sojourned at Jerusalem, whose name was Jesus, who had about him a band of six hundred armed men, they sent for him, and gave him three months’ pay, and gave him orders to follow Jonathan and his companions, and be obedient to them. They also gave money to three hundred men that were citizens of Jerusalem to maintain them all, and ordered them also to follow the ambassadors; and when they had complied, and were gotten ready for the march, Jonathan and his companions went out with them, having along with them John’s brother and a hundred armed men. The charge that was given them by those that sent them was this: That if I would voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me alive to the city of Jerusalem; but that, in case I opposed them, they should kill me, and fear nothing; for that it was their command for them so to do. They also wrote to John to make all ready for fighting me, and gave orders to the inhabitants of Sepphoris, and Gabara, and Tiberias, to send auxiliaries to John.

41. Now, as my father wrote me an account of this (for Jesus the Son of Gamala, who was present in that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it), I was very much troubled, as discovering thereby that my fellow-citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as, out of envy, to give order that I should be slain; my father earnestly pressed me also in his letter to come to him, for that he longed to see his son before he died. I informed my friends of these things, and that in three days’ time I should leave the country and go home. Upon hearing this, they were all very sorry, and desired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed; for so they thought they should be, if I were deprived of the command over them; but as I did not grant their request, but was taking care of my own safety, the Galileans, out of their dread of me, the strong man, to whom the citizens should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers over all Galilee to inform them of my resolution to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not more out of their affection to me, than out of their fear on their own account; for, while I staid with them, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was Asochis.

42. But wonderful it was what a dream I saw that very night; for when I had betaken myself to my bed, as grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, it seemed to me, that a certain person stood by me, and said, “O Josephus! leave off to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves thee will render thee very considerable, and in all respects most happy; for thou shalt get over not only these difficulties, as many others, with great success. However, be not cast down, but remember that thou art to fight with the Romans.” When I had seen this dream, I got up with an intention of going down to the plain. Now, when the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom were the women and children, saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces, and, with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them exposed to their enemies, nor to go away and permit their country to be injured by them; but, when I did not comply with their entreaties, they commanded me to take an oath, that I would stay with them; they also cast abundance of reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

43. When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the people in, I was moved with compassion to them, and thought it became me to undergo the most manifest hazards for the sake of so great a multitude; so I let them know I would stay with them; and when I had given order that five thousand of them should come to me armed, and with provisions for their maintenance, I sent the rest away to their own homes; and, when those five thousand were come, I took them, together with three thousand of the soldiers that were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and marched to the village of Chabolo, situated in the confines of Ptolemais, and there kept my forces together, pretending to get ready to fight with Placidus, who was come with two cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen; and was sent thither by Cestius Gallus to burn those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais. Upon whose casting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp at about the distance of sixty furlongs from that village; and now we frequently brought out our forces as if we would fight, but proceeded no farther than skirmishes at a distance; for when Placidus perceived that I was earnest to come to a battle, he was afraid, and avoided it; yet did he not remove from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

44. About this time it was that Jonathan and his fellow-legates came. They were sent, as we have said already, by Simon, and Ananus, the high priest, and Jonathan contrived how he might catch me by treachery; for he durst not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the following epistle: — Jonathan and those that are with him, and are sent by the people of Jerusalem to Josephus, send greeting. We are sent by the principal men of Jerusalem, who have heard that John of Gischala hath laid many snares for thee, to re-
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buke him, and to exhort him to be subject to thee hereafter. We are also desirous to consult with thee about our common concerns, and what is fit to be done. We, therefore, desire thee to come to us quickly, and to bring only a few men with thee; for this village will not contain a great number of soldiers." Thus it was that they wrote, as expecting one of these two things; either that I should come without armed men, and then they should have me wholly in their power; or if I came with a great number, they should judge me to be a public enemy. Now it was a horseman who brought the letter, a man at other times bold, and one that had served in the army under the king. It was the second hour of the night that he came, when I was feasting with my friends and the principal of the Galileans. This man, upon my servant's telling me that a certain horseman of the Jewish nation was come, was called in at my command, but did not so much as salute me at all, but held out a letter, and said, "This letter is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusalem; do thou write an answer to it quickly, for I am obliged to return to them very soon." I read it over, and perceived the boldness of the soldier; but I desired him to sit down and sup with us: but when he refused so to do, I held the letter in my hands as I received it, and fell a-talking with my guests about other matters; but a few hours afterwards, I got up, and when I had dismissed the rest to go to their beds, I bid only four of my intimate friends to stay; and ordered my servant to get some wine ready. I also opened the letter so, that nobody could perceive it; and understanding thereby presently the purport of the writing, I wrote it up and delivered it as if I had not yet read it, but only held it in my hands. I ordered twenty drachmas should be given to the soldier for the charges of his journey; and when he took the money, and said that he thanked me for it, I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be bought chiefly by that means; and I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachma for every glass thou drinkest." So he gladly embraced this proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and was so drunk, that at last he could not keep the secrets he had instilled with, but discovered them with every putting questions to him, viz. That a treacherous design was contrived against me; and that I was doomed to die by those that sent him. When I heard this, I wrote back this answer:— "Josephus to Jonathan, and those that are with him, sendeth greeting. Upon the information that you are come in health into Galilee, I rejoice, and this especially, because I can now resign the care of public affairs here into your hands, and return into my native country,—which is what I have desired to do a great while; and I confess I ought not only to come to you as far as Xaloth, but farther, and this without your command: but I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do it now, since I watch the motions of Placidus, who hath a mind to go up into Galilee; and this I do here at Chabolo. Do you, therefore, on the receipt of this epistle, come hither to me. Fare you well." 45. When I had written thus, and given the letter to be carried by the soldier, I sent along with him thirty of the Galileans of the best characters, and gave them instructions to salute those ambassadors, but to say nothing else to them. I also gave orders to as many of those armed men, whom I esteemed most faithful to me, to go along with the others, every one with him whom he was to guard, lest some conversation might pass between those whom I sent and those who were with Jonathan. So those men went [to Jonathan]. But, when Jonathan and his partners had failed in this their first attempt, they sent me another letter, the contents whereof were as follows:—Jonathan, and those with him, to Josephus, send greeting. We require thee to come to us to the village Gabaroth, on the third day, without any armed men; that we may hear what thou hast to lay to the charge of John (of Gishala)." When they had written this letter, they saluted the Galileans whom I sent; and came to Japha, which was the largest village of all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong walls, and had a great number of inhabitants in it. There the multitude of men, with their wives and children, met them, and exclaimed loudly against them; and desired them to be gone, and not to envy them the advantage of an excellent commander. With these clamours Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked, although they durst not show their anger openly; so they wondered to see the other villages. But still the same clamours met them from all the people, who said, "Nobody should persuade them to have any other commander besides Josephus." So Jonathan and his partners went away from them without success, and came to Sephoris, the greatest city of all Galilee. Now the men of that city, who inclined to the Romans in their sentiments, met them indeed, but neither praised nor reproached me; and when they were gone down from Sephoris to Asochis, the people of that place made a clamour against them, as those of Japha had done; whereupon they were at last able to contain themselves no longer, but ordered the armed men that were with them to beat those that made the clamour with their clubs; and when they came to Gabara, John met them with three thousand armed men; but, as I understood by their letter that they had resolved to fight against me, I arose from Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also, but left in my camp one of my fastest friends, and came to Jotapata, as desirous to be near them, the distance being no more than forty furlongs. Whence I wrote thus to them:— If you are very desirous that I and mine should know there are two hundred and forty cities and villages in Galilee; I will come to any of them which you please, excepting Gabara and Gishala,—the one of which is John's native city, and the other in confederacy and friendship with him." 46. When Jonathan and his partners had received this letter, they wrote me no more answers, but called a counsel of their friends together; and taking John into their consultation, they took counsel together by what means they might attack me. John's opinion was, that they should write to all the cities and villages that were in Galilee; for that there must be certainly one or two persons in every one of them that were at variance with me; and that they should be invited to come, to oppose me as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to the city of Jerusalem, that its citizens, upon the knowledge of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galileans, might themselves also confirm that determination. He said also, that when this was done, even those Galileans who were well affected to me, would desert me out of fear. When John had given them this
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counsel, what he had said was very agreeable to the rest of them. I was also made acquainted with these affairs about the third hour of the night, by the means of one Sacceus, who had belonged to them, but now deserted them and came over to me, and told me what they were about; so I perceived that no time was to be lost. Accordingly I gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my guard, whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred men, and to guard the passages that led from Gabara to Galilee, and to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me, especially such as were caught with letters about them: I also sent Jeremias himself, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led from this country to the city Jerusalem; and gave him charge to lay hold of such as travelled with letters about them, to keep the men in bonds upon the place, but to send me the letters.

47. When I had laid these commands upon them, I gave them orders, and bid them take their arms, and go out with me, and with them, and be with me the next day. I also parted those that were about me into four parts, and ordained those of them that were most faithful to me to be a guard to my body. I also set over them centurions; and commanded them to take care that not a soldier which they did not know, should mingle himself among them. Now, on the fifth day following, when I was at Gabara, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who were come out of Galilee to assist me; many others of the multitude also out of the village, ran along with me: but none of them were left behind, and no one spoke to them, they all made an acclamation, and called me the Benefactor and Saviour of the country; and when I had made them my acknowledgments, and thanked them for their affection to me, I also advised them to fight with nobody,* nor to spoil the country, but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with their sustenance they had brought with them; for I told them that I had a mind to compose these troubles without shedding any blood. Now it came to pass, that on the very same day those who were sent by John with letters, fell among the guards whom I had appointed to watch the road, and who daily kept near the place, as my orders were; but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies; and I intended to fall upon these men, without saying a word of these matters to any body.

48. Now, as soon as Jonathan and his companions heard of my coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and retired to the house of Jesus, which indeed was a large castle, and made no way like a citizen; so they privately led a band of armed men therein, and shut all the other doors but one, which they kept open, and they expected that I should come out of the road to them, to salute them; and indeed they had given orders to the armed men, that when I came they should let nobody besides me come in, but should exclude others; as supposing that, by this means, they should easily get me under their power: but they were deceived in their expectation, for I perceived what snares they had laid for me. Now, as soon as I was got off my journey, I took up my lodgings over against them, and pretended to be asleep; so Jonathan and his party, thinking that I was really asleep and at rest, made haste to go down into the plain to persuade the people that I was an ill governor: but the matter proved otherwise; for, upon their appearance, there was a cry made by the Galileans immediately, declaring their good opinion of me as their governor; and they made a clamour against Jonathan and his partners for coming to them when they had suffered no harm, and as though they would overturn their happy settlement; and desired them by all means to go back again, for that they would never be persuaded to have any other rule over them but myself. When I heard of this, I did not fear to go down into the midst of them; I went therefore myself down presently, to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately an acclamation made to me by the whole multitude, and a cry in my commendation by them, who confessed their former mistake was owing to me for my good government of them.

49. When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were in fear of their own lives, and in danger lest they should be assaulted by the Galileans on my account; so they contrived how they might run away; but as they were not able to get off, for I desired them to stay, they looked down with concern at my words to them. I ordered, therefore, the multitude to restrain entirely, their acclamations, and placed the most faithful of my armed men upon the avenues, to be a guard to us, and John should speak to them in my name; and I encouraged the Galileans to take their men out lest they should be disturbed at their enemies, if any sudden insult should be made upon them; and then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their former letter, and after what manner they had written to me, and declared they were sent by the common consent of the people of Jerusalem, to make up the differences I had with John, and how they had desired me to come to them; and as I spoke thus, I publicly showed that letter they had written, till they could not at all deny what they had done, that letter itself convicting them. I then said, O Jonathan and his companions, and those that are sent with him as his colleagues, if I were to be judged as to my behaviour, compared with that of John’s, and had brought no more than two or three witnesses,† good men and true, it is plain you had been forced, upon the examination of their characters beforehand, to discharge the accusations: that, wherefore, you may be informed that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three witnesses too few to be brought by a man that hath done as he ought to do; so I gave you all these for witnesses. Inquire of them how I have lived, and whether I have not behaved myself with all deceny, and after a virtuous manner among them. And I farther conjure you, O Galileans I to hide no part of the truth, but to speak before these men as before.

* Josephus's directions to his soldiers here are much the same that John Chrysostom gives (Luke iii. 14); and the violence he was in is likewise expressed very plainly, and so content with your wages. Whence Dr. Hud- son pronounces this conjecture, that Josephus, in some things, was even now, a follower of John the Baptist, which is no way improbable. John the Baptist, which is no way improbable.

† We have been the practice of the Jews, in the days of Josephus, to inquire into the characters of witnesses before they were admitted; and that their number ought to be three, or two at the least, also exactly in the law of Moses, and in the Apostolical Constitutions, b. ii. ch. xxvii., 27. See Herb Covenant Revised, page 87, 98. 14. His appeal to the whole body of witnesses, is very like that appeal and testimony in the case of the prophet Samuel (1 Samuel xii. 12) and perhaps was done by Josephus as in imitation of him.
judges, whether I have in any thing acted otherwise than well."

50. While I was thus speaking, the united voices of all the people jostled together, and called me their Benefactor and Saviour, and attested to my former behaviour, and exhorted me to continue so to do hereafter; and they all said, upon their oaths, that their wives had been preserved free from injuries, and that no one had ever been aggrieved by me. After this, I read to the Galileans two of those epistles which had been sent by Jonathan and his colleagues, and which those whom I had appointed to guard the road had taken, and sent to me. These were full of reproaches and of lies, as if I had acted more like a tyrant than a governor against them; with many other things besides therein contained, which were no better indeed than impudent falsities. I also informed the multitude how I came by these letters, and that those who carried them delivered them up voluntarily; for I was not willing that my enemies should know any thing of the guards I had set, lest they should be afraid, and leave the road hereafter.

51. When the multitude heard these things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan and his colleagues that were with him, and were going to attack them, and kill them; and this they had certainly done, unless I had restrained the anger of the Galileans, and said, that "I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues what was past, if they would repent, and go to their own country, and tell those who sent them the truth, as to my conduct." When I had said this, I let them go, although I knew they would do nothing of what they had promised. But the multitude were very much enraged against them, and entreated me to give them leave to punish them for their insolvency; yet did I try all methods to persuade them to spare the men; for I knew that every instance of sedition was pernicious to the public welfare. But the multitude was too angry with them to be dissuaded; and all of them went immediately to the house in which Jonathan and his colleagues abode. However, when I perceived that their rage could not be restrained, I got on horseback, and ordered the multitude to follow me to the village Sogane, which was twenty furlongs off Gabara; and by using this stratagem, I so managed myself, as not to appear to begin a civil war amongst them.

52. But when I was come near Sogane, I caused the multitude to make a halt, and exhorted them not to be so easily provoked to anger, and to the inflicting such punishments as could not be afterwards recalled: I also gave order, that a hundred men, who were already in years, and were principal men among them, should get themselves ready to go to the city of Jerusalem, and should make a complaint before the people, of such as raised seditions in the country. And I said to them, that "in case they be moved with what you say, you shall desire the community to write to me, and to enjoin me to continue in Galilee, and to order Jonathan and his colleagues to depart out of it." When I had suggested these instructions to them, and while they were getting themselves ready as fast as they could, I sent them on this errand the third day after they had been assembled: I also sent five hundred armed men with them [as a guard], I then wrote to my friends in Samaria, to take care that they might safely pass through the country; for S— was ready under the Romans, and it was absolutely necessary for those that go quickly [to Jerusalem] to pass through that country; for in that road you may, in three days' time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also went myself, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee, and set guards in the roads, that it might not be easily known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had thus done, I went and abode at Japho.

53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues, having failed of accomplishing what they would have done against me, sent John back to Gischala, but went themselves to the city of Tiberias, expecting it would submit itself to them; and this was founded on a letter which Jesus, their then governor, had written them, promising that, if they came, the multitude would receive them, and choose to be under their government; so they went their ways with this expectation. But Silas, who, as I said, had been left curator of Tiberias by me, informed me of this, and desired me, in a letter, to comply with his advice immediately, and came thither; but found myself in danger of my life, from the following occasion: Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias, and had persuaded a great many of such as had acquitted me to desert me; but when they heard of my coming, they were in fear for themselves, and came to me; and when they had saluted me, they said that I was a happy man in having behaved myself so well in the government of Galilee; and they congratulated me upon the honours that were paid me: for they said that my glory was a credit to them, since they had been my teachers and fellow-citizens; and they said farther, that it was but just that they should prefer my friendship to them rather than John's; and that they would have immediately gone home, but that they feared that they might deliver up John into my power; and when they said this, they took their oaths of it, and those such as are most tremendous amongst us, and such as I did not think fit to disbelieve. However, they desired me to lodge somewhere else, because the next day was the Sabbath; and that it was not fit the city of Tiberias should be disturbed [on that day].

54. So I suspected nothing, and went away to Taricheae: yet did withal leave some to make inquiry in the city how matters went, and whether any thing was said about me: I also set many persons all the way that led from Taricheae to Tiberiens, that they might communicate from one to another, if they learned any news from those that were left in the city. On the next day, therefore, they all came into the Proseucha; it was a large edifice, and capable of receiving a great number of people; thither Jonathan went in, and though he durst not openly speak of a revolt, yet did he say that their city stood in need of a better governor than it then had. But Jesus, who was the ruler, made no scruple to speak out, and said openly, "O fellow-citizens, it is better for you to be in subjection to four than to one; and those such as are of high birth, and not without reputation for their wisdom," and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. Upon his
saying this, Justus came in and commended him for what he had said, and persuaded some of the people to be of his mind also. But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and had certainly gone into a tumult, unless the sixth hour, which was now come, had not dissolved the assembly, at which hour our laws require us to go to dinner on Sabbath-days; so Jonathan and his colleagues put off their council till the next day, and went off without success. When I was informed of these affairs, I determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Accordingly, on the next day, about the first hour of the day, I came from Taricheae, and found the multitude must have been in the Prosenecha; but on what account they were gotten together, those that were assembled did not know. But when Jonathan and his colleagues saw me there unexpectedly, they were in disorder; after which they raised a report of their own contrivance, that Roman horsemen were seen at a place called Union, in the borders of Galilee, thirty furlongs distant from the city. Upon which report, Jonathan and his colleagues cunningly exhorted me not to neglect this matter, nor to suffer the land to be spoiled by the enemy. And thus they said with a design to remove me out of the city, under pretence of the want of extraordinary assistance, while they might dispose the city to be my enemy.

55. As for myself, although I knew of their design, yet did I comply with what they proposed, lest the people of Tiberias should have occasion to suppose that I was not careful of their scrutiny. I therefore went out; but, when I was at the place, I found not the least footsteps of any enemy; so I returned as fast as ever I could, and found the whole council assembled, and the body of the people gotten together; and Jonathan and his colleagues bringing vehement accusations against me, as one who had no concern to ease them of the burdens of war, and as one that lived luxuriously. And as they were discoursing thus, they produced four letters written to them, from some people that lived at the borders of Galilee, imploring that they would come to their assistance, for that there was an army of Romans, both horsemen and footmen, who would come and lay waste the country on the third day; they desired them also to make haste, and not to overlook them. When the people of Tiberias heard this, they thought they spake truth, and made a clamour against me, and said I ought not to sit still, but to go away to the assistance of their countrymen. Hereupon I said (for I understood the meaning of Jonathan and his colleagues) that I was ready to comply with what they proposed, and without delay to march to the war which they spake of, yet did I advise them at the same time, that since these letters declared that the Romans would make their assault in four several places, they should part their forces into five bodies, and make Jonathan and his colleagues generals of each body of them, because it was fit for brave men not only to give counsel, but to take the place of leaders, and assist their countrymen when such a necessity pressed them; for, said I, it is not possible for me to lead more than one party. This advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude; so they compelled them to go forth to the war. But their designs were put into very much disorder, because they had not done what they had designed to do, on account of my stragglers, which was opposed to their undertakings.

56. Now there was one whose name was Ananias (a wicked man he was, and very mischievous); he proposed that a general religious fast should be appointed the next day for all the people, and gave order that at the same hour they should come to the same place, without any weapons, to make it manifest before God, that while they obtained his assistance, they thought all these weapons useless. This he said, not out of piety, but that they might catch me and my friends unarmed. Now, I was hereupon forced to comply, lest I should appear to despise a proposal that tended to piety. As soon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and his colleagues went to John in the morning, and desiring him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could, for that they should then be able easily to get me into their hands, and to do all they desired to do.—When John had received this letter, he resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I esteemed the most courageous and the most faithful, to hide daggers under their garments, and go along with me, that we might defend ourselves, if any attack should be made upon us by our enemies. I also myself took my breastplate, and girded on my sword, so that it might be, as far as it was possible, concealed, and came into the Prosenecha.

57. Now Jesus, who was the ruler, commanded that they should exclude all that came with me, for he kept the door himself, and suffered none but his friends to go in. And while we were engaged in the duties of the day, and had betaken ourselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me what was become of the vessels that were taken out of the king's palace when it was burnt down, [and] of the uncoined silver; and in whose possession they now were! This he said, in order to drive away time till John should come. I said that Capellus, and the ten principal men of Tiberias, had them all; and I told him that they might ask them whether I told a lie or not. And when they said they had them, he asked me, What is become of those twenty pieces of gold which thou didst receive upon the sale of a certain weight of uncoined money! I replied, that I had given them to those ambassadors of theirs, as a maintenance for them, when they were sent by them to Jerusalem. So Jonathan and his colleagues said that I had not done well to pay the ambassadors out of the public money. And when the multitude were very angry at them for this, for they perceived the wickedness of the men, I understood that a tumult was going to arise; and being desirous to provoke the people to a greater rage against the men, I said, But if I have not done well in paying our ambassadors out of the public stock, leave off your anger at me, for I will repay the twenty pieces of gold myself.

58. When I had said this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their peace; but the people were still more irritated against them, upon their openly showing their unjust ill-will to me. When Jesus saw this change in the people, he ordered them to depart, but desired the senate to stay, for that they could not examine things of such a nature in a tumult; and as the people were crying out that they would not leave me alone, there came one and told Jesus and his friends privately, that John and...
his armed men were at hand; whereupon Jonathan and his colleagues, being able to contain themselves no longer, and perhaps the providence of God hereby procuring my deliverance, for, had not this been so, I had certainly been destroyed by John), said, "O you people of Tiberias! leave off this inquiry about the twenty pieces of gold; for Josephus hath not deserved to die for them; but he hath deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitude of the Galileans with his speeches, in order to gain the dominion over them." When he had said this, they presently laid hands upon me, and endeavoured to kill me; but as soon as those who were with me saw what they did, they drew their swords, and threatened to smite them, if they offered any violence to me. The people also took up stones, and were about to throw them at Jonathan; and so they snatched me from the violence of my enemies.

59. But as I was gone out a little way, I was just upon meeting John, who was marching with his armed men. So I was afraid of him, and turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, and seized on a ship, and embarked in it, and sailed over to Taricheae. So, beyond my expectation, I escaped from the gallant horsemen that were sent for the chief of the Galileans, and told them after what manner, against all faith given, I had been very near to destruction from Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. Upon which the multitude of the Galileans were very angry, and encouraged me to delay no longer to make war upon them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly to destroy him, as well as Jonathan and his colleagues. However, I restrained them, though they were in such a rage, and desired them to tarry a while, till we should be informed what orders those ambassadors that were sent by them to the city of Jerusalem should bring thence; for I told them that it was best to act according to their determination; whereupon they were prevailed on. At which time also, John, when the snares he had laid did not take effect, returned back to Gischala.

60. Now, in a few days those ambassadors whom we had sent, came back again and informed us that the people were greatly provoked at Amanus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, and their friends; that, without any public determination, they had sent to Galilee, and had done their endeavours that I might be turned out of the government. The ambassadors said farther, that the people were ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the chief men of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the people, confirmed me in the government of Galilee, and enjoined Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had gotten these letters, I came to the village Arbela, where I procured an assembly of the Galileans to meet, and bid the ambassadors declare to them the anger of the people of Jerusalem at what had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and how much they hated their wicked doings, and how they had confirmed me in the government of their country, as also what related to the order they had in writing for Jonathan and his colleagues to return home. So I immediately sent them the letter, and bid him that carried it to inquire, as well as he could, how they intended to act [on this occasion].

61. Now when they had received that letter, they greatly disturbed, they sent for John, and for the senators of Tiberias, and for the principal men of the Gabarens, and proposed to hold a council, and desired them to consider what was to be done by them. However, the governors of Tiberias were greatly disposed to keep the government to themselves; for they said it was not fit to desert their city, now it was committed to their trust, and that otherwise I should not delay to fall upon them; for they pretended falsely that so I had threatened to do. Now John was not only of their opinion, but advised them, that two of them should go to accuse me before the multitude, [at Jerusalem], that I do not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do; and also that they should easily persuade the people, because of their dignity, and because the whole multitude are very mutable.

—When, therefore, it appeared that John had suggested the wisest advice to them, they resolved that two of them, Jonathan and Amanias, should go to the people of Jerusalem, and the other two, [Simon and Joazar] should be left behind to tarry at Tiberias. They also took along with them a hundred soldiers for their guard.

62. However, the governors of Tiberias, took care to have their city fortified with walls, and to stand in theirBizantines to take their arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from John, to assist them against me, if there should be occasion for them. Now John was at Gischala. Jonathan, therefore, and those that were with him, when they were departed from Tiberias, and as soon as they were come to Dabaritta, a village that lay in the utmost parts of Galilee, in the great plain, they, about midnight, fell among the guards I had set, who both commanded them to lay aside their weapons, and kept them in bonds upon the place, as I had charged them to do. This news was written to me by Levi, who had the command of that guard committed to him by me. Hereupon I said nothing of it for two days; and, pretending to know nothing about it, I sent a message to the people of Tiberias, and advised them to lay their arms aside, and to dismiss their men, that they might go home; but supposing that Jonathan, and those that were with him, were already arrived at Jerusalem, they made reproachful answers to me; yet was I not terrified thereby, but contrived another stratagem against them; for I did not think it agreeable with piety to kindle the fire of war against the citizens. As I was desirous to draw those men away from Tiberias, as I chose out ten thousand of the best of my armed men, and divided them into three bodies, and ordered them to go privately, and lie still as an ambush, in the villages. I also led a thousand into another village, which lay indeed in the mountains, as did the others, but only four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and gave orders, that when they saw my signal, they should come down immediately, while I myself lay with my soldiers in the sight of every body. Hereupon the people of Tiberias, at the sight of me, came running out of the city perpetually, and dashed one another. Nay, their madness was come to that height, that they made a decent bier for me, and, standing about it, they mourned over me in the way of jest and sport; and I could not but be myself in a pleasant humour upon the sight of this madness of theirs.

63. And now being desirous to catch Simon by a wile, and Joazar with him, I sent a message to them, and desired them to come a little way out of the city, and many of their friends to guard them;
for I said I would come down to them, and make a
league with them, and divide the government of
Galilee with them. Accordingly Simon was deluded,
on account of his imprudence, and out of the hopes
of gain, and did not delay to come; but Joazar,
suspecting snares were laid for him, stood behind.
So when Simon was come out, and his friends with
him for his guard, I met him, and dissuaded him
with great civility, and professed that I was obliged to
him for his coming up to me; but a little while
afterward I walked along with him, as though I
would say something to him by myself; but when I
had drawn him a good way from his friends, I
took him about the middle, and gave him to my
friends that were with me, to carry him into a vil-
lage; and commanding my armed men to come
down, I with them made an assault upon Tiberias.
Now, as the fight grew hot on both sides, and the
soldiers belonging to Tiberias were in a fair way
to conquer me (for my armed men were already fled
away), I saw the posture of my affairs; and encou-
raging those that were with me, I pursued those of
Tiberias, even when they were already conquerors,
into the city. I also sent another band of soldiers
into the city by the lake, and gave orders that
set fire the first house they could seize upon.
When this was done the people of Tiberias thought
that their city was taken by force, and so threw
down their arms for fear; and implored, they, their
wives, and children, that I would spare their city.
So I was over-persuaded by their entreaties, and
restrained the soldiers from the vehemency with
which they pursued them; while I myself, upon
the coming on of the evening, returned back with
my soldiers, and went to refresh myself. I also in-
vited Simon to sup with me, and comforted him on
occasion of what had happened; and I promised
that I would send him safe and secure to Jerusalem,
and withal would give him provisions for his jour-
nethither.

64. But on the next day, I brought ten thousand
armed men with me, and came to Tiberias. I then
sent for the principal men of the multitude into the
public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were
the authors of the revolt; and when they told me
who the men were, I sent them bound to the city
Jotapata; but, as to Jonathan and Annias, I freed
them from their bonds, and gave them provi-
sions for their journey, together with Simon and
Joazar, and five hundred armed men who should
guard them; and so I sent them to Jerusalem.
The people of Tiberias also came to me again, and
desired that I would forgive them for what they had
done; and they said they would amend what they
had done amiss with regard to me, by their fidelity
for the time to come; and they besought me to pre-
serve what spoils remained upon the plunder of the
city, for those that had lost them. Accordingly,
I enjoined those that had got them, to bring them
all before us; and when they did not comply for a
great while, and I saw one of the soldiers that were
about me with a garment on that was more splen-
did than ordinary, I asked him whence he had it;
and when he replied that he had it out of the plun-
der of the city, I had him punished with stripes;
and I threatened all the rest to inflict a severer
punishment upon them, unless they produced before
me whatsoever they had plundered; and when a
great many spoils were brought together, I restored
to every one of Tiberias what they claimed to be
their own.

65. And now I am come to this part of my nar-
rative, I have a mind to say a few things to Justus,
who hath himself written a history concerning these
affairs; as also to others who profess to write his-
tory, but have little regard to truth, and are not
afraid, either out of ill-will or good-will to some
persons, to relate falsehoods. These men do like
those who compose forged deeds and conveyances;
and because they are not brought to the like pun-
ishment with them, they have no regard to truth.
When, therefore, Justus undertook to write about
these facts, and about the Jewish war, that he might
appear to have been an industrious man, he falsi-
ﬁed in what he related about me, and could not
speak truth even about his own country; whence it
is that, being belied by him, I am under a neces-
sity to make my defence; and so I shall say what
I have concealed till now; and let no one wonder
that I have not told the world these things a great
while ago; for although it be necessary for a histo-
rian to write the truth, yet is such a one not bound
severely to animadvert on the wickedness of certain
men,—not out of any favour to them, but out of
his author's own good name. Here then comes it
to pass, O Justus! thou most assiduous of writers,
(that I may address myself to him as if he were
here present), for so thou bestost of thyself, that
I and the Galileans have been the authors of that
sedition which thy country engaged in, both against
the Romans and against the king [Agrippa, junior
—for before ever I was appointed governor of Gal-
ilee by the community of Jerusalem, both thou
and all the people of Tiberias had not only taken up
arms, but had made war with Decapolis of Syria.
Accordingly, thou hast ordered their villages to
be burnt, and a domestic servant of thine fell in the
battle. Nor is it I only who say this; but so it is
written in the Commentaries of Vespasian, the
emporer; as also how the inhabitants of Decapolis
came clamouring to Vespasian at Ptolemais, and
desired that thou, who wast the author [of that
war], mightst be brought to punishment; and thou
hadst certainly been punished at the command of
Vespasian, had not king Agrippa, who had power
given him to have thee put to death, at the earnest
entreaty of his sister Bernice, changed the punish-
ment from death into a long imprisonment. Thy
political admiral in those days, who was industri-
ous, could also clearly discover both thy other behav-
ior in life, and that thou wast the occasion of thy country's
revolt from the Romans; plain signs of which I
shall produce presently. I have also a mind to say
a few things to the rest of the people of Tiberias on
thy account; and to demonstrate to those that light
upon this history, that you bare no good-will, nei-
ther to the Romans nor to the king. To be sure,
the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus! were Sep-
phoris, and thy country Tiberias; but Sepphoris,
situated in the very midst of Galilee, and having
many villages about it, and able with ease to have
been bold and troublesome to the Romans, if they
had so pleased,—yet did it resolve to continue
faithful to those their masters, and at the same
time excluded me out of their city, and prohibited
all their citizens from joining with the Jews in the
war; and, that they might be out of danger from
me, they, by a wile, got leave of me to fortify their
city with walls: they also, of their own accord, ad-
mited of a garrison of Roman legions, sent them
by Cestius Gallus, who was then president of Syria,
and so had me in contempt, though I was then very
powerful, and all were greatly afraid of me; and at the same time that the greatest of our cities, Jerusalem, was besieged, and that temple of ours, which belonged to us all, was in danger of falling under the enemy's power, they sent no assistance thither, as not willing to have it thought they would bear arms against the Romans; but as for thy country, O Justus! I situate upon the lake of Genesareth, and distant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara, sixty, and from Seytholphus, which was under the king's jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty; when there was no Jewish city near, it might easily have preserved its fidelity [to the emperor], if it had so pleased them to do so; and as the city and its people had been trained to arms; but, as thou sayest, I was the author [of their revolt]; and pray, O Justus! who was that author afterwards?—for thou knowest that I was in the power of the Romans before Jerusalem was besieged, and before the same time Jotapata was taken by force, as well as many other fortresses, and a great many of the Galileans fell in the war. It was therefore then a proper time, when you were certainly freed from any fear on my account, to throw away your weapons, and to demonstrate to the king and to the Romans that there was not one choice but as forced by necessity, that you fell into the war against them; but you stand till Vespasian came himself as far as your walls, with his whole army; and then you did indeed lay aside your weapons out of fear, and your city had for certain been taken by force, unless Vespasian had complied with the king's supplication for you, and had excused your madness. It was not I, therefore, who was the author of this, but your own inclinations to war. Do not you remember how often I got you under my power, and yet put none of you to death? Nay, you once fell into a tumult one against another, and slew one hundred and eighty-five of your citizens, not on account of your good-will to the king and the Romans, but on account of your own wickedness, and this while I was besieged by the Romans in Jotapata. Nay, indeed, were there not reckoned up two thousand of the people of Tiberias during the siege of Jerusalem, some of whom were slain, and the rest caught and carried captive! But thou wilt pretend that thou didst not engage in the war, since thou didst flee to the king. Yes, indeed, thou didst flee to him; but I say it was out of fear of me. Thou sayest, indeed, that it is I who am a wicked man. But then, for what reason was it that king Agrippa, who procured thee thy life when thou wast condemned to die by Vespasian, and who bestowed so much riches upon thee, did twice afterward put thee in bonds, and as often obliged thee to run away from thy country, and, when he had once ordered thee to be put to death, he granted thee a pardon at the earnest desire of Bernice! And when (after so many of thy wicked pranks) he had made thee his secretary, he caught thee falsifying his epistles, and drove thee away from his sight. But I shall not inquire accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet cannot I but wonder at thy impudence, when thou hast the assurance to say, that thou hast better related these affairs [of the war] than have all the others that have written about them, whilst thou didst not know what was done in Galilee; for thou wast then at Bereynes with the king; nor didst thou know how much the city was concerned at the siege of Jotapata, or what was brought upon us; nor couldst thou learn by inquiry what I did during that siege myself; for all those that might afford such information were quite destroyed in that siege. But perhaps thou wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against the people of Jerusalem exactly. But how should that be? for neither was thou concerned in that war, nor hast thou read the commentaries of Caesar; of which we have evident proof, because thou hast contradicted those commentaries of Caesar in thy history. But if thou art so hardy as to affirm that thou hast written that history better than all the rest, why didst thou not publish thy history while the emperors Vespasian and Titus, the generals in that war, as well as king Agrippa and his family, who were men very well skilled in the learning of the Greeks, were alive; for thou hast had it written these twenty years, and then mightst thou have had the testimony of thy accuracy. But now when these men are no longer with us, and thou thinkest thou canst not be contradicted, thou venturest to publish it. But then I was not in like manner afraid of my own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themselves, when the facts were already under men's eyes. For I was conscious to myself that I had observed the truth of the facts; and as I expected to have their attestation to them, so I was not deceived in such expectation. Moreover, I immediately presented my history to many other persons, some of whom were concerned in the war, as was king Agrippa, and some of his kindred. Now the emperor Titus was so desirous that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from these books alone, that he subscribed his own hand to them, and ordered that they should be published; and for king Agrippa, he wrote messy two letters, and attached to the truth of the facts two of which letters I have here subjoined; and thou mayst thereby know their contents—"King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting. I have read over thy book with great pleasure, and it appears to me that thou hast done it much more accurately, and with greater care, than have the other writers. Send me the rest of these books. Farewell, my dear friend." King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting. It seems by what thou hast written, that thou standest in need of no instruction, in order to our information from the beginning. However, when thou comest to me, I will inform thee of a very great many things which thou dost not know." So when this history was perfected, Agrippa, neither by way of flattery, which was not agreeable to him, nor by way of irony, as thou wilt say, for he was entirely a stranger to such an evil disposition of mind, but he wrote this by way of attestation to what was true, as all that read histories may do. And so much shall be said concerning Justus, which I am obliged to add by way of digression.  

* The character of this history of Justin of Tiberias, the rival of our Josephus, which is now lost, with its only remaining fragment, are given us by a very able critic, Photius, who read that history. It is in the midst of one of his histories, and runs thus: "I saw a history of Justin of Tiberias, whose title in this, [The Chronology of the Reigns of the Kings of Judah, which consecrated the history of Tiberias, and composed one of the History of the Jews, and the city of Tiberias in Galilee. He begins his history from Moses, and runs down to the death of Agrippa, the seventh (124) of the family of Herod, and the last king of the Jews; who died in the third year of Tiberias, under the pontificate of the emperor Claudius, under whom the islands, and all the Roman provinces, were held under a very severe rule; and here Justin, who was composed by his history. He is very concise in his language, and slightly written for the sincerity of his writing, which, as was usual among the Jews, being under the Jewish prejudices, as indeed he was himself also a Jew, had been without blame; and he does not treat the least thing, without either relating or reporting what things happened to him, or of the wonderful works that he did. He was the son of a certain Jew, whose name was Petus. He was a man, as he is described by Josephus, of a most prudent character; and he was born both to money and to pleasure. In public affairs he was opposi
66. Now, when I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and had assembled my friends as a sanhedrim, I consulted what I should do as to John; whereupon it appeared to be the opinion of all the Galileans that I should arm them all, and march against John, and punish him as the author of all the disorders that had happened. Yet was not I pleased with their determination; as purposing to compose these troubles without bloodshed. Upon this I exhorted them to use the utmost care to learn the names of those who were under John; which when they had done, and I thereby was apprized whom the men were, I published an edict, wherein I offered security and my right hand to such of John's party as had a mind to repent; and I allowed twenty days' time to such as would take this most advantageous course for themselves. I also threatened, that unless they threw down their arms, I would burn their houses, and expose their goods to public sale. When the men heard of this, they were in no small disorder, and deserted John; and to the number of four thousand threw down their arms, and came to me. So that no others staid with him, except his citizens, and about fifteen hundred strangers that came from the metropolis of Tyre; and when John saw that he had been outwitted by my stratagem, he continued afterward in his own country, and was in great fear of me.

67. But about this time it was that the people of Sepphoris grew insolent, and took up arms, out of a confidence they had in the strength of their walls, and because they saw me engaged in other affairs also. So they sent to Cestius Gallus, who was president of Syria, and desired that he would either come quickly to them, and take their city under his protection, or send them a garrison. Accordingly Gallus promised them to come, but did not send word when he would come; and when I had learned so much, I took the soldiers that were with me, and made an assault upon the people of Sepphoris, and took the city by force. The Galileans took this opportunity, as thinking they had now a proper time for shewing their hatred to them, since they bore ill-will to that city also. They then exerted themselves, as if they would destroy them all utterly, with those that sojourned there also. So they ran upon them, and set their houses on fire, as finding them without inhabitants; for the men, out of fear, ran toward the city to take shelter. So the Galileans carried off every thing, and omitted no kind of desolation which they could bring upon their countrymen. When I saw this, I was exceedingly troubled at it, and commanded them to leave off, and put them in mind that it was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen: but since they neither would hear to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do (for the hatred they bore to the people there was too hard for my exhortations to them), I bade those my friends, who were most faithful to me, and were about me, to give out reports, as if the Romans were falling upon the other part of the city with a great army; and this I did, that, by such a report being spread abroad, I might restrain the violence of the Galileans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. And at length this stratagem had its effect; for, upon hearing this report, they were in fear for themselves, and so they left off plundering, and ran away; and this more especially, because they saw me, their general, do the same also; for, that I might cause this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they.—Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved by this contrivance of mine.

68. Nay, indeed, Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the Galileans also upon the following occasion:—The chief men of the senate wrote to the king, and desired that he would come to them, and take possession of their city. The king promised to come, and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, and gave it to one of his bed-chamber, whose name was Crispus, and who was by birth a Jew, to carry it to Tiberias. When the Galileans knew that this man carried such a letter, they caught him and brought him to me; but as soon as the whole multitude heard of it, they were enraged, and betook themselves to their arms. So great many of them got together from all quarters the next day, and came to the city Asochia, where I then lodged, and made heavy clamours, and called the city of Tiberias a traitor to them, and friend to the king; and desired leave of me to go down and utterly destroy it; for they bore the like ill-will to the people of Tiberias as they did to those of Sepphoris.

69. When I heard this, I was in doubt what to do, and hesitated by what means I might deliver Tiberias from the rage of the Galileans; for I could not deny that those of Tiberias had written to the king, and invited him to come to them; for his letters to them, in answer thereto, would fully prove the truth of that. So I set some, to rouse the multitude with myself, and then said to them, "I know well enough that the people of Tiberias have offended; nor shall I forbade you to plunder the city. However, such things ought to be done with discretion; for they of Tiberias have not been the only betrayers of our liberty, but many of the most eminent patriots of the Galileans, as they pretended to be, have done the same. Tarry therefore till I shall thoroughly find out those authors of our danger and then you shall have them all at once under your power, with all such as you shall yourselves discover in also." And when I had pacified the multitude, and they left off their anger, and went their ways; and I gave orders that he who brought the king's letters should be put into bonds; but in a few days I pretended that I was obliged, by a necessary affair of my own, to go out of the kingdom. I then called Crispus privately, and ordered him to make the soldier that kept him drunk, and to run away to the king. So when Tiberias was in danger of being utterly destroyed a second time, it escaped the danger by my skilful management, and the care that I had for its preservation.

70. About this time it was that Justus, the son of Piatus, without my knowledge, ran away to the king; the occasion of which I will here relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the people of Tiberias resolved to submit to the king, and not to revolt from the Romans; while Justus tried to persuade them to take themselves to their arms, as being himself desirous of innovations, and having hopes of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country (Tiberias) also. Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for, because the Galileans bore no
will to those of Tiberias, and this on account of their anger at what miseries they had suffered from them before the war; thence it was that they would not endure that Justus should take their government. I myself also, who had been intrusted by the community of Jerusalem with the government of Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Justus, that I had almost resolved to kill him, as not able to bear his mischievous disposition. He was therefore much afraid of me, lest at length my passion should come to extremity; so he went to the king, as supposing that he would dwell better and more safely with him.

71. Now when the people of Sepphoris had, in so surprising a manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus, and desired him to come to them immediately, and take possession of their city, or else to send forces sufficient to repress all the enemies’ incursions upon them; and at the last they did prevail with Gallus to send them a considerable army, both of horse and foot, which came in the night-time, and which they admitted into the city. But when the country round about it was harassed by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about me, and came to Garisme, where I cast up a bank, a good way off the city Sepphoris; and when I was at twenty furlongs distance, I came upon it by night, and made an assault upon its walls with my forces: and when I had ordered a considerable number of my soldiers to scale them with ladders, I became master of the greatest part of the city. But soon after, our unacquaintances with the places forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman footmen, and two horsemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris, with the loss of only a single man of our own. And when it afterwards came to a battle in the plain against the horsemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageously for a long time, we were beaten; for upon the Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were afraid, and fell back. There fell in that battle one of them that had been intrusted to guard my body; his name was Justus, who at this time had the same post with the king. At the same time also there came forces, both horsemen and footmen, from the king, and Sylla their commander, who was the captain of his guard; this Sylla pitched his camp at five furlongs’ distance from Julias, and set a guard upon the roads, both that which led to Cana, and that which led to the fortress Gamala, that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting provisions out of Galilee.

72. As soon as I had got intelligence of this, I sent two thousand armed men, and a captain over them, whose name was Jeremiah, who raised a bank a furlong off Julias, near to the river Jordan, and did no more than skirmish with the enemy; till I took three thousand soldiers myself, and came to them. But on the next day, when I had laid an ambush in a certain valley, not far from the banks, I provoked those that belonged to the king to come to a battle, and the number of my soldiers to turn their backs upon them, until they should be thus driven away from their camp, and brought them out into the field, which was done accordingly; for Sylla, supposing that our party did really run away, was ready to pursue them, when our soldiers that lay in ambush took them on their backs, and put them all into great disorder. I also immediately made a sudden turn with my own forces, and met those of the king’s party, and put them to flight. And I had performed great things that day, as if a certain fate had not been my hindrance; for the king himself, and upon whose back I fought, fell into a quagmire, and died on the ground; and I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a village named Cephamone, or Capernaum. When my soldiers heard of this, they were afraid I had been worse hurt than I was; and so they did not go on with their pursuit any farther, but returned in very great concern for me. I therefore sent for the physicians, and while I was under their hands, I continued feverish that day; and as the physicians directed, I was that night removed to Tarichea.

73. When Sylla and his party were informed what had happened to me, they took courage again, and understanding that the watch was negligently kept in our camp, they by night placed a body of horsemen in ambush beyond Jordan, and when it was day they provoked us to fight; and as we did not refuse it, but came into the plain, their horsemen appeared out of that ambush in which they had lain, and put our men into disorder, and made them run away; so they slew six men of our side. Yet did they not go off with the victory at last; for when they heard that some armed men were sailed from Tarichea to Julias, they were afraid, and retired.

74. It was not now long before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king Agrippa with him: but the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully of the king, and called him an enemy to the Romans; for they said that Philip, the general of his army, had betrayed the royal palace and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem, and that it was done by his command. When Vespasian heard of this report, he rebuked the Tyrians for abusing a man who was both a king and a friend to the Romans; but he exhorted the king to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But when Philip was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he found him very near death, on account of the troubles that then happened, and a civil war; and so he returned to the king. But when Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, the chief men of Decapolis of Syria made a clamour against Justus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire: so Vespasian delivered him to the king, to be put to death by those under the king’s jurisdiction; yet did the king only put him into bonds, and concealed what he had done from Vespasian, as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent him, with Placidus their commander: he also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, and after what manner it was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me near the village Tarichea, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and how I was taken alive, and bound, and how I was afterward loosed, with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem, I have already said more than was contained in the books concerning the War of the Jews. However, it will be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life which I have not related in that book of the Jewish war.

75. For, when the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was kept with much care, by means of the great respect that Ves-
there, he gave me another country in the plains, and, when he was going away to Rome, he made choice of me to sail along with him, and paid me great respect; and when we were come to Rome, I had great care taken of me by Vespasian; for he gave me an apartment in his own house, which he lived in before he came to the empire. He also honoured me with the privilege of a Roman citizen, and gave me an annual pension; and continued to respect me to the end of his life, without any abatement of his kindness to me; which very thing made me envied, and brought me into danger; for a certain Jew, whose name was Jonathan, who had raised a tumult in Cyrene, and had persuaded two thousand men of that country to join with him, was the occasion of their ruin; but when he was bound by the governor of that country, and sent to the emperor, he told him that I had sent him both weapons and money. However, he could not conceal his being a liar from Vespasian, who condemned him to die; according to which sentence he was put to death. Nay, after that, when those that envied my good fortune did frequently bring accusations against me, by God's providence I escaped them all. I also received from Vespasian no small quantity of land, as a free gift, in Judæa; about which time I divorced my wife also, as not pleased with her behaviour, though not till she had been the mother of three children; two of whom are dead, and one, whom I had named Hyrcanus, is alive. After this I married a wife who had lived at Crete, but a Jewess by birth: a woman she was of eminent parents, and such as were the most illustrious in all the country, and whose character was beyond that of most other women, as her future life did demonstrate. By her I had two sons; the elder's name was Justus, and the next Simonides, who was also named Agrippa; and these were the circumstances of my domestic affairs. However, the kindness of the emperor to me continued still the same; for when Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the government, kept up the same respect for me which I had from his father; and when I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not believe them: and Domitian, who succeeded, still augmented his respects to me; for he punished those Jews that were my accusers; and gave command that a servant of mine, who was a eunuch, and my accuser, should be punished. He also made that country I had in Judæa, tax-free, which is a mark of the greatest honour to him who hath it; and Domitia, the wife of Caesar, continued to do me kindnesses: And this is the account of my whole life; and let others judge of my character by them as they please; but to thee, O Epaphroditus, thou most excellent of men I do dedicate all this treatise of our Antiquities; and so, for the present, I here conclude the whole.
THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

PREFACE.*

§ 1. Those who undertake to write histories, do not, I perceive, take that trouble on one and the same account, but for many reasons, and those such as are very different one from another; for some of them apply themselves to this part of learning to show their skill in composition, and that they may therein acquire a reputation for speaking finely; others of them there are who write histories in order to gratify those that happened to be concerned in them, and on that account have spared no pains, but rather gone beyond their own abilities in the performance; but others there are, who, of necessity and by force, are driven to write history, because they are concerned in the facts, and so cannot excuse themselves from committing them to writing, for the advantage of posterity: may, there are not a few who are induced to draw their historical facts out of darkness into light, and to produce them for the benefit of the public, on account of the great importance of the facts themselves with which they have been concerned. Now of these several reasons for writing history, I must profess the two last were my own reasons also; for since I was myself interested in that war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew myself its particular actions, and what conclusion it had, I was forced to give the history of it, because I saw that others perverted the truth of those actions in their writings.

2. Now I have undertaken the present work, as thinking it will appear to all the Greeks worthy of their study; for it will contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of our government, as interpreted out of the Hebrew Scriptures; and indeed I did formerly intend, when I wrote of the war, to explain who the Jews originally were, what fortunes they had been subject to, and by what legislator they had been instructed in piety, and the exercise of other virtues, what wars also they had made in remote ages, till they were unwillingly engaged in this last with the Romans; but because this work would take up a great compass, I separated it into a set treatise by itself, with a beginning of its own, and its own conclusion; but in process of time, as usually happens to such as undertake great things, I grew weary, and went on slowly, it being a large subject, and a difficult thing to translate our history into a foreign, and to us unacustomed language. However, some persons there were who desired to know our history; and so exorted me to go on with it; and, above all the rest, Euphronditus,§ a man who is a lover of all kind of learning, but is principally delighted with the knowledge of history; and this on account of his having been himself concerned in great affairs, and many turns of fortune, and having shewn a wonderful vigour of an excellent nature, and an immovable virtuous resolution in them all. I yielded to this man's persuasions, who always excites such as have abilities in what is useful and acceptable, to join their endeavours with his. I was also ashamed myself to permit any laziness of disposition to have a greater influence upon me than the delight of taking pains in such studies as were very useful. I thereupon stirred up myself, and went on with my work more cheerfully. Besides the foregoing motives, I had others which I greatly reflected on; and these were, that our forefathers were willing to communicate such things to others; and that some of the Greeks took considerable pains to know the affairs of our nation.

3. I found, therefore, that the second of the Ptolemies was a king who was extraordinarily diligent in what concerned learning and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our government therein contained, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazar, the high priest, one not inferior to any other of that dignity among us, did not envy the forenamed king the participation of that advantage, which otherwise he would for certain have denied him, but that he knew the custom of our nation was, to hinder nothing of what we esteemed ourselves from being communicated to others. Accordingly, I thought it became me both to imitate the generosity of our high priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the king; for he did not obtain all our writings at that time; but those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters, gave him only the books of the law, while there were a vast number of other matters in our sacred books. They indeed contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many chances of war, and great actions of...

* This preface of Josephus is excellent in its kind, and highly worthy the repeated perusal of the reader, before he set about the perusal of the work itself.

§ That is, all the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans.

1 We may reasonably note here, that Josephus wrote his Seven Books of the Jewish War, long before he wrote these Antiqiuities. These books of the War were published about A. D. 75; and these Antiqiuities, A. D. 189, about eighteen years later.

2 This Euphronditus was certainly alive in the third year of Trajan, A. D. 100. See the note on the first book Against Apion, sect. 1. Who he was we do not know; for as to Euphronditus, the freemaster of Nemi, and afterwards Herod's secretary, who was put to death by Herodias, in the 15th or 16th year of his reign, he could not be alive in the third of Trajan.
the commanders, and mutations of the form of our government. Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history, may principally learn from it, that all events succeed well, even to an incredible degree, and the reward of felicity is proposed by God; but then it is to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws;—and that so far as men any way apostatize from the accurate observation of them, what was practicable before, becomes impracticable;* and whatsoever they set about as a good thing is converted into an incredible calamity:—and now I exhort all those that peruse these books to apply their minds to God; and to examine the mind of our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him; and hath not ever ascribed to him such operations as become his power, and hath not preserved his writings from those indecent fables which others have framed, although, by the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged such lies; for he lived two thousand years ago; at which vast distance of ages the poets themselves have not been so hardy as to fix even the generations of their gods, much less the actions of their men, or their own laws. As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have already promised so to do throughout this undertaking, and this without adding anything to what is therein contained, or taking away anything therefrom.

4. But because almost all our constitution depends on the wisdom of Moses, our legislator, I cannot avoid saying somewhat concerning him beforehand, though I shall do it briefly; I mean, because otherwise those that read my book may wonder how it comes to pass that my discourse, which promises an account of laws and historical facts, contains so much of philosophy. The reader is therefore to know, that Moses deemed it exceeding necessary, that he who would conduct his own life well, and give laws to others, in the first place should consider the divine nature, and upon the contemplation of God's operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, so far as it is possible for human nature to do, and to endeavour to follow after it; neither could the legislator himself have a right mind without such a contemplation; nor would any thing he should write tend to the promotion of virtue in his readers; I mean, unless they be taught first of all, that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things, and that thence he bestows a happy life upon those that follow him; but plagues such as do not walk in the paths of virtue into inevitable miseries. Now when Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin the establishment of his laws after the same manner that other legislators did; I mean, upon contracts and other rites between one man and another, but by raising their minds upwards to regard God, and his creation of the world; and by persuading them, that we men are the most excellent of the creatures of God upon earth. Now when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things; for, as to other legislators, they followed fables, and, by their discourses, transferred the most reproachful of human vices unto the gods, and so afforded wicked men the most plausible excuses for their crimes; but, as for our legislator, when he had once demonstrated that God was possessed of perfect virtue, he supposed that men also ought to strive after the participation of it; and on those who did not so think and so believe, he inflicted the severest punishments. I exhort, therefore, my readers to examine this whole undertaking in that view; for thereby it will appear to them that there is nothing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe; while our legislature speaks some things wisely, but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but still explains such things as required a direct explication plainly and expressly. However, those that have a mind to know the reasons of every thing, may find here a very curious philosophical theory, which I now indeed shall wave the explication of; but if God afforded me time for it, I will set about writing it, after I have finished the present work. I shall now betake myself to the history before me, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I find described in the sacred books after the manner following.

4 As to this intended work of Josephus, concerning the reasons of many of the Jewish laws, and what philosophical or allegorical sense they would bear, the loss of which work is by some of the learned not much regretted, I am inclined in part to Fabricius's opinion, op. hist., ver. 60, 64, that "we need not desire it, seeing some vain and frigid conjectures derived from Jewish imaginations Josephus would have taught us a greater number of excellent and useful things, which perhaps neither, either among the Jews nor among the Christians, we now inform us of; so that I would give a great deal to find it still extant."
BOOK I.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THREE YEARS.
FROM THE CREATION TO THE DEATH OF ISAAC.

CHAPTER I.
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE WORLD, AND THE DISPOSITION OF THE ELEMENTS.

§ 1. In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; but when the earth did not come into sight, but was covered with thick darkness, and a wind moved upon its surface, God commanded that there should be light; and when that was made, he considered the whole mass, and separated the light and the darkness; and the name he gave to one was Night, and the other he called Day; and he named the beginning of light and the time of rest, The Evening and The Morning; and this was indeed the first day: but Moses said it was one day,—the cause of which I am able to give even now; but because I have promised to give such reasons for all things in a treatise by itself, I shall put off its exposition till that time. After this, on the second day, he placed the heaven over the whole world, and separated it from the other parts; and he determined it should stand by itself. He also placed a crystalline [firmament] round it, and put together in a manner agreeable to the earth, and fitted it for giving moisture and rain, and for affording the advantage of dew. On the third day he appointed the dry land to appear, with the sea itself round about it; and on the very same day he made the plants and the seeds to spring out of the earth. On the fourth day he adorned the heavens with the sun, the moon, and the other stars; and appointed them their motions and courses, that the vicissitudes of the seasons might be clearly signified. And on the fifth day he produced the living creatures, both those that swim and those that fly; the former in the sea, the latter in the air: he also sorted them as to society and mixture, for procuration, and that their kinds might increase and multiply. On the sixth day he created the four-footed beasts, and made them male and female: on the same day he also formed Adam. Accordingly Moses says, That in just six days the world and all that is therein was made; and that the seventh day was a rest, and a release from the labour of such operations;—whence it is that we celebrate a rest from our labours on that day, and call it the Sabbath; which word denotes rest in the Hebrew tongue.

2. Moreover, Moses, after the seventh day was over, begins to talk philosophically; and concerning the formation of man, says thus: That God took dust from the ground, and formed man, and inserted in him a spirit and a soul.† This man was called Adam, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that is red, because he was formed out of red earth, compounded together; for of that kind is virgin and true earth. God also presented the living creatures, when he had made them, according to their kinds, both male and female, to Adam, who gave them those names by which they are still called. But when he saw that Adam had no female companion, no society, for there was no such creature, and that he wondered at the other animals which were made for him, he took him asleep, and took away one of his ribs, and out of it formed the woman; whereupon Adam knew her when she was brought to him, and acknowledged that she was made out of himself. Now a woman is called in the Hebrew tongue Isha; but the name of this woman was Eve, which signifies the mother of all living.

3. Moses says farther, that God planted a paradise in the east, flourishing with all sorts of trees, and that among them was the tree of life, and another of knowledge, whereby was to be known what was good and evil; and that when he brought Adam and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to take care of the plants. Now the garden was watered by one river,‡ which ran round about the whole earth, and was parted into four parts. And Phison, which denotes a multitude, running into India, makes its exit into the sea, and is by the Greeks called Ganges. Euphrates also, as well as Tigris, goes down into the Red Sea.§ Now the name Euphrates, or Phrath, denotes either a dispersion, or a flower: by Tigris, or Digglish, is signified what is swift, with narrowness; and Geon runs through Egypt, and denotes what arises from the east, with which the Greeks call Nile.

4. God therefore commanded that Adam and his wife should eat of all the rest of the plants, but to abstain from the tree of knowledge; and foretold them, that, if they touched it, it would prove their

† Moses Josephus, in his Proem, sect. 4, says, that Moses wrote some things etymologically, some allegorically, and the rest in plain words, since in his account of the first chapter of Genesis, and the first three verses of the second, he gives us no hints of any mystery at all; but when he here comes to ver. 4, he says, that Moses, in the seventh day was over, began to talk philosophically, it is not very improbable that he understood the rest of the second and the third chapters in some etymological, or allegorical, or philosophical sense. The change of the name of God, just at this place, from Elohim to Jehovah Elohim; from God to Lord God, in the Hebrew, Haminrath, and repumagri, does also not a little favor some such changes in the narration or construction.

‡ We may observe here, that Josephus supposed men to be compounded of spirit, soul, and body, with St. Paul, 1 Thess. v. 20. and the rest of the ancients: he elsewhere says also, that the blood of animals was forbidden to be eaten, as having in it soul and spirit. Antiq. b. iii. chap. vi. sect. 2.

§ Whence the strange notion comes, which yet is not peculiar to Josephus, but, as Dr. Hudson says here, it is derived from other authors, as if four of the greatest rivers in the world, running two of them at rest discharging waters of different names, and the rest of the antiquities: he elsewhere says also, that the blood of animals was forbidden to be eaten, as having in it soul and spirit. And, since Josephus has already appeared to allegorize this history, and, taking notices that these four names had a particular signification: Phison for Ganges, a multitude; Phrath for Euphrates, either a dispersion, or a flower; Digglish for Tigris, what is swift, with narrowness; and Geon for Nile, what arises from the east,—we perhaps must perceive how much he was, in the first place, in Phrath, or Euphrates, what is swift, with narrowness; and Geon for Nile, what arises from the east,—we perhaps must perceive how much he was, in the first place, what arises from the earth; as Geon or Nile, which arises from the east, while he very well knew the literal Nile arises from the south; and what farther allusions to the other two, it is now, I fear, impossible to determine.

* By the Red sea is not here meant the Arabian Gulf, which alone we now call by that name, but all that South Sea, which included the Red sea and the Persian Gulf, as far as the East Indies, as Renan observes here truly now, from the old geographers.
destruction. But while all the living creatures had one language, at that time the serpent which then lived together with Adam and his wife, showed an envious disposition, at his supposed of their living happily, and in obedience to the commands of God; and imagining, that, when they disbelieved, they would fall into calamities, he persuaded the woman, out of a malicious intention, to taste of the tree of knowledge, telling them, that in that tree was the knowledge of good and evil; which knowledge when they should obtain, they would lead a happy life, say, a life not inferior to that of a god; by which means he overcame the woman, and persuaded her to despise the command of God. Now when she had tasted of that tree, and was pleased with its fruit, she persuaded Adam to make use of it also. Upon this they perceived that they were become naked to one another; and being ashamed thus to appear abroad, they invented somewhat to cover them; for the tree sharpened their understanding; and they covered themselves with fig-leaves; and tarrying these before them, out of modesty, they thought they were more happy than they were before; and they discovered what they were in want of. But when God came into the garden, Adam, who was wont before to come and converse with him, being conscious of his wicked behaviour, went out of the way. This behaviour surprised God; and he asked what was the cause of this his procedure; and why he, that before delighted in that conversation, did now fly from it, and avoid it. When he made no reply, as conscious to himself that he had transgressed the command of God, God said, "I had before determined about you both, how you should live in happy life, and lead a long and happy life; and that all things which might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up by my providence, of their own accord, without your own labour and pains-taking; which state of labour and pains-taking would soon bring on old age; and death would not be at any remote distance: but now thou hast abused this thy good-will, and hast disbelieved my command; for thy silence is not the sign of thy virtue, but of thy evil conscience. However, Adam excused his sin, and entreated God not to be angry with him, and said the blame of what was done upon his wife; and said that he was deceived by her, and thence became an offender; while she again accused the serpent. But God allotted him punishment, because he weakly submitted to the counsel of his wife; and said, the ground should not henceforth yield its fruits of its own accord, but that when it should be harassed by their labour, it should bring forth some of its fruits, and refuse to bring forth others. He also made Eve liable to the inconvenience of breeding, and the sharp pains of bringing forth children, and this because she persuaded Adam with the same arguments wherewith the serpent had persuaded her, and had therefore by brought him into a calamitous condition. He also deprived the serpent of speech, out of indignation at his malicious disposition towards Adam. Besides this, he inserted poison under his tongue, and made him an enemy to men; and suggested to them that they should direct their strokes against his head, that being the place wherein lay his mischievous designs towards men, and it being easiest to take vengeance on him that way: and when he had deprived him of the use of his feet, he made him go rolling along; and dragging himself upon the ground. And when God had imposed these penalties for them, he removed Adam and Eve out of the garden into another place.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE POSTERITY OF ADAM, AND THE TEN GENERATIONS FROM HIM TO THE DELUGE.

§1. Adam and Eve had two sons; the elder of them was named Cain; which name, when it is interpreted, signifies a possession. The younger was Abel, which signifies sorrow. They had also daughters. Now, the two brethren were pleased with different courses of life; for Abel, the younger, was a lover of righteousness, and, believing that God was present at all his actions, he excelled in virtue; and his employment was that of a shepherd. But Cain was not only very wicked in other respects, but was wholly intent upon getting; and he first contrived to plough the ground. He slew his brother on the detonation following this. He had resolved to sacrifice to God. Now Cain brought the fruits of the earth, and of his husbandry; but Abel brought milk, and the first-fruits of his flocks; but God was more delighted with the latter oblation, when he was honoured with what grew naturally of its own accord, than he was with what was the invention of a covetous man, and gotten by force. But Cain was very angry that Abel was preferred by God before him; and he slew his brother, and hid his dead body, thinking to escape discovery. But God, knowing what had been done, came to Cain, and asked him what was become of his brother. Cain answereth, he had not seen him of many days, whereas he used to observe them conversing together at other times. But Cain was in doubt of himself, and knew not what answer to give to God. At first he said that he was himself at a loss about his brother's disappearing; but when he was provoked by God, who pressed him vehemently, as resolving to know what the matter was, he replied, he was not his brother's guardian or keeper, nor was he an observer of what he did. But in return, God convicted Cain, as having been the murderer of his brother; and said, I wonder at thee, that thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed. God therefore did not inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making supplication to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him; but...
he made him accursed, and threatened his posterity in the seventh generation. He also cast him, together with his wife out of that land. And when he was afraid, in wandering about he should fall among wild beasts, and by that means perish, God bid him not to entertain such a melancholy suspicion, and to go over all the earth without fear of what mischief he might suffer from wild beasts; and setting a mark upon him that he might be known, he commanded him to depart.

2. And when Cain had travelled over many countries, he, with his wife, built a city, named Nod, which is a place, so called, and there he settled his abode; where also he had children. However, he did not accept of his punishment in order to amendment, but to increase his wickedness; for he only aimed to procure every thing that was for his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbours. He augmented his household substance with much wealth, by rapine and violence; he excited his soul to maintain his possession, contrary to the command of God, and became a great leader of men into wicked courses. He also introduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived before; and was the author of measures and weights. And whereas they lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about lands; he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and he compelled his family to come together to it; and called that city Enoch, after the name of his eldest son Enoch. Now Jared was the son of Enoch, whose son was Methuselah, whose son was Lamech, whose son was Methuselah; whose son was Lamech; who had seventy-seven children by two wives, Silla and Ada. Of those children by Ada, one was Jabal; he erected tents, and loved the life of a shepherd. But Jubal, who was born of the same mother with him, exercised himself in music; and invented the psaltery and the harp. But Tubal, one of his children by the other wife, exceeded all men in strength, and was very expert and famous in martial performances. He procured what tended to the pleasure of the bodies by that method; and first of all invented the art of making spears. Lamech was also the father of a daughter, whose name was Naamah; and because he was so skilful in matters of divine revelation, that he knew he was to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made that known to his wives. Nay, even while Adam was alive, it came to pass that the posterity of Cain became exceedingly wicked, every one successively dying one after another, more wicked than the former. They were intolerable in war, and vehement in robberies; and if any one were slow to murder people, yet he was bold in his profligate behaviour; in eating, drinking, and doing injury for gain.

3. Now, Adam, who was the first man, and made out of the earth (for our discourse must now be about him) after Abel was slain, and Cain fled away on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire of children, he being two hundred and thirty years old; after which time he lived other seven hundred, and then died. He had indeed many other children, but Seth in particular. As for the rest, it would be tedious to name them; I will therefore only endeavour to give an account of those that proceeded from Seth. Now this Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, became a virtuous man; and as he was himself of an excellent character, so did he leave children behind him who imitated his virtues. All these proved to be of good dispositions. They also inhabited the same country without dissensions, and in a happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them till they died. They also were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies, and their order. And that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars; the one of brick, the other of stone: they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind; and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Siriad to this day.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE FLOOD; AND AFTER WHAT MANNER NOAH WAS SAVED IN AN ARK, WITH HIS KINDRED, AND THEREAFTER DWELT IN THE PLAIN OF SHINAR.

§ 1. Now this posterity of Seth continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe, and to have an entire regard to virtue, for seven generations; but in process of time they were perverted, and forsook the practices of their forefathers, and did neither pay those honours to God which were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men. But for what degree of zeal they had formerly shown for virtue, they now sloved by their actions and by their whole deportment, which made God to be their enemy; for many angels of God accompanied with women, and begat sons that proved unjust, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their own strength, for the tradition is, That these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Grecians call giants. But Noah was very uneasy at what they did; and, being displeased at their conduct, persuaded them to change their dispositions and their acts for the better; but seeing that they did not yield to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, together with his wife and children, and

❖ What is here said of Seth and his posterity, that they were very good and virtuous, and at the same time very happy, without any consideration of the misfortunes, for several generations, here into the 3d. sect., § 1, hereafter is exactly agreeable to the state of the world and the conduct of Providence in all the first ages.  

❖ Of Josephus's notice here, where he took forth the son of Adam for Seth or Seoncris, king of Egypt, the creator of this pillar in the land of Siriad, see Essay on the First and Second Books of the Antiquities of the Jews, chap. iv., sect. 10. Although the main of this relation might be true, and Adam might several acknowledged as the author of that catalogue; yet, Seth's posterity might imagine their inventions in astronomy on such pillars, yet it is no way credible that they could survive the deluge, which has buried all such pillars and edifices far under ground, in the sediment of its waters; especially since the like pillars of the Egyptian Seth or Seoncris were extant after the flood, in the land of Siriad, and perhaps in the days of Josephus also, as is shown in the place here referred to.

❖ This notion, that the fallen angels were, in some sense, the fathers of the old giants, was the constant opinion of antiquity.
those they had married; so he departed out of that land.

2. Now God loved this man for his righteousness; yet he not only condemned those other men for their wickedness, but determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make another race that should be pure from wickedness; and cutting short their lives, and making their years not so many as they formerly lived, but one hundred and twenty only;* he turned the dry land into sea; and thus were all these men destroyed; but Noah alone was saved; for God suggested to him the following contrivances and way of escape:—That he should make an ark of four stories high, three hundred cubits long, fifty cubits high and fifty cubits wide. Accordingly he entered into that ark, and his wife and sons, and their wives; and put into it not only other provisions, to support their wants there, but also sent in with the rest all sorts of living creatures, the male and his female, for the preservation of their kinds; and others of them by sevens. Now this ark had firm walls, and a roof, and was braced with cross beams, so that it could not be any way drowned or overborne by the violence of the water; and thus was Noah, with his family, saved. Now his son was the tenth from Adam, as being the son of Lamech, whose name was Mathusael. He was the son of Enoch, the son of Jared; and Jared was the son of Malalee, who, with many of his sisters, were the children of Cainan, the son of Eno. Now Eno was the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

3. This calamity happened in the sixth hundredth year of Noah’s government [age], in the second month; called by the Macedonians Dias, but by the Hebrews Marchesan; for so did they order their year in Egypt; but Moses appointed that Nisan, which is the same with Xanthioun, should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month; so that this month began the year as to all the solemnities they observed to the honour of God, although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying, and other ordinary affairs. Now he says that this flood began on the twenty-seventh [seventeenth] day of the forementioned month; and this was two thousand six hundred and fifty-six [one thousand six hundred and fifty-six] years from Adam, the first man; and the time is written down in our sacred books, those who then lived having noted down, with great accuracy, both the births and deaths of illustrious men.

4. For indeed Seth was born when Adam was in his two hundred and thirtieth year, who lived nine hundred and thirty years. Seth begat Enos in his two hundred and fifth year, who lived nine hundred and twelve years, delivered the government to Cainan his son, whom he had in his hundred and nineteenth year; he lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan, when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, had his son Malalee, who was born in his hundred and seventieth year. This Malalee, having lived eight hundred and ninety-five years, died, leaving his son Jared, whom he begat when he was in his hundred and sixty-sixth year. He lived nine hundred and sixty-two years; and then his son Enoch succeeded him, who was born when his father was thirty-six years old, and was nine hundred and fifty years old when he died, and he passed the care of the government to Methusael, who was his son. Methusael, when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old, now he had lived three hundred and sixty-five years, departed, and went to God; whence it is that they have not written down his death. Now Mathusaela, the son of Enoch, who was born to him when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old, had Lamech for his son when he was one hundred and eighty-seven years of age, to whom he delivered the government, when he had retained it nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Now Lamech, when he had governed seven hundred and twenty-seven years, appointed Noah, his son, to be ruler of the people, who was born when Lamech when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and retained the government nine hundred and fifty years. These years collected together, make up the sum before set down; but let no one inquire into the deaths of these men, for they extended their lives along together with their children and grandchildren; but let him have regard to their births only.

5. When God gave the signal, and it began to rain, the water poured down forty entire days, till it became fifteen cubits higher than the earth, which was the reason why there was no greater number preserved, since they had no place to fly to. When the rain ceased, the water did but just begin to abate, after one hundred and fifty days (that is, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month) it then ceasing to subside for a little while. After this the ark rested on the top of a certain mountain in Armenia; which, when Noah understood, he opened it; and seeing a small piece of land about it, he confined quiet, and conceived some cheerful hopes of deliverance; but a few days afterward, when the water was decreased to a greater degree, he sent out a raven, as desirous to learn whether any part of the earth were left dry by the water, and whether he might go out of the ark with safety; but the raven, finding all the land still overflowed, returned to Noah again. And after seven days he sent out a dove, to know the state of the ground; which came back to him covered with mud, and bringing an olive-branch. Hereby Noah learned that the earth was become clear of the flood. So after he had staid seven more days, he sent the living creatures out of the ark; and both he and his family went out, when he also sacrificed to God, and feasted with his companions. Moreover, the Armenians call this place (Aritothrion) The...
CHAPTER IV.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

Place of Deucass; for the ark being saved in that place, its remains are shown there by the inhabitants to this day.

6. Now all the writers of barbarian histories make mention of this flood and of this ark; among whom is Berosus the Chaldean; for when he is describing the circumstances of the flood, he goes on thus:—"It is said there is still some part of this ship in Armenia, at the mountain of the Cordylesians; and that some people carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they take away, and use chief as amulets for the averting of mischiefs." Hieronymus the Egyptian, also, who wrote the Phoenician Antiquities, and Mnasess, and a great many more, make mention of the same. Nay, Nicolaus of Damascus, in his ninety-sixth book, hath a particular relation about them, where he speaks thus:—

"There is a great mountain in Armenia, over Minyas, called Baris, upon which it is reported that many who died at the time of the Deluge were saved; and that one who was carried in an ark came on shore upon the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved. This might be the man about whom Moses, the legislator of the Jews wrote."

7. But as for Noah, he was afraid, since God had determined to destroy mankind, lest he should drown the earth every year; so he offered burnt-offerings, and besought God that Nature might hereafter go on in its former orderly course, and that he would not bring on so great a judgment any more, by which the whole race of creatures might be in danger of destruction; but that, having now punished the wicked, he would of his good-pleasure make all things new, in like manner as he had hitherto judged fit to be delivered from so severe a calamity; for that otherwise these last must be more miserable than the first, and that they must be condemned to a worse condition than the others, unless they be suffered to escape entirely; that is, if they be reserved for another deluge, while they must be afflicted with the terror and sight of the first deluge, and must also be destroyed by a second. He also entreated God to accept of his sacrifice, and to grant that the earth might never again undergo the like effects of his wrath; that men might be permitted to go on cheerfully in cultivating the earth and rearing cities, and that we live happily in them; and that they might not be deprived of any of those good things which they enjoyed before the flood; but might attain to the like length of days and old age which the ancient people had arrived at before.

8. When Noah had made these supplications, God, who loved the man for his righteousness, granted entire success to his prayers, and said, that it was not he who brought the destruction on a polluted world, but that they underwent that vengeance on account of their own wickedness; and that he had not brought men into the world if he had himself determined to destroy them, it being an instance of greater wisdom not to have granted them life at all, than, after it was granted, to procure their destruction; "but the injuries," said he, "they offered to my holiness and virtue, forced me to bring this punishment upon them; but I will leave off for the time to come to require such punishments, the effects of so great wrath, for their future wicked actions, and especially on account of thy prayers; but if I shall at any time send tempests of rain in an extraordinary manner, be not affrighted at the largeness of the showers, for the waters shall no more overspread the earth. However, I require you to abstain from shedding the blood of men, and to keep yourselves pure from murder; and to punish those that commit any such thing. I permit you to make use of all the other living creatures at your pleasure, and as your appetites lead you; for I have made you lords of them all, both of those that walk on the land, and those that swim in the waters, and of those that fly in the regions of the air on high—excepting their blood, for therein is the life; but I will give you a sign that I have left off my anger, by my bow" [whereby is meant the rainbow, for they determined that the rainbow was the bow of God]; and when God had said and promised thus, he went away.

9. Now when Noah had lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood, and that all that time happily, he died, having the number of nine hundred and fifty years: but let no one, upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our lives, and with the few years which we now live, think that what we have said of them is false; or make the shortness of our lives at present an argument that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life; for those ancients were beleved of God, and [lastly] made by God himself; and because their food was then fitter for the prolongation of life, might well live so great a number of years; and besides, God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time of foretelling [the periods of the stars] unless they had lived six hundred years; for the Great Year is completed in that interval. Now I have for witnesses to what I have said, all those that have written Antiquities, both among the Greeks and barbarians; for even Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian History, and Hermocrates, who collected the Chaldean, Monumental, and Mochus, and Hestieus, and besides these, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those who composed the Phoenician History, agree to what I here say: Hesiod also, and Hecateus, Hellenicus, and Acusilas; and besides, Euphoros and Nicolaus relate that the ancients lived a thousand years: but as to these matters, let every one look upon them as he thinks fit.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE TOWER OF BABYLON, AND THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES.

§ 1. Now the sons of Noah were three,—Shem, Japhet, and Ham, born one hundred years before the Deluge. These first of all descended from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitation there; and persuaded others who were greatly afraid of the lower grounds on account of the flood, and so were very loth to come down from the higher places, to venture to follow their examples. Now the plain in which they first dwelt was called Shi-
chapter V.

after what manner the posterity of noah sent out colonies, and inhabited the whole earth.

after this they were dispersed abroad, on account of their languages, and went out by colonies everywhere; and each colony took possession of that land which they light upon, and unto which God led them; so that the whole continent was filled with them, both the inland and maritime countries. there were some also who passed over the sea in ships, and inhabited the islands: and some of these nations do still retain the denominations which were given them by their first founders; but some have lost them also; and some have only admitted certain changes in them, that they might be the more intelligible to the inhabitants; and they were the Greeks who became the authors of such mutations; for when, in after ages, they grew potent, they claimed to themselves the glory of antiquity—giving names to the nations that sounded well (in greek) that they might be better understood among themselves; and setting agreeable forms of government over them, as if they were a people derived from themselves.

chapter vi.

how every nation was denominated from their first inhabitants.

§ 1. now they were the grand-children of noah, in honour of whom names were imposed on the nations by those that first seized upon them. japhet, the son of noah, had seven sons: they inhabited so, that, beginning at the mountains taurus and amanus, they proceeded along asia, as far as the river tanais, and along europe to cadiz; and settling themselves on the lands which they light upon, which none had inhabited before, they called the nations by their own names; for gomer founded those whom the greeks now call galatians [galls], but were then called gomerites. magog founded those that from him were named magogites, but who are by the greeks called scythians. now as to javan and madai, the sons of japhet; from madai came the medes, who are called medes by the greeks; but from javan, ionia, and all the greeces are derived. thobel founded the thobelites, who are now called ibers; and the moschites were founded by mosch; now they are cappadocians. there is also a mark of their ancient denomination still to be shown; for there is even now among them a city called massa, which the ancients called mesopotamia, and the greeks tracia. and this whole nation is called thiri. but the greeks changed the name into thrasians. and the greeks resolved, were named phyrgians. of the three sons of javan also, the son of
Japhet, Elisa gave name to the Eliseans, who were his subjects; they are now the Zoelians. Tharsus to the Tharsians; for so was Cilicia of old called; the sign of which is that, the noblest city they have, and a metropolis also, is Tarsus, the town being by change put for the theta. Cethimpos possessed the island Cathina; it is now called Cyprus: and from that it is that all islands, and the greatest part of the sea-coasts are named Cethim by the Hebrews: and one city there is in Cyprus that has been able to preserve its denomination; it is called Citius by those who use the language of the Greeks, and not, by the use of the Greeks, by the name of Cethim. And so many nations have the children and grand-children of Japhet possessed. Now when I have premised somewhat, which perhaps the Greeks do not know, I will return and explain what I have omitted; for such names are pronounced here after the manner of the Greeks, to please our readers; for our own country language does not so pronounce them: but the names in all cases are of one and the same ending; for the name we here pronounce Noess, is there Noah, and in every case retains the same termination.

2. The children of Ham possessed the land from Syria and Amanus, and the mountains of Libanus, seizing upon all that was on its sea-coasts and as far as the ocean, and keeping it as their own. Some indeed of its names are utterly vanished away; others of them being changed, and another sound given them, are hardly to be discovered; yet a few there are which have kept their denominations entire: for of the four sons of Ham, time has not at all hurt the name of Chus; for the Ethiopians, over whom he reigned, are even at this day, both by themselves and by all men in Asia, called Chusites. The memory also of the Moerites is preserved in their name; for we all who inhabit this country [of Judea] call Egypt Mestre, and the Egyptians Mystreans. Phut also was the founder of Libya, and called the inhabitants Phutites, from himself: there is also a river in the country of the Moors which bears that name; whence it is that we may see the greatest part of the Grecian historiographers mention that river and the adjoining country by the appellation of Phut: but the name it has now, has been by change given it from one of the sons of Meseim, who was called Lybros. We will inform you presently what has been the occasion why it has been called Africa also.

Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, inhabited the country now called Judea, and called it from his own name Canaan. The children of these [four] were these: Saba, who founded the Sabeans; Ekvios, who founded the Ekvians, who are called Getauli; Sababhis founded the Sabbhians; they are now called by the Greeks, Astaborans; Sabactas settled the Sabactans; and Ragmuss the Ragmeans; and he had two sons, the one of whom, Judad, settled the Judaeans, a nation of the western Egyptians, and left them his name; as did Saba to the Sabeans. But Nimrod, the son of Chus, and now magnified at Babylon, whose name has already informed you. Now all the children of Meseim, being eight in number, possessed the country from Gasa to Egypt, though it retained the name of one only, the Philistim; for the Greeks call that part of that country Palestine. As for the rest, Ludieim, and Esenim, and Labim, who alone inhabited in Libya, and called the country from himself, Nebim, and Phethothem, and Cheleion, and Ceptho-

rim, we know nothing of them besides their names; for the Ethiopian war, which we shall describe hereafter, was the cause that those cities were overthrown. The sons of Canaan were these: Sidonius, who also built a city of the same name; it is called by the Greeks, Sidon; Amathus inhabited in Amathine, which is even now called Amathie by the inhabitants, although the Macedonians named it Epiphania, from one of his posterity; Arudeus possessed the island Arados: Arcus possessed Arco, which is in Libanus: but for the seven others, [Esous], Cethusae, Nebuscus, Amorreveus, Tangresus, Euusaeus, Sinuesaeus, Caramo, we have nothing in the sacred books but their names, for the Hebrews overthrew their cities; and their calamities came upon them on the occasion following:—

3. Noah, when, after the Deluge, the earth was re-settled in its former condition, set about its cultivation; and when he had planted it with vines, and when the fruit was ripe, and he had gathered the grapes in their season, and the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feasted, and, being drunk, he fell asleep, and lay naked in an unseemly manner. When his youngest son saw this, he came laughing, and showed him to his brethren; but they covered their father's nakedness. And when Noah was made sensible of what had been done, he prayed for prosperity to his other sons; but for Ham, he did not curse him, by reason of his nearness in blood, but cursed his posterity. And when the rest of them escaped that curse, God inflicted it on the children of Canaan. But as to these matters, we shall speak more hereafter.

4. Shem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who inhabited the land that began at Euphrates, and reached to the Indian Ocean; for Elam left behind him the Emelites, the ancestors of the Persians. Ashur lived at the city Nineve; and named his subjects Assyrians, who became the most fortunate nation, beyond others. Arphaxad named the Arphaxadites, who are now called Chaldeans. Aram had the Aramites, which the Greeks call Syrians; as Land founded the Laudites, which are now called Lydians. Of the four sons of Aram, Us founded Trachonitis and Damascus: this country lies between Palestine and Cælesyria. Ul founded Armenia; and Gather the Bactrians; and Messo the Meseaneans; it is now called Charax Spasin. Safa was the son of Arphaxad; and his son was Heber, from whom the ancient Hebrews. Heber begot Jocan and Phaleg; he was called Phaleg, because he was born at the dispersion of the nations to their several countries; for Phaleg, among the Hebrews, signifies division. Now Jocan, one of the sons of Heber, had these sons, Elmodad, Saph, Asemoth, Jerah, Adoram, Azel, Deel, Ebal, Abimael, Sabeus, Ophir, Eulat, and Jobab. These inhabited from Cophen, an

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* One observation ought not here to be neglected, with regard to that Ethiopian war, which Moses, as general of the Egyptians, put an end to, and which, as much as the reason of that country, received the name of, or division of six or seven nations of the posterity of Ham, with their cities: which Josephus would not have his readers believe; for whatsoever he has heard, he has not anciently been so sure as judicious and impartial records are now all lost. That the Jews call the Hebrews, from this their progenitor Heber, our author Josephus here rightly affirms; and not from Abraham the Hebrews, or passenger over Euphrates, as many of the Persians suppose, he is also called the father of all the children of Hebrew, or of all the Hebrews, in a history long before Abraham passed over Euphrates (Gen. x. 10), though it must be acknowledged, that the story, and what they say about the Hebrews, the Septuagint renders it the passenger, τρέποντας. But this is spoken only of Abram himself, who had then not yet passed over Euphrates; and is properly called the name of the Hebrew word, taken as an appellative, and not as a proper name.
Indian river, and in part of Asia adjoining to it. And this shall suffice concerning the sons of Shem.

5. I will now treat of the Hebrews. The son of Phaleg, whose father was Heber, was Ragau; whose son was Serug, to whom was born Nahor; his son was Terah, who was the father of Abraham, who accordingly was the tenth from Noah, and was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the Deluge; for Terah begat Abram in his seventeenth year. Mahor begat Haran when he was one hundred and twenty years old; Nahor was born to Serug in his hundred and thirty-second year; Ragau had Serug at one hundred and thirty; at the same age also Phaleg had Ragau; Heber begat Phaleg in his hundred and thirty-fourth year; he himself being begotten by Sala when he was an hundred and thirty years old, whom Arphaxad had for his son at the hundred and thirty-fifth year of his age. Arphaxad was the son of Shem, and born twelve years after the Deluge. Now Abram had two brethren, Nahor and Haran: of these Haran left a son, Lot; as also Sarai and Milcah his daughters, and died among the Chaldeans, in a city of the Chaldeans, called Ur; and his monument is shown to this day. These married their nieces. Nahor married Milcah, and Abram married Sarai. Now Terah, hating Chaldea, on account of his mourning for Haran, they all removed to Haran of Mesopotamia, where Terah died, and was buried, when he had lived to be two hundred and five years old; for the life of man was already, by degrees diminished, and became shorter than before, till the birth of Moses: after whom the term of human life was one hundred and twenty years. God determined it to the length that Moses happened to live. Now Nahor had eight sons by Milcah; Uz and Buz, Kemuel, Cheseb, Azur, Phedaels, Javelph, and Bethuel. These were all the genuine sons of Nahor; for Toba and Gamm, and Tachas, and Macea, were born of Reuma his concubine; but Bethuel had a daughter, Rebecca, and a son, Laban.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW ABRAM OUR FORERATHER WENT OUT OF THE LAND OF THE CHALDEANS, AND LIVED IN THE LAND THEN CALLED CANAAN, BUT NOW JUDEA.

1. Now Abram having no son of his own, adopted Lot, his brother Haran's son, and his wife Sarai's brother; and he left the land of Chaldea when he was seventy-five years old, and at the command of God went into Canaan, and therein dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity. He was a person of great sagacity, both for understanding all things and persuading his hearers, and not mistaken in his opinions; for which reason he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and he determined to renew and to change the opinion all men happened then to have concerning God; for he was the first that ventured to publish this notion, That there was but one God, the Creator of the universe; and that, as to other gods, if they contributed any thing to the happiness of men, that each of them afforded it only according to his appointment, and not by their own power. This his opinion was derived from the irregular phenomena that were visible both in land and sea, as well as those that happen soon, and all the heavenly bodies, thus:—"If [said he] these bodies had power of their own, they would certainly take care of their own regular motions; but since they do not preserve such regularity, they make it plain, that in so far as they co-operate to our advantage, they do it not of their own abilities, but as they are subservient to Him that commands them; to whom alone we ought justly to offer our honour and thanksgiving." For which doctrines, when the Chaldeans and other people of Mesopotamia raised a tumult against him, he thought fit to leave that country; and at the command, and by the assistance of God, he came and lived in the land of Canaan. And when he was there settled, he built an altar, and performed a sacrifice to God.

2. Berosus mentions our father Abram without naming him, when he says thus:—"In the tenth generation after the Flood, there was among the Chaldeans a man righteous and great, and skilful in the celestial science." But Hecataeus does more than barely mention him; for he composed and left behind him a book concerning of Damascus, in the fourth book of his history, says thus:—"Abram reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came with an army out of the land above Babylon, called the land of the Chaldeans. But after a long time he got him up, and removed from that country also with his people, and went into the land then called the land of Canaan, but now the land of Judea, and this when his posterity became a multitude; as to which posterity of his, we relate their history in another work." Now the name of Abram is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and there is shown a village named from him, The Habituation of Abras.

CHAPTER VIII.

THAT WHEN THERE WAS A FAMINE IN CANAAN, ABRAM WENT THENCE INTO EGYPT; AND AFTER HE HAD CONTINUED THERE A WHILE, HE RETURNED BACK AGAIN.

§ 1. Now, after this, when a famine had invaded the land of Canaan, and Abram had discovered that the Egyptians were in a flourishing condition, he was disposed to go down to them, both to partake of the plenty they enjoyed, and to become an auditor of their priests, and to know what they said concerning the gods; designing either to follow them, if they had better notions than he, or to convert them into a better way, if his own notions proved the truest. Now, seeing he was to take Sarai with him, and was afraid of the madness of the Egyptians with regard to women, lest the king should kill him on occasion of his wife's great beauty, he contrived this device:—he pretended to be her brother, and directed her in a dissembling way to pretend the same, for he said it would be for her benefit. Now, as soon as he came into Egypt, it happened to Abram as he supposed it would; for the fame of his wife's beauty was greatly talked of, for which reason Pharaoh the king of Egypt would not be satisfied with what was reported of her, but would needs see her himself, and was preparing to enjoy her; but God put a stop to his unjust inclinations, by sending on him a distemper, and a sedition against his government. And when he inquired of the priests, how he might be freed from these calam-
CHAPTER IX.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

...mites, they told him that this his miserable condition was derived from the wrath of God, upon account of his inclinations to abuse the stranger's wife. He then out of fear asked Sarai who she was, and who it was that she brought along with her. And when he had found out the truth, he ex- ceeded himself so Abram, that supposing the woman to be his sister, and not his wife, he set his affec-
tions on her, as desiring an affinity with him by marrying her, but not as incited by lust to abuse her. He also made him a large present in money, and gave him leave to enter into conversation with the most learned among the Egyptians; from which conversation, his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before.

2. For whereas the Egyptians were formerly addicted to different customs, and despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abram, conferred with each of them, and, confuting the reasonings they made use of every one for their own practices, demonstrated that such reasonings were vain and void of truth; whereupon he was admired by them in those conferences as a very wise man, and one of great sagacity, when he discoursed on any subject he undertook; and this not only in understanding it, but in persuading other men also to assent to him. He communicated to them arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy; for, before Abram came into Egypt, they were uninitiated with those parts of learning; for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

3. As soon as Abram was come back into Canaan, he parted the land between him and Lot, upon account of the tumultuous behaviour of their shepherds, concerning the pastures wherein they should feed their flocks. However, he gave Lot his option, or leave, to choose which lands he would take; and he took himself what the other left, which were the lower grounds at the foot of the mountains; and he himself dwelt in Hebron, which is a city seven years more ancient than Tanis of Egypt. But Lot possessed the land of the plain, and the river Jordan, not far from the city of Sodom, which was then a fine city; but is now destroyed by the will and wrath of God— the cause of which I shall show in its proper place hereafter.

CHAPTER X.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SODOMITES BY THE ASSYRIAN WAR.

At this time, when the Assyrians had the dominion over Asia, the people of Sodom were in a flourishing condition, both as to riches and the number of their youth. There were five kings that managed the affairs of this country: Ballas, Barsas, Senabar, and Sumobor, with the king of Bela; and each king led on his own troops; and the Assyrians made war upon them; and, dividing their army into two parts, fought the one against the other part of the army had its own commander; and when the battle was joined, the Assyrians were conquerors; and imposed a tribute on the kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery twelve years; and so long they continued to pay their tribute: but on the thirteenth year they rebelled, and then the army of the Assyrians came upon them, under their commanders Arabiephel, Arioch, Chodslamser, and Tidal. These kings had laid waste all Syria, and overthrown the off-
spring of the giants; and when they were come over against Sodom, they pitched their camp at the vale called the Slime Pits, for at that time there were pits in that place; but now, upon the destruction of the city of Sodom, that vale became the Lake Asphaltites, as it is called. However, con-

§ 1. When Abram heard of their calamity, he was at once afraid for Lot his kinsman, and pitied the Sodomites his friends and neighbours; and thinking it proper to afford them assistance, he did not delay it, but marched hastily, and the fifth night fell upon the Assyrians, near Dan, for that is the name of the other spring of Jordan; and before they could arm themselves, he slew some as they were in their beds, before they could suspect and harm; and others, who were not yet gone to sleep, but were so drunk they could not fight, ran away. Abram pursued after them, till on the second day he drove them in a body unto Hoba, a place belonging to Damascus; and thereby demonstrated that victory does not depend on multitude and the number of hands, but the alacrity and courage of soldiers overcome the most numerous bodies of men, while he got the victory over so great an army with no more than three hundred and eighteen of his servants, and three of his friends: but all those that fled returned home ingloriously.

2. So Abram, when he had saved the captive Sodomites who had been taken by the Assyrians, and Lot also, his kinsman, returned home in peace. Now the king of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they called The King's Dale, where Melchisedec, king of the city Salem, received him. That name signifies the righteous king, and such he was without dispute, insomuch that, on this ac-
count, he was made the priest of God; however, they afterward called Salem Jerusalem. Now this Melchisedec supplied Abram's army in an hospita-
ble manner, and gave them provisions in abundance; and as they were feasting, he began to praise him, and to bless God for subduing his enemies under him. And when Abram gave him the tenth part of his prey, he accepted of the gift; but the king of Sodom desired Abram to take the prey, but entreated that he might have those men restored to him whom Abram had saved from the Assyrians, because they belong to him; but Abram would not do so; nor would make any other advantage of that prey than what his servants had eaten;
but still insisted that he should afford a part to his friends that had assisted him in the battle. The first of them was called Eschol, and then Emmer, and Mambro.

3. And God commanded his virtue, and said, Thou shalt not, however, lose the rewards thou hast deserved to receive by such thy glorious actions. He answered, And what advantage will it be to me to have such rewards, when I have none to enjoy them after me?—for he was hitherto childless. And God promised that he should have a son, and that his posterity should be very numerous, insomuch that their number should be like the stars. When he heard that, he offered a sacrifice to God, as he commanded him. The manner of the sacrifice was this:—He took an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram in like manner of three years old, and a turtle dove and a pigeon; and as he was enjoined, he divided the three former; but the birds he did not divide. After which, before he built his altar, where the birds of prey flew about, as desirous of blood, a divine voice came to him, declaring that their children would be grievous to his posterity when they should be in Egypt, for four hundred years; during which time they should be afflicted; but afterwards should overcome their enemies, should conquer the Canaanites in war, and possess themselves of their land, and of their cities.

4. Now Abram dwelt near the oak called Ogyges,—the place belongs to Canaan, not far from the city of Hebron: but being uneasy at his wife's barrenness, he entreated God to grant that he might have male issue; and God required of him to be of good courage; and he told him that he would be to all the rest of the benefits that he had bestowed on him ever since he led him out of Mesopotamia, the gift of children. Accordingly Sarai, at God's command, brought to his bed one of her handmaiden, a woman of Egyptian descent, in order to obtain children by her; and when this handmaiden was with child, she triumphed, and ventured to affront Sarai, as if the dominion were to come to a son to be born of her; but when Abram resigned her into the hand of Sarai, to punish her, she contrived to fly away, as not able to bear the instances of Sarai's severity to her; and she entreated God to have compassion on her. Now a divine angel met her, as she was going forward in the wilderness, and bid her return to her master and mistress; for, if she would submit to that wise advice, she would live better hereafter; for that the reason of her being in such a miserable case was this, that she had been ungrateful and arrogant towards her mistress. He also told her, that if she disobeyed God, and went on still in her way, she should perish; but if she would return back, she should become the mother of a son who should reign over that country. These admonitions she obeyed, and returned to her master and mistress, and obtained forgiveness. A little while afterwards, she bare Isaac, which may be interpreted Heard of God, because God had heard his mother's prayer.

5. The forementioned son was born to Abram when he was eighty-six years old; but when he was ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and promised him that he should have a son by Sarai, and commanded that his name should be Isaac; and showed him, that from this son should spring great nations and kings, and that they should obtain all the land of Canaan by war, from Sidon to Egypt. But he charged him, in order to keep his posterity unmixt with others, that they should be circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin, and that this should be done on the eighth day after they were born: the reason of which circumcision I will explain in another place. And Abram inquiring also concerning Ismael, whether he should live or not, God signified to him that he should live to be very old, and should be the father of great nations. Abram, therefore, gave thanks to God for these blessings; and then he, and all his family, and his son Ismael were circumcised immediately, the son being that day thirteen years of age, and he ninety-nine.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW GOD OVERTHREW THE NATION OF THE SODOMITES, OUT OF HIS WRATH AGAINST THEM FOR THEIR SINS.

5. 1. About this time the Sodomites grew proud, on account of their riches and great wealth: they became unjust towards men, and impious towards God, insomuch that they did not call to mind the advantages they received from him: they hated strangers, and abused themselves with Sodomitical practices. God was therefore much displeased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and to overthrow their city, and to lay waste their country, until there should neither plant nor fruit grow out of it.

2. When God had thus resolved concerning the Sodomites, Abraham, as beset by the oak of Mambr, at the door of his tent, saw three angels; and, thinking them to be strangers, he rose up and saluted them, and desired they would accept of an entertainment, and abide with him; to which when they agreed, he ordered cakes of meal to be made presently; and when he had slain a calf, he roasted it, and brought it to them, as they sat under the oak. Now they made a show of eating; and besides, they asked him about his wife Sarah, where she was; and when he said she was within, they said they would come again hereafter, and find her become a mother. Upon which the woman laughed and said that it was impossible she should bear children, since she was ninety years of age, and her husband was an hundred. Then they concealed themselves no longer, but declared that they were angels of God; and that one of them was sent to inform them about the child, and two of the overthrow of Sodom.

3. When Abraham heard this, he was grieved for the Sodomites; and he rose up, and besought God for them, and entreated him that he would not destroy the righteous with the wicked. And when God had replied that there was no good man among the Sodomites; for if there were but ten such men among them, he would not punish any of them for their sins, Abraham held his peace. And the angels came to the city of the Sodomites, and Lot entreated them to accept of a lodging with him; for he was a very generous and hospitable man, and
one that had learned to imitate the goodness of Abraham. Now when the Sodomites saw the young men to be of beautiful countenances, and this to an extraordinary degree, and that they took up their lodgings with Lot, they resolved themselves to enjoy these beautiful boys by force and violence; and they sent to Lot, to suborn him and not to offer anything immodest to the strangers, but to have regard to their lodging in his house; and promised, that if their inclinations could not be governed, he would expose his daughters to their lust, instead of these strangers—neither thus were they made ashamed.

4. But God was much displeased at their impudent behaviour, so that he both smote those men with blindness, and condemned the Sodomites to universal destruction. But Lot, upon God’s informing him of the future destruction of the Sodomites, went away, taking with him his wife and daughters, who were two, and still virgins; for those that were betrothed to them were above the thoughts of going, and deemed that Lot’s words were trifling. God then cast a thunderbolt upon the city, and set it on fire with its inhabitants; and laid waste the country with the like burning, as I formerly said when I wrote the Jewish war. But Lot’s wife continually turning back to view the city as she went from it, and being too nicely inquisitive what would become of it, although God had forbidden her so to do, was changed into a pillar of salt; for I have seen it, and it remains with me this day. Now he and his daughters fled to a certain small place, encompassed with the fire, and settled in it. It is to this day called Zoar, for that is the word which the Hebrews use for a small thing. There it was that he lived a miserable life, on account of his having no company, and his want of provisions.

5. But his daughters, thinking that all mankind were destroyed, approached to their father, though taking care not to be perceived. This they did, that human kind might not utterly fall. And they bare sons: the son of the elder was named Moab, which doth bear denominations of two; and the younger, the father of Ammon, which name denotes one derived from a kinsman. The former of whom was the father of the Moabites, which is even still a great nation; the latter was the father of the Ammonites: and both of them are inhabitants of Cæsarea. And such was the departure of Lot among the Sodomites.

CHAP. XII. CONCERNING ABIMELECH; AND CONCERNING ISMAR, THE SON OF ABRAHAM; AND CONCERNING THE ABRAHANS, WHO WERE HIS POSTERITY.

§ 1. Abraham now removed to Gerar of Palestine, leading Sarah along with him, under the notion of his sister, using the like dissimulation that he had used before, and this out of fear; for he was afraid of Abimelech, the king of that country, who did also himself fall in love with Sarah, and was disposed to corrupt her; but he was restrained from satisfying his lust, by a dangerous distemper which befell him from God. Now when his physicians despaired of curing him, he fell asleep, and saw a dream, warning him not to abuse the stranger’s wife; and when he recovered, he told his friends that God had inflicted that disease upon him, by way of punishment, for his injury to the stranger, and in order to preserve the chastity of his wife; for that she did not accompany him as his sister, but as his legitimate wife; and that God had promised to be gracious to him for the time to come, if this person be once secure of his wife’s chastity. When he had said this, by the advice of his friends, he sent for Abraham, and bid him not be concerned about his wife, or fear the corruption of her chastity; for that God took care of him, and that it was by his providence that he received his wife again, without her suffering any abuse; and he appealed to God, and to his wife’s conscience, and said that he had not any inclination at first to enjoy her, if he had known she was his wife; but since, said he, thou ledst her about as thy sister, I was guilty of no offence. He also entreated him to be at peace with him, and to make God propitious to him; and that if he thought fit to continue with him, he should have what he wanted in abundance; but that if he designed to go away, he should be honourably conducted, and have whatsoever supply he wanted when he came thither. Upon his saying this, Abraham told him that his pretence of kindred to his wife was no lie, because she was his brother’s daughter; and that he did not think himself safe in his travels abroad, without this sort of dissimulation; and that he was not the cause of his distemper, but was only solicitous for his own safety. He said also, that he was ready to stay with him. Whereupon Abimelech assigned him land and money; and they cemented to live together without guilt, and took an oath at a certain well called Beersheba, which may be interpreted The Well of Oath. And so it is named by the people of the country unto this day.

2. Now in a little time Abraham had a son by Sarah, as God had foretold to him, whom he named Isaac, which signifies Laughter; and indeed they so called him, because Sarah laughed when God said that she should bear a son, she not expecting such a thing, as being past the age of child-bearing, for she was ninety years old, and Abraham an hundred; so that this son was born to them both in the last
year of each of those decimal numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day. And from that time the Jews continue the custom of circumcising their sons within that number of days. But as for the Arabians, they circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ismael, the founder of their nation, who was born to Abraham the concubine, was circumcised at that age; concerning whom I will presently give a particular account, with great exactness.

3. As for Sarah, she at first loved Ismael, who was born of her own handmaid Hagar, with an affection not inferior to that of her own son, for he was brought up, in order to succeed in the government; but when she herself had bore Isaac, she was not willing that Ismael should be brought up with him, as being too old for him, and able to do him injuries when their father should be dead; she therefore persuaded Abraham to send him and his mother to some distant country. Now, at the first, he did not agree to what Sarah was so zealous for, and thought it an instance of the greatest barbarity to send away a young child and a woman unprovided of necessaries; but at length he agreed to it, because God was pleased with what Sarah had determined; so he delivered Ismael to his mother, as not yet able to go by himself; and commanded her to take a bottle of water, and a loaf of bread, and so to depart, and to take Necessity for her guide. But as soon as her necessary provisions failed, she found herself in an evil case; and when the water was almost spent, she laid the young child, who was ready to expire, under a fig-tree, and went on further, that so he might die while she was absent. But a divine angel came to her, and told her of a fountain hard by, and bid her take care and bring up the child, because she should be very happy by the preservation of Ismael. She then took courage, upon the prospect of what was promised her, and, meeting with some shepherds, by their care she got clear of the distresses she had been in.

4. When the lad was grown up, he married a wife, by birth an Egyptian, from whence the mother was herself derived originally. Of these five, the wife were born of Ismael twelve sons; Nabaht, Kedar, Abdoel, Mameb, Idumas, Masmaoe, Masoe, Choad, Theman, Jetur, Naphesus, Cadmas. These inhabited all the country from Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it Nabetane. They are an Arabian nation, and name their tribes from these, both because of their own virtue, and because of the dignity of Abraham their father.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCERNING ISAAC, THE LEGITIMATE SON OF ABRAHAM.

1. Now Abraham greatly loved Isaac, as being his only begotten, and gave him to him at the borders

of old age by the favour of God. The child also endeared himself to his parents still more, by the exercise of every virtue, and adhering to his duty to his parents, and being zealous in the worship or God. Abraham also placed his own happiness in this prospect, that, when he should die, he should leave his son in a safe and secure condition; which accordingly he obtained by the will of God who, being desirous to make an experiment of Abraham's religious disposition towards himself, appeared to him, and enumerated all the blessings he had bestowed on him; how he had made him superior to his enemies; and that his son Isaac, who was the principal part of his present happiness, was derived from him; and he said that he required this son of his as a sacrifice and holy oblation. Accordingly he commanded him to carry him to the mountain Moriah, and to build an altar, and offer him for a burnt-offering upon it; for that this would best manifest his religious disposition towards him, if he preferred what was pleasing to God, before the others.

2. Now Abraham thought that it was not right to disobey God in any thing, but that he was obliged to serve him in every circumstance of life, since all creatures that live enjoy their life by his providence, and the kindness he bestowed on them. Accordingly he concealed this command of God, and his own intentions about the slaughter of his son, from his wife, as also from every one of his servants, otherwise he should have been hindered from his obedience to God; and he took Isaac, together with two of his servants, and laying what things were necessary for a sacrifice upon an ass, he went away to the mountain. Now the two servants went along with him two days; but on third day, as soon as he saw the mountain, he left those servants that were with him till then in the plain, and, having his son alone with him, he came to the mountain. It was that mountain upon which king David afterwards built the temple.

3. As soon as the altar was prepared, and Abraham had laid on the wood, and all things were entirely ready, he said to his son: O son! I poured out a vast number of prayers that I might have thee for my son; when thou wast come into the world, there was nothing that could contribute to thy support for which I was not greatly solicitous, nor any thing wherein I thought myself happier than to see thee grown up to man's estate, and that I might leave thee at my death the successor to my
dominion; but since it was by God's will that I became thy father, and it is now his will that I relinquish thee, bear this consecration to God with a generous mind; for I resign thee up to God, who has thought fit now to require this testimony of honour to himself, on account of the favours he hath conferred on me, in being to me a supporter and defender. Accordingly thou my son, wilt now die, not in any common way of going out of the world, but sent to God, the Father of all men, beforehand, by thy own father, in the nature of a sacrifice. I suppose he thinks thee worthy to get clear of this world neither by disease, neither by war, nor by any other severe way, by which death usually comes upon men, but so that he will receive thy soul with prayers and holy offices of religion, and will place thee near to himself, and thou wilt there be to me a succourer and supporter in my old age; on which account I principally brought thee up, and thou wilt thereby procure me for my Comforter instead of thyself."

4. Now Isaac was of such a generous disposition as became the son of such a father, and was pleased with this discourse; and said "That he was not worthy to be born at first, if he should reject the determination of God and of his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both their pleasures; since it would have been unjust if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had so resolved." So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed had been done if God had not opposed it; for he called loudly to Abraham by his name, and forbade him to slay his son; and said, "It was not out of a desire of human blood that he was commanded to slay his son, nor was he willing that he should be taken away from him whom he had made his father, but to try the temper of his mind, whether he would be obedient to such a command. Since, therefore, he now was satisfied as to that his acalrity, and the surprising readiness he showed in this his piety, he was delighted in having bestowed such blessings upon him; and that he would not be wanting in all sorts of concern about him, and in bestowing other children upon him; and that his son should live to a very great age, that he should live a happy life, and beget a large progeny to his children, who should be good and legitimate."

He foretold also, that his family should increase into many nations; and that those patriarchs should leave behind them an everlasting name, that they should obtain the possession of the land of Canaan, and be envied by all men. When God had said this, he produced to each other unexpectedly, and having obtained the promises of such great blessings, embraced one another; and when they had sacrificed, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily together, God affording them his assistance in all things they desired.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCERNING SARAH, ABRAHAM'S WIFE; AND HOW SHE ENDED HER DAYS.

Now Sarah died a little while after, having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron; the Canaanites publicly allowing them a burying-place;—which piece of ground Abraham bought, for four hundred shekels, of Ephron, an inhabitant of Hebron; and both Abraham and his descendants built themselves sepulchres in that place.

CHAPTER XV.

HOW THE NATION OF THE TROGLODYTES WERE DERIVED FROM ABRAHAM BY KETURAH.

Abraham after this married Keturah, by whom six sons were born to him; men of courage and of sanguine minds,—Zabram, and Jazar, and Madan, and Madian, and Joesab, and Sou. Now the sons of Sons of Sabathan and Dadan:—the sons of Dadan were Lutusim, and Assir, and Luom;—the sons of Madian were Ethus, and Ophren, and Anoch, and Ehbas, and Eldas. Now, for all these sons and grandsons, Abraham contrived to settle them in colonies; and they took possession of Trogodytis, and the country of Arabia the Happy, as far as it reaches to the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren, that he made war against Libya, and took it; and that his grandchildren, when they inhabited it, called it (from his name) Africa; and indeed Alexander Polyhistor gives his attestation to what I here say; who speaks thus:—Cleodemus the prophet, who was also called Malchus, who wrote a History of the Jews, in agreement with the History of Moses, their legislator, relates, that there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah; nay, he names three of them, Apher and Surim, and Japhran; that from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated; and that from the other two (Apher and Japhran) the country of Africa took its name; because these men were auxiliaries to Hercules, when he fought against Libya and Anteus; and that Herodes married Apher's daughter, and of her he begat a son, Bithorus; and that Sophon was his son; from whom those barbarous people called Sophacins were denominated."

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW ISAAC TOOK REBEKA TO WIFE.

§ 1. Now when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had resolved to take Rebeka, who was grand-daughter to his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, who was then about forty years old, he sent the ancienest of his servants to betroth her, after he had
obliged him to give him the strongest assurances of his fidelity — which assurances were given after the manner following: — They put each other’s hands under each other’s thighs; then they called upon God as the witness of what was to be done. He also sent such presents to those that were there as were in esteem, on account that they either rarely or never were seen in that country. The servant got thither not under any consideration; for it requires much time to pass through Mesopotamia, in which it is tedious travelling, both in winter and in summer, for want of water; and, besides this, for the robbers there consecrated, which are not to be avoided by travellers but by caution beforehand. However, the servant came to Haran; and when he was in the suburbs, he met a considerable number of maidens going to the water; he therefore prayed to God that Rebeka might be found among them, or her whom Abraham sent him as his servant to espouse to his son, in case his will were that this marriage should be consummated; and that she might be made known to him by the sign, That while others denied him water to drink, she might give it him.

2. With this intention he went to the well, and desired the maidens to give him some water to drink; but while the others refused on pretence that they wanted it all at home, and could spare none for him, one only of the company rebuked them for their peevish behaviour towards the stranger; and said, What is there that you will ever communicate to any body, who have not so much as given the man some water? She then offered him water in an obliging manner; and now he began to hope that his grand affair would succeed; but desiring still to know the truth, he commended her for her generosity and good-nature, that she did not scruple to afford a sufficiency of water to those that wanted it, thought it cost her some pains to draw it; and asked who were her parents, and wished them joy of such a daughter. "And mayest thou be espoused," said he, "to their satisfaction, into the family of an agreeable husband, and bring him legitimate children!" Nor did she disdain to satisfy his inquiries, but told him her family. "They," says she, "call me Rebeka; my father was Bethuel, but he is dead; and Laban is my brother; and, together with my mother, takes care of all family affairs, and is the guardian of my virginity." When the servant heard this, he was very glad at what had happened, and at what was told him, as perceiving that God had thus plainly directed his journey; and producing his bracelets, and some other ornaments which it was esteemed decent for virgins to wear, he gave them to the damsel, by way of acknowledgment, and as a reward for her kindness in giving him water to drink; saying, it was but just that she should have them, because she was so much more obliging than any of the rest. She desired also that he would come and lodge with them, since the approach of the night gave him not time to proceed farther; and producing his precious ornaments for women, he said he desired to trust them to none more safely than to such as he had shown herself to be; and that he believed he might guess at the humanity of her mother and brother, that they would not be displeased, from the virtue he found in her; for he would not be burdensome, but would pay the hire for his entertainment, and spend his ow..." which she replied, that he guessed right as to the humanity of her parents; but explained that he should think them so parsimonious as to take money, for that he should have all on free cost: but she said she would first inform her brother Laban, and, if he gave her leave, she would conduct him in.

3. As soon then as this was over, she introduced the stranger; and for the camels, the servants of Laban brought them in, and took care of them; and he was himself brought in to supper by Laban. And, after supper, he says to him, and to the mother of the damsel, addressing himself to her, "Abraham is the son of Terah, and a kinsman of yours; for Nahor, the grandfather of these children, was the brother of Abraham, by both father and mother; upon which account he hath sent me to you, being desirous to take this damsel for his son to wife. He is his legitimate son, and is brought up as his only heir. He could indeed have had the most happy of all the women in that country for him; but he would not have his son marry any of them; but, out of regard to his own relations, he desired him to match here, whose affection and inclination of God would not have you despise; for it was by the good pleasure of God that other accidents fell out in my journey, and that thereby I lighted upon your daughter and your house; for when I was near to the city, I saw a great many maidens coming to a well, and I prayed that I might meet with this damsel, which has come to pass accordingly. Do you, therefore, confirm that marriage, whose espousals have been already made by a divine appearance; and show the respect you have for Abraham, who hath sent me with so much solicitude, in giving your consent to the marriage of this damsel." Upon this they understood it to be the will of God, and greatly approved of the offer, and sent their daughter, as was desired. Accordingly Isaac married her, the inheritance being now come to him; for the children by Keturah were gone to their own remote habitations.

CHAPTER XVII.
CONCERNING THE DEATH OF ABRAHAM.
A little while after this, Abraham died. He was a man of incomparable virtue, and honoured by God in a manner agreeable to his piety towards him. The whole time of his life was one hundred seventy and five years; and he was buried in Hebron, with his wife Sarah, by their sons Isaac and Ishmael.

CHAPTER XVIII.
CONCERNING THE SONS OF ISAAC, ISAAC AND JACOB.
OF THEIR NATIVITY AND EDUCATION.
§ 1. Now Isaac’s wife proved with child, after the death of Abraham; and when her belly was greatly burdened, Isaac was very anxious, and inquired of God; who answered, that Rebeka should...
CHAPTER XVIII.

ANTIOCHUS OF THE JEWS.

bear twins; and that two nations should take the names of those sons; and that he who appeared the second should excel the elder. Accordingly she, in a little time, as God had foretold, bare twins; the elder of whom, from his head to his feet, was very rough and hairy; but the younger took hold of his heel as they were in the birth. Now the father loved the elder, who was called Esaü, a name agreeable to his roughness, for the Hebrews call such an hairy roughness [Esau] or Seir; but Jacob the younger was best beloved by his mother.

2. When there was a famine in the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, the land there being good; but he went to Gerar, as God commanded him. Here Abimelech the king received him, because Abraham had formerly lived with him, and had been his friend; and as in the beginning he treated him exceeding kindly, so he was hindered from continuing in the same disposition to the end, by his envy at him; for when he saw that God was with Isaac, and took such great care of him, he drove him away from him. But Isaac, when he saw now evil had changed the temper of Abimelech, retired to a place called the Valley, not far from Gerar; and as he was digging a well, the shepherds fell upon him, and began to fight, in order to hinder the work; and because he did not desire to contend, the shepherds seemed to get the better of him; so he still retired, and dug another well; and when certain other shepherds of Abimelech's began to offer him violence, he left that also, and still retired; thus purchasing security to himself by a rational and prudent conduct. At length the king gave him leave to dig a well without disturbance. He named this well Rehoboth, which denotes a large space; but of the former wells, one was called Escon, which denotes strife; the other Sitema, which name signifies emnity.

3. It was now that Isaac's affairs increased, and his power was in a flourishing condition; and this from his great riches. But Abimelech, thinking Isaac thrive in opposition to him, while their living together made them suspicious of each other, and Isaac's retiring, showing a secret emnity also, he was afraid that his former friendship with Isaac would not secure him, if Isaac should endeavour to revenge the injuries he had formerly offered him; he therefore renewed his friendship with him, and brought with him Philoc, one of his generals. And when he had obtained every thing he desired, by reason of Isaac's good nature, who preferred the earlier friendship Abimelech had shown to himself and his father to his later wrath against him, he returned home.

4. Now when Esaü, one of the sons of Isaac, whom the father principally loved, was now come to the age of forty years, he married Adah, the daughter of Helon, and Aholibamah, the daughter of Esebeon; which Helon and Esebeon were great lords among the Canaanites, thereby taking upon himself the authority, and pretending to have dominion over his own marriages, without so much as asking the advice of his father; for had Isaac been the arbiter, he had not given him leave to marry thus, for he was not pleased with contracting any alliance with the people of that country; but not caring to be uneasy to his son, by commanding him to put away these wives, he resolved to be silent.

5. But when he was old, and could not see at all, he called Esaü to him, and told him, besides his blindness and the disorder of his eyes, his very old age hindered him from his worship of God [by sacrifice]; he bid him therefore to go out a hunting, and when he had caught as much venison as he could, to prepare him a supper; that after this he might make supplication to God, to be to him a supporter and an assister during the whole time of his life; saying, that it was uncertain when he should die, and that he might, by prayer, to procure, beforehand, God to be merciful to him.

6. Accordingly Esaü went out a hunting; but Rebekah thinking it proper to have the application made for obtaining the favour of God to Jacob, and that without the consent of Isaac, bid him kill kids of the goats, and prepare a supper. So Jacob obeyed his mother, according to all her instructions. Now when the supper was got ready, he took a goat's skin, and put it about his arm, that by reason of its hairy roughness, he might by his father's eyes be believed to be Esaü; when the supper being ready, in all things else alike, differed only in this thing. This was done out of his fear, that before his father had made his supplications, he should be caught in his evil practice; and lest he should, on the contrary, provoke his father to curse him. So he brought in the supper to his father. Isaac perceiving by the peculiarity of his voice, who he was, called his son to him, who gave him his hand, which was covered with the goat's skin. When Isaac felt that, he said, "Thy voice is like the voice of Jacob, yet, because of the thickness of thy hair, and the like resemblance, if thou seest me with the eye, and touched me, thou seest, I eat the supper, and betook himself to his prayers and intercessions with God: and said, "O Lord of all ages, and Creator of all substance; for it was thou that didst propose to my father great plenty of good things, and hast vouchsafed to bestow on me what I have; and hast promised to my posterity to be their kind supporter, and to bestow on them still greater blessings——do thou, therefore, confirm these thy promises, and do not overlook me, because of my present weak condition, on account of which I most earnestly pray to thee. Be gracious to thy servant, that thou mayest keep him from every thing that is evil. Give him a happy life, and the possession of as many good

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4 The supper of savoury meat, as we call it (Gen. xxvii. 4.) to be caught by hunting, was intended plainly for a festival or a sacrifice; and upon the prayers that were frequent at sacrifices, Isaac expected, as was then usual in such eminent cases, that a divine impulse would come upon him, in order to the solemn blessing of his son there present, and his foretelling his future behaviour and fortune. Wherein it must be, that when Isaac had unwisely embraced Jacob, the prophet of his mistake, yet did he not attempt to alter it, now earnestly desires his son Esaü to sacrifice him, showing that he knew that this blessing came not from him, but from God, and that this allusion was to what he had done of late to his brother, upon him, and enabled him to foretell Esaü's future behaviour and fortune also.

5 Whether Jacob or his mother Rebekah were most blameable in this imposition upon Isaac in his old age, I cannot determine. However, the blessing being delivered as a prediction of future events, by a divine impulse, and foretelling things to befall to the posterity of Jacob and Esaü in future ages, was for certain prophecies; and according to what Rebekah knew to be the purpose of God, when he answered her inquiry "before the children were born" (Gen. xxvii. 8.) that "the elder should be stronger than the younger," and Esaü should serve the younger Jacob, who was the first begotten in the order of birth, and also because our countrymen by way of metaphor, of a kind of people and the elder, Esaü, should serve the younger, Jacob. Whether Isaac knew or remembered this old oracle, the same, preserved in our countrymen by way of metaphor, of a kind of people and the elder, which he in his youth remembered, he did not endeavour to alter this divine determination, out of respect to his elder and younger sons, to the change of the eldest and younger brother Jacob; as Josephus elsewhere supposes, Antiqu. lib. ii. cap. viii. sect. 6. it is not certain whether, if he had thought upon it, he could have resisted his father, and Jacob to put this imposition upon him. However, Josephus says here, that it was Isaac, and not Rebekah, who inquired of God at first, and received the foreboding, by which event he undertook the true reading, renders Isaac's procedure more miserable. Nor was it probably anything else but so much enmang the elder father and son to marry two Canaanite wives, without their parents' consent, as Isaac unhappily bad manners for him.
things as thy power is able to bestow. Make him terrible to his enemies, and honourable and beloved among his friends!"

7. Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau. He had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting; and when Isaac perceived his mistake, he was silent: but Esau required that he might be made partaker of the like blessing from his father that his brother had partook of; but his father refused it, because all his prayers had been spent upon Jacob; so Esau lamented the mistake. However, his father being grieved at his weeping, said, that he should excel in hunting and strength of body, in arms, and in all such sorts of work; and should obtain glory for ever on those accounts, he and his posterity after him; but still should serve his brother.

8. Now the mother delivered Jacob, when she was afraid that his brother would inflict some punishment upon him, because of the mistake about the prayers of Isaac; for she persuaded her husband to take a wife for Jacob out of Mesopotamia, of her own kindred, Esau having married already Basemmath, the daughter of Ishmael, without his father's consent; for Isaac did not like the Canaanites, so that he disapproved of Esau's former marriages, which made him take Basemmath to wife, in order to please him; and indeed he had a great affection for her.

CHAPTER XIX.
CONCERNING JACOB'S FLIGHT INTO MESOPOTAMIA, BY REASON OF THE FEAR HE WAS IN OF HIS BROTHER.

§ 1. Now Jacob was sent by his mother to Mesopotamia, in order to marry Laban her brother's daughter (which marriage was permitted by Isaac, on account of his obsequiousness to the desires of his wife); and he accordingly journeyed through the land of Canaan; and because he hated the people of that country, he would not lodge with any of them, but took up his lodging in the open air, and laid his head on a heap of stones that he had gathered together. At which time he saw in his sleep such a vision standing by him;—he seemed to see a ladder, that reached from the earth unto heaven, and persons descending upon the ladder that seemed more excellent than human; and at last God himself stood above it, and was plainly visible to him; who, calling him by his name, spake to him these words:—

2. "O Jacob, it is not fit for thee, who art the son of a good father, and grandson of one who had obtained a great reputation for his eminent virtue, to be dejected at thy present circumstances, but to hope for better times, for thou shalt have great abundance of all good things by my assistance; for I brought Abraham hither, out of Mesopotamia, when he was a stranger by his kinship, and I made thy father a happy man; nor will I bestow a less degree of happiness on thyself; be of good courage, therefore, and under my conduct proceed on this thy journey, for the marriage thou goest so zealously about shall be consummated; and thou shalt have children of good characters, but their multitude shall be innumerable; and they shall leave what they have to a still more numerous posterity, to whom, and to whose posterity, I give the dominion of all the land, and their posterity shall fill the entire earth and sea, so far as the sun beholdeth them; but do not thou fear any danger, nor be afraid of the many labours thou must undergo, for by my providence I will direct thee what thou art to do in the time present, and still much more in the time to come."

3. Such were the predictions which God made to Jacob; whereupon he became very joyful at what he had seen and heard; and he poured oil on the stones, because on them the prediction of such great benefits was made. He also vowed a vow, that he would offer sacrifices upon them, if he lived and returned safe; and if he came again in this condition, he would give the tithe of what he had gotten to God. He also judged the place to be honourable, and gave it the name of Bethel, which, in the Greek, is interpreted, The House of God.

4. So he proceeded on his journey to Mesopotamia, and at length came to Haran; and meeting with shepherds in the suburbs, with boys grown up, and maidens sitting about a certain well, he staid with them, as wanting water to drink; and beginning to discourse with them, he asked them whether they knew such a person as Laban, and whether he was still alive. Now they all, said they, knew him, for he was not so inconsiderable a person as to be unknown to any of them; and that his daughter fed her father's flock together with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not yet come, for by her means thou mightest learn more exactly whatever thou desirest to know about that family. While they were saying this the damsel came, and the other shepherds that came down along with her. Then they showed her Jacob, and told her that he was a stranger, who came to inquire about her father's affairs. But she, as pleased, after the custom of children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was, and whence he came to them, and what it was he lacked that he came hither. She also wished it might be in their power to supply the wants he came about.

5. But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their kindness, nor by that affection which might arise thence, as by his love to the damsel, and his surprise at her beauty, which was so flourishing, as few of the women of that age could vie with. He said them, "There is a relation between thee and me, elder than either thy or my birth, if thou be the daughter of Laban; for Abraham was the son of Terah, as well as Haran and Nahor. Of the last of whom (Nahor) Bethuel thy grandfather was the son. Isaac my father was the son of Abram and of Sarah, who was the daughter of Haran. But there is a nearer and later cement of mutual kindred which we bear to one another, for my mother Rebeka was sister to Laban thy father, both by the same father and mother; I therefore and thou art cousin-germans; and I am now come to salute you, and to renew that affinity which is proper between us." Upon this the damsel, at the mention of Rebeka, as understanding persons to young persons, wept, and that out of the kindness she had for her father, and embraced Jacob, she having learned an account of Rebeka from her father, and knew that her parents loved to hear her named; and when she had saluted him, she said that "he brought the most desirable and greatest pleasures to her father, with all their family, who was always mentioning his mother, and always thinking of her; and her
alone; and that this will make thee equal in his eyes to any advantageous circumstances whatsoever."

Then she bid him go to her father, and follow her while she conducted him to him; and not to deprive him of such a pleasure, by staying any longer away from him.

6. When she had said thus, she brought him to Laban; and being owned by his uncle, he was secured himself, as being among his friends; and he brought a great deal of pleasure to them by his unexpected coming. But a little while afterward, Laban told him that he could not express in words the joy he had at his coming; but still he inquired of him the occasion of his coming, and why he left his aged mother and father, when they wanted to be taken care of by him; and that he would afford him all the assistance he wanted. Then Jacob gave him an account of the whole occasion of his journey, and told him, "that Isaac had two sons that were twins, himself and Esau; who, because he was fat, he gave him his blessing: but the blessing which his younger son Jeroboam brought him, was to be given on account of his name, which he gave him: and he sent him to bring to him the blessing which was to be given on account of him, and the blessing which his elder son gave him, to his younger son, who was to reign over him."

7. Now Laban promised to treat him with great honor, because of God's blessing to him, and because Jacob was the chief of the whole family, and particularly for the sake of his mother, towards whom, he said, he would show his kindness, even though she were absent, by taking care of him; for he assured him he would make him the head shepherd of his flock, and give him authority sufficient for that purpose; and when he should have a mind to return to his parents, he would send him back with presents, and this in as honourable a manner as the nearness of their relation should require. This Jacob heard gladly; and said he would willingly, and with pleasure, undergo any sort of care while he tarried with him, but desired Rachel to wife as the reward of those pains, who was not only on other accounts esteemed by him, but also because she was the means of his coming to him; for he said he was forced by the love of the damsel to make this proposal. Laban was well pleased with this agreement, and consented to give the damsel to him, as not desirous to meet with any better son-in-law; and said he would do this, if he would stay with him some time, for he was not willing to send his daughter to be among the Canaanites, for he repented of the alliance he had made already by marrying his sister there. And when Jacob had given his consent to this, he agreed to stay seven years; for so many years he had resolved to serve his father-in-law, that, having given a specimen of his virtue, it might be better known what sort of a man he was: and Jacob accepting of his terms, after the time was over, he made the wedding-feast; and when it was night, without Jacob's

perceiving it, he put his other daughter into bed to him, who was both elder than Rachel, and of no comely countenance: Jacob lay with her that night, as being both in drink and in the dark. However, when it was day he knew what had been done to him; and he reproached Laban for his unfair proceeding with him; who asked pardon for that necessity which forced him to do what he did; for he did not give him Leah out of any ill design, but as overcome by another greater necessity that, notwithstanding this, nothing should hinder him from marrying Rachel; but that when he had served another seven years, he would give him whom he loved. Jacob submitted to this condition, for his love to the damsel did not permit him to do otherwise; and when another seven years were gone, he took Rachel to wife.

8. Now each of these had handmaids, by their father's donation. Zilpah was handmaid to Leah, and Bilha to Rachel; by no means slaves, but persons of substance. Now Leah was sorely troubled at her husband's death, and longed for his sister; and she expected she should be better esteemed if she bare him children; so she entreated God perpetually; and when she had born a son, and her husband was on that account better reconciled to her, she named her son Reuben, because God had had mercy upon her, in giving her a son; for that is the signification of this name. After some time she bare three more sons; Simeon, which name signifies that God had hearkened to her prayer. Then she bare Levi, the confirmer of their friendship. After him was born Judah, which denotes thanksgiving. But their father, fearing lest the fruitfulness of her sister should make a lesser share of Jacob's affections, put to bed to her her handmaid Bilha; by whom Jacob had Dan: one may interpret that name into the Greek tongue, a divine judgment. And after him Nephilim, as it were, unconquerable in stratagems, since Rachel tried to conquer the fruitfulness of her sister by this stratagem. Accordingly, Lea took the same method, and used a counter-stratagem to that of her sister; for she put to bed to her own handmaid. Jacob therefore had by Zilpah a son whose name was Gad, which signifies that he was generous; and after him Asher, which may be called a kinsman, because he added glory to Lea. Now Reuben, the eldest son of Lea, brought apples of mandrakes to his mother. When Rachel saw them, she desired that she would give her the apples, for she longed to eat them; but when she refused, and bid her be content that she had deprived her of the benevolence she ought to have had from her husband, Rachel, in order to mitigate her sister's anger, said she would yield her husband to her; and he should lie with her that evening. She accepted of the favour: and Jacob slept with Lea by the

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*By this "deprivation of the kingdom that was to be given Esau of God" does not appear that Jacob supposed that a "kingdom to be derived from God" was due to him whose Isaac should bless as Esau; a very noticeable and large branch of the history of the patriarchs. The idea therefore is that as Jacob had by the blessing of the first-born, became the golden hair of the kingdom, in opposition to these, he formerly exhibited these mandrakes, as we, with the Septuagint, and Josephus, render the Hebrew word דודים, of the Syriac Sanka, LXX. i. e. Λουδοιδας, and the Vulgate, Mandrake, a very probable account of M. R. of my learned frnd Mr. Samuel Rawlinson, of what we still call Mandrakes, and their description by the sense of naturals and physicians, as instince us to think these here mentioned were really Mandrakes, and no other.
favour of Rachel. She bare then these sons: Isa
chael, denoting one born by hire; and Zabulon,
one born as a pledge of benevolence towards her:
and a daughter, Dina. After some time Rachel
had a son, named Joseph, which signified there
should be another added to him.

9. Now Jacob fed the flocks of Laban, his father
in-law, all this time, being twenty years; after
which he desired leave of his father-in-law, to take
his wives and go home; but when his father-in
law would not give him leave, he contrived to do it
secretly. He made trial, therefore, of the disposi
tion of his wives, what they thought of this journey;
—when they appeared glad, and approved of it.
Rachel took along with her the images of the gods
which, according to their laws, they used to wor
ship in their own country, and ran away together
with her sister. The children also of them both,
and the handmaids, and what possessions they had,
went along with them. Jacob also drove away half
the cattle, without letting Laban know of it before
hand; but the reason why Rachel took the images
of the gods, although Jacob had taught her to de
spise such worship of those gods, was, because of the
case they were pursued, and taken by her father,
she might have recourse to these images, in order
to obtain his pardon.

10. But Laban, after one day's time, being ac
quainted with Jacob's and his daughters' departure,
was much troubled, and pursued after them, lead
ing a band of men with him; and on the seventh
day overtook them, and found them resting on a
certain hill; and then indeed he did meddle with
them, for it was even-tide; but God stood by him
in a dream, and warned him to receivc his broth
er-in-law and his daughters in a peaceable manner;
and not to venture upon anything rashly, or in
wrath to them, but to make a league with Jacob;
and he told him, that if he despised their small
number, and attacked them in a hostile manner, he
would himself assist them. When Laban had been
thus forewarned by God, he called Jacob to him
the next day, in order to treat with him, and showed
him what dream he had; in dependence whereupon
he came confidently to him, and began to accuse
him; alleging him that he had entertained him
worse than he was poor, and in want of all things, and
had given him plenty of all things which he had
for,” said he, “I have joined my daughters to thee
in marriage, and supposed that thy kindness to
me would be greater than before; but thou hast
had no regard to either thy mother's relation to me,
or to the affinity now newly contracted between
us; nor to those wives whom thou hast married;
nor to those children, of whom I am the grandfa
ther. Thou hast treated me as an enemy, by driv
ing away my cattle; and by persuading my daugh
ters to run away from their father; and by carry
ing home those sacred paternal images which were
worshipped by my forfathers, and have been hon
oured with the like worship which they paid them,
by myself. In short, thou hast done this whilst
thou art my kinsman, and my sister's son, and the
husband of my daughters, and was hospitably
brought by me, and didst eat at my table.” When
Laban had said this, Jacob made his defence:—
that he was not the only person in whom God had
implanted the love of his native country, but that
he had it more so than all men; and that there
fore it

whose driving away thou accusest me, if any other
person were the arbitrator, thou wouldst be found
in the wrong; for, instead of those thanks I ought
to have had from thee, for both keeping thy cattle
and increasing them, how is it that thou art unjustly
angry at me because I have taken, and have with
me a small portion of them? But then, as to thy
daughters, take notice, that it is not through any
evil practices of mine that they follow me in my
return home, but from that just affection which
wives naturally have to their husbands. They fol
low, therefore, not so properly myself as their own
children.” And thus far of his apology was made,
in order to clear himself of having acted unjustly.
To which he added his own complaint and accusa
tion of Laban; saying, “While I was thy sister's
son, and thou hast given me thy daughters in
marriage, thou hast wormed me out with thy
harsh commands, and detained me twenty years
under them. That, indeed, which was required
in order to my marrying thy daughters, hard as it was,
I own to have been tolerable; but as to those
that were put upon me after those marriages, they
were worse, and such indeed as an enemy would have
avoided.” For certainly Laban had used Jacob
very ill; for when he saw that God was assisting
Jacob, in all that he desired, he promised him,
that of the young cattle which should be born, he
should have sometimes what was of a white colour,
and sometimes what should be of a black colour;
but when those that came to Jacob's share proved
numerous, he did not keep his faith with him, but
said he would give them to him the next year,
because of his envying him the multitude of his pos
sessions. But when he was punished him as before,
he thought such an increase was not to be expected;
but when it appeared to be fact, he desisted him.

11. But then, as to the sacred images, he bid him
search for them; and when Laban accepted of the
offer, Rachel, being informed of it, put those images
into that camel's saddle on which she rode, and set
upon it; and said, that her natural purgation hid
her rising up; so Laban left off searching
any farther; not supposing that his daughter in such
circumstances would approach to those images.
So he made a league with Jacob, and bound it by
oaths, that he would not bear him ill will, or make
an account of what had happened; and Jacob made
the like league, and promised to love Laban's
daughters. And these leagues they confirmed with
oaths also, which they made upon certain mountains,
whereon they erected a pillar, in the form of an as
tar: whence that hill is called Gilead; and from
hence they call that land the Land of Gilead at
this day. Now when they had feasted after the
making of the league, Laban returned home.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCERNING THE MEETING OF JACOB AND ESAU.
§ 1. Now as Jacob was proceeding on his jour
ney to the land of Canaan, angels appeared to him,
and suggested to him good hope of his future con
dition; and that place he named the Camp of God.
And being desirous of knowing what his brother's
intentions were to him, he sent messengers to give
him an exact account of every thing, as being afraid
on account of the enmities between them. He charged
CHAPTER XXI.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

they sent to say to Esau, "Jacob had thought it wrong to live together with him, while he was in anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that he now, thinking the length of time of his absence must have made up their differences, was returning; that he brought with him his wives, and his children, with what possessions he had gotten; and delivered himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands; and should think it his greatest happiness to partake together with his brother of what God had bestowed upon him." So these messengers told him this message. Upon which Esau was very glad, and met his brother with four hundred men. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet with such a number of men, was greatly afraid; however, he committed his hope of deliverance to God; and considered how, in his present circumstances, he might preserve himself and those that were with him, and overcome his enemies if they attacked him injuriously. He therefore distributed his company into parts; some he sent before him, and then he ordered to come close behind, that so, if the first were surprised when his brother attacked them, they might have those that followed as a refuge to fly unto. And when he had put his company in this order, he sent some of them to carry presents to his brother. The presents were made up of cattle, and a great number of four-footed beasts, of many kinds, such as would be very acceptable to those that received them, on account of their rarity. Those who were sent went at certain intervals of space assunder, that by following thick one after another, they might appear to be more numerous; that Esau might remain of his anger on account of the presents, if he were still in a passion. Instructions were also given to those that were sent to speak gently to him.

2. When Jacob had made these appointments all the day, and night came on, he moved on with his company; and, as they were gone over a certain river called Jaboc, Jacob was left behind; and meeting with an angel he wrestled with him, the angel beginning the struggle; but he prevailed over the angel, who used a voice, and spake to him in words, exhorting him to be pleased with what had happened to him, and not to suppose that his victory was such as he had overcome a divine angel, and to esteem the victory as a sign of great blessings that should come to him; and that his offspring should never fail; and that no man should be too hard for his power. He also commanded him to be called Israel, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that struggled with the divine angel. These promises were made at the prayer of Jacob; for when he perceived him to be the angel of God, he desired he would signify to him what should befall him hereafter. And when the angel had said what is before related, he disappeared; but Jacob was blessed with those things, and named the place, Painless, which signifies, the face of God. Now when he felt pain by this struggling, upon his broad sinew, he abstained from eating that sinew himself afterward; and for his sake it is still not eaten by us.

3. When Jacob understood that his brother was near, he ordered his wives to go before, each by herself, with the handmaids, that they might see the actions of the men as they were fighting, if Esau were so disposed. He then went up to his brother Esau, and bowed down to him, who had no evil design upon him, but saluted him; and asked him about the company of the children and of the women; and desired, when he had understood all he wanted to know about them, that he would go along with him to their father; but Jacob pretending that the cattle were weary, Esau returned to Seir, for there was his place of habitation; he having named the place Roughness, from his own hairy roughness.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONCERNING THE VIOLATION OF DINAH'S CHASTITY.

§ 1. Hereupon Jacob came to the place, till this day called Tents (Succoth); from whence he went to Shechem, which is a city of the Canaanites. Now as the Shechemites were keeping a festival, Dinah, who was the only daughter of Jacob, went into the city to see the finery of the women of that country. But when Shechem, the son of Hamor the king, saw her, he defiled her by violence; and, being greatly in love with her, desired of his father that he would procure the damsel to him for a wife:—to which desire he condescended, and came to Jacob, desiring him to give leave that his son Shechem might, according to law, marry Dinah. But Jacob, not knowing how to deny the desire of one of such great dignity, and yet not thinking it lawful to marry his daughter to a stranger, entreated him to give him leave to have a consultation about what he desired him to do. So the king went away, in hopes that Jacob would grant him this marriage. But Jacob informed his sons of the defilement of their sister, and of the address of Hamor; and desired them to give their advice what they should do. Upon this, the greatest part said nothing, not knowing what advice to give. But Simeon and Levi, the brethren of the damsel by the same mother, agreed between themselves upon a most certain following being now the time of a festival, when the Shechemites were employed in ease and feasting, they fell upon the watch when they were asleep, and, coming into the city, slew all the males; as also the king and his son with them; but spared the women; and when they had done this without their father's consent, they brought away their sister.

2. Now while Jacob was astonished at the greatness of this act, and was severely blaming his sons for it, God stood by him, and bid him be of good courage; but to purify his tents, and to offer those sacrifices which he had vowed to offer when he went first into Mesopotamia, and saw his vision. As he was therefore purifying his followers, he lighted upon the gods of Laban (for he did not before know they were stolen by Rachel); and he hid them in the earth, under an oak, in Shechem; and departing thence, he offered sacrifice at Bethel, the place where he saw his dream, when he went first into Mesopotamia.

3. And when he was gone thence, and was come over-against Ephraim, he there buried Rachel, who died in child-bed: she was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honour of burial at He-
CHAPTER XXII.

HOW ISAAC DIED, AND WAS BURIED IN HEBRON.

FROM thence Jacob came to Hebron, a city situated among the Canaanites; and there it was that Isaac lived; and so they lived together for a little while; for as to Rebekah, Jacob did not find her alive. Isaac also died not long after the coming of his son; and was buried by his sons, with his wife, in Hebron, where they had a monument belonging to them from their forefathers. Now Isaac was a man who was beloved of God, and was vouchsafed great instances of providence by God, after Abraham his father; and lived to be exceeding old, for when he had lived virtuously one hundred and eighty-five years, he then died.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF ISAAC TO THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.

HOW ESAU AND JACOB, ISAAC’S SONS, DIVIDED THEIR HABITATION; AND ESAU POSSESSED IDUMEA, AND JACOB CANAAN.

§ 1. After the death of Isaac, his sons divided their habitations respectively; nor did they retain what they had before; but Esau departed from the city of Hebron, and left it to his brother, and dwelt in Seir, and ruled over Idumea. He called the country by that name from himself, for he was named Adom; which appellation he got on the following occasion:—One day returning from the toil of hunting very hungry (it was when he was a child in age), he lighted on his brother when he was getting ready lentile-pottage for his dinner, which was of a very red colour; on which account he the more earnestly longed for it, and desired him to give him some of it to eat: but he made advantage of his brother’s hunger, and forced him to resign up to him his birthright; and he, being pinched with famine, resigned it up to him, under an oath. Whence it came, that, on account of the redness of this pottage, he was, in way of jest, by his contemporaries, called Adom, for the Hebrews call what is red Adom; and this was the name given to this country: but the Greeks gave it a more agreeable pronunciation, and named it Idumea.

2. He became the father of five sons, of whom Jan, and Jalonus, and Coreus, were by one wife,

* Since Benedict signifies the son of my servile, and Benjamin, the son of a slave, or one born in the father’s old age (Gen. xvi. 20) I suspect Joseph’s present reply to be here imperfect, and suppose that, in correspondence to other ages, he wrote that Rachel called her son’s name Noseeny; but his father called him Benjamin. Gen. xxxv. 18. As for Benjamin, as commonly explained, the son of the right hand, it makes no sense at all, and seems to be a gross modern error only. The Samaritan always writes this name truly Benjamin, which probably here is of the same significat. Can. only with the Chaldean termination es, instead of of in the Hebrew, as we pronounce Chevaim or Cheramim mutually only. Accordingly, both the Peshitta of Benjamin (v. 2. p. 28.) and Philo de Specimen Rhetoricæ (p. 1280), write the name Benjamin; but explain it not the son of the son of slave, but the son of slave.

whose name was Albama; but of the rest, Aliphaz was born to him by Ada, and Ragner by Bacemath: and these were the sons of Esau. Aliphaz had five legitimate sons; Theman, Omer, Sepher, Carmeth, and Kanaan: for Amalek was not legitimate, but by a concubine, whose name was Thama. These dwelt in that part of Idumea which is called Gebalitis, and that denominated from Amalek, Amalekitis; for Idumea was a large country, and did then preserve the name of the whole, while in its several parts it kept the names of its peculiar inhabitants.

CHAPTER II.

HOW JOSEPH, THE YOUNGEST OF JACOB’S SONS, WAS ENVIED BY HIS BRETHREN, WHEN CERTAIN DREAMS HAD FORESHOWN HIS FUTURE HAPPINESS.

§ 1. It happened that Jacob came to so great happiness as rarely any other person had arrived at. He was richer than the rest of the inhabitants of that country; and was at once envied and admired for such virtuous sons, for they were deficient in nothing, but were of great souls, both for learning with their hands and enduring of toil; and shield also in understanding; and God exercised such a providence over him, and such a care of his happiness, as to bring him the greatest blessings, even out of what appeared to be the most sorrowful condition; and to make him the cause of our forefathers’ departure out of Egypt, him and his posterity. The occasion was this:—When Jacob had his son Joseph born to him by Rachel, his father loved him above the rest of his sons, both because of the beauty of his body, and the virtues of his mind; for he excelled the rest in prudence. This affection of his father excited the envy and the hatred of his brethren; as did also his dreams.
which he saw, and related to his father and to them, which foretold his future happiness, it being usual with mankind to envy their very nearest relations such their prosperity. Now the visions which Joseph saw in his sleep were these:—

2. When they were in the middle of harvest, and Joseph was sent by his father, with his brethren, to gather the fruits of the earth, he saw a vision in a dream, but greatly exceeding the accustomed appearances that come when we are asleep; which, when he had set up, he told his brethren, or as the might judge what it portended. He said, he saw the last night, that his wheat-sheaf stood still in the place where he set it, but that their sheaves ran to bow down to it, as servants bow down to their masters; but as soon as they perceived the vision foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and that his power should be in opposition to them, they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph, as if the dream were not by them understood: but they prayed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass; and they very wisely and soundly advised him on that head, to beware of the great things thereby signified, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time would come when he should be honoured, and thought worthy of worship by his parents and brethren, as guessing that the moon and sun were like his mother and father, the former, as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things, and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, as were the stars that received their power from the sun and moon. But God, being in the beginning, and knowing all things, and seeing all things, and being able to do all things, and being able to control all things by his own will, allowed them to beget children, and to have power and wealth, and that he might have power and wealth in opposition to them, to show how he was able to do all things, and to take them where soever he pleased, and to make them as he pleased, and to work all his will upon them.

5 But God, in opposition to their envy, sent a second vision to Joseph, which was much more wonderful than the former; for it seemed to him that the sun took with him the moon and the rest of the stars, and came down to the earth, and bowed down to him. He told the vision to his father, and that, as suspecting nothing of ill-will from his brethren, when they were there also, and desired him to interpret what it should signify. Now Jacob was pleased with the dream; for, considering the prediction in his mind, and shrewdly and soundly guessing the meaning, he rejoiced at the great things thereby signified, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time would come when he should be honoured, and thought worthy of worship by his parents and brethren, as guessing that the moon and sun were like his mother and father, the former, as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things, and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, as were the stars that received their power from the sun and moon.

6 And thus did Jacob make a judgment of this vision, and that a shrewd one also; but these interpretations caused very great grief to Joseph's brethren; and they were affected to him hereupon as if he were a certain stranger that was to have those good things which were signified by the dreams, and not as one that was a brother, with whom it was probable they should be joint partners; and as they had been partners in the same parentage, so should they be of the same happiness. They also resolved to kill him, and having fully ratified that intention of theirs, as soon as their collection of the fruits was over, they went to Shechem, which is a country good for feeding of cattle, and for pastureage; there they fed their flocks without acquainting their father with their removal thither; whereupon he had melancholy suspicions about them, as being ignorant of his son's condition, and receiving no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state they were in; so, because he was in great fear about them, he sent Joseph to the flocks, to learn the circumstances his brethren were in, and to bring him word how they did.

**CHAPTER III.**

**HOW JOSEPH WAS THUS SOLD BY HIS BRETHREN INTO EGYPT, BY REASON OF THEIR HATRED TO HIM; AND HOW HE THERE GREW FAMOUS AND ILLUSTRIOUS, AND HAD HIS BRETHREN UNDER HIS POWER.**

§ 1. Now these brethren rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed as at the presence of a near relation, or as at the presence of one sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that by divine providence was delivered into their hands; and they already resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them; but when Reubel, the eldest of them, saw them thus disposed, and that they had agreed together to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, showing them the heinous enterprise they were going about, and the horrid nature of it; that this action would appear wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even though they should kill one of their relatives to them, but much more flagitious and detestable to appear to have slain their own brother; by which act the father must be treated unjustly in the son's slaughter, and the mother also be in perplexity while she laments that her son is taken away from her, and this not in a natural way neither. So he entreated them to have a regard to their own consciences, and wisely to consider what mischief would betide them upon the death of so good a child and their youngest brother; that they would also fear God, who was already both a spectator and a witness of the designs they had against their brother; that he would love them if they abstained from this act, and yielded to repentance and amendment; but in case they proceeded to do the fact, all sorts of punishment would overtake them from God for this murder of their brother, since they polluted his providence, which was everywhere present, and which did not overlook what was done, either in deserts or in cities; for wheresover a man is, there ought he to suppose that God is also. He told them farther, that their consciences would be their enemies, if they did anything so wicked as such an enterprise, which they can never avoid, whether it be a good conscience, or whether it be such an one as they will have within them when once they have killed their brother. He also added this besides to what he had before said, that it was not a righteous thing to kill a brother, though he had injured them; that it is a good thing to forget the actions of such near friends, even in things wherein they might seem to have offended; but that they were going to kill Joseph, who had been guilty of nothing that was ill towards them, in whose case the infirmity of his small age should rather procure him mercy, and move them to unite together in the care of his preservation: that the cause of killing him made the act itself much worse, while they determined to take him off out of envy at his future prosperity, an equal share of which they would naturally partake while he enjoyed it, since they were to him not strangers, but

* We may here observe, that in correspondence to Joseph's second dream, which implied that his mother, who was then alive, as well as his father, should come and bow down to him, Josephus represents her here as still alive after she was dead, for the deception of the dream that foretold it; as the interpretation of the dream does also in all our copies

Gen. xlii. 10.
the nearest relations, for they might reckon upon what God bestowed upon Joseph as their own; and that it was fit for them to believe, that the anger of God would for this cause be more severe upon them, if they slew him who was judged by God to be worthy of that prosperity which he hoped for; and while he was murdering him, they made it impossible for God to bestow it upon him.

2. Reubel said these, and many other things, and used entreaties to them, and thereby endeavoured to divert them from the murder of their brother; but when he saw that his discourse did not mollify them at all, and that they made haste to do the fact, he advised them to alleviate the wickedness they were going about, in the manner of taking Joseph off; for as he had exhorted them first, when they were going to revenge themselves, to be dissuaded from doing it; so, since the sentence for killing their brother had prevailed, he said that they would not, however, be so grossly guilty, if they would be persuaded to follow his present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so very bad, but, in the distress they were in, of a lighter nature. He begged of them, therefore, not to kill their brother with their own hands, but to cast him into the pit that was hard by, and so let him die; by which they would gain so much, that they would not defile their own hands with his blood. To this the young men readily agreed; so Reubel took the lad, and tied him to a cord, and let him down gently into the pit, for it had no water at all in it; who, when he had done this, went his way to seek for such pasturage as was fit for feeding his flocks.

3. But Judas, being one of Jacob's sons also, seeing some Arabians, of the posterity of Israel, carrying spiceries and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead to the Egyptians, after Reubel was gone, advised his brethren to draw Joseph out of the pit, and sell him to the Arabians; for if he should die among strangers a great way off, they should be freed from this barbarous action. This, therefore, was resolved on; so they drew Joseph up out of the pit, and sold him to the merchants for twenty pounds.* He was now seventeen years old; but Reubel, coming in the night-time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph, without the privity of his brethren; and when, upon his calling to him, he made no answer, he was afraid that they had destroyed him after he was gone; of which he complained to his brethren; but when they had told him what they had done, Reubel left off his mourning.

4. When Joseph's brethren had done thus to him, they considered what they should do to escape the suspicions of their father. Now they had taken away from Joseph the coat which he had on when he came to them at the time they let him down into the pit; so they thought proper to tear that coat to pieces, and to dip it into goat's blood, and then to carry it and show it to their father, that he might believe he was destroyed by wild beasts; and when they had so done, they came to the old man, but this not till what had happened to his son had already come to his knowledge. Then they said that they had not seen Joseph, nor knew what mischief had befallen him; but that they had found his coat bloody and torn to pieces, whence they had a suspicion that he had fallen among wild beasts, and so perished, if that was the coat he had on when he came from home. Now Jacob had before some better hopes that his son was only made a captive; but now he laid aside that notion, and supposed that this coat was an evident argument that he was dead, for he well remembered that this was the coat he had on when he sent him to his brethren; so he hereafter lamented the lad as now dead, and as if he had been the father of no more than one, without taking any comfort in the rest; and so he was also affected with his misfortune before he met with Joseph's brethren, when he also conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down also clothed in sackcloth and in heavy affliction, insomuch that he found no case when his sons comforted him, neither did his pains remit by length of time.

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CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE SIGNAL CHASTITY OF JOSEPH.

§ 1. Now Potiphar, an Egyptian, who was chief cook to king Pharaoh, bought Joseph of the merchants, who sold him to him. He had him in the greatest honour, and taught him the learning that became a free man, and gave him leave to make use of a diet better than was allotted to slaves. He intrusted also the care of his house to him. So he enjoyed these advantages, yet did not he leave that virtue which he had before, upon such a change of his condition; but he demonstrated that wisdom was able to govern the uneasy passions of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only put it on for a show, under a present state of prosperity.

2. For when his master's wife was fallen in love with him, both on account of his beauty of body and his dexterous management of affairs; and supposed, that if she should persuade him to know her, she could easily persuade him to come and lie with her, and that he would look upon it as a piece of happy fortune that his mistress should entertain him, as regarding that state of slavery he was in, and not his moral character, which continued after his condition was changed; so she made known her naughty inclinations, and spake to him about lying with her. However, he rejected her entreaties, not thinking it agreeable to religion to yield so far to her, as to do what would tend to the affront and injury of him that purchased him, and had vouchsafed him such great honour. He, on the contrary, exhorted her to govern that passion; and laid before her the impossibility of her obtaining her desires, which he thought might be conquered, if she had no hope of succeeding; and he said, that as to himself, he would endure any thing whatever before he would be persuaded to it; for although it was fit for a slave, as he was, to do nothing contrary to his mistress, he might well be excused in a case where the contradiction was to such sort of commands only. But this opposition of Joseph, when she did not expect it, made her still more violent in her love to him; and as she was sorely beset with this naughty passion, so she resolved to compass her design by a second attempt.

3. When, therefore, there was a public festival coming on, in which it was the custom for women.
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5. Joseph, by saying this, and more, tried to restrain the violent passion of the woman, and to reduce her affections within the rules of reason; but she grew more ungovernable and earnest in the matter; and since she despairs of persuading him, she laid her hands upon him, and had a mind to force him. But as soon as Joseph had got away from her anger, leaving also his garment with her, for he left that to her, and leaped out of her chamber, she was greatly afraid lest he should discover her lewdness to her husband, and greatly troubled at the affront he had offered her; so she resolved to be beforehand with him, and to accuse Joseph falsely to Potiphar. For, when she heard of his former folly: for, when she were that he expected the repetition of her solicitations she had now made, and that with greater earnestness than before, for that she had pretended sickness on this very account, and had preferred his conversation before the festival and its solemnity; or whether he opposed her former discourses, as not believing she could be in earnest, she now gave him sufficient security, by thus repeating her application, that she meant not in the least by fraud to impose upon him; and assured him, that if he complied with her affections, he might expect the enjoyment of the advantages he already had; and if he were submissive to her, he should have still greater advantages; but that he must look for revenge and hatred from her, in case he rejected her desires, and preferred the reputation of chastity before his mistress; for that he would gain nothing by such procedure, because she would then become his accuser, and would falsely pretend to her husband that he had attempted her chastity; and that Potiphar would hearken to her words rather than to his, let his be ever so agreeable to the truth.

4. When the woman had said thus, and even with tears in her eyes, neither did pity dissuade Joseph from his chastity, nor did fear compel him to a compliance with her; but he opposed her solicitations, and did not yield to her threatenings, and was afraid to do an ill thing, and chose to undergo the sharpest punishment rather than to enjoy his present advantages, by doing what his own conscience knew would justify deserve that he should die for it. He also put her in mind that she was a married woman, and that she ought to cohabit with her husband only; and desired her to suffer these considerations to have more weight with her than the short pleasure of lustful dalliance, which would bring her to repentance afterwards, would cause trouble to her, and yet would not amend what had been done amiss. He also suggested to her the fear she would be in lest they should be caught; and that the advantage of concealment was uncertain, and that only while the wickedness was not known [would there be any quiet for them]; but that she might have the enjoyment of her husband's company without any danger: and he told her that in the company of her husband she might have great boldness from good conscience, both before God and before men: nay, that she would act better like his mistress, and make use of her authority over him better while she persisted in her chastity, than when they were both absolved for what wickedness they had been guilty of; and that it is much better to depend on a good life, well acted, and known to have been so, than upon the hopes of the concealment of evil practices.

§ 1. Now Joseph, commending all his affairs to God, did not betake himself to make his defence nor to give an account of the exact circumstance of the fact, but silently underwent the bonds; the distress he was in, firmly believing...
who knew the cause of his affliction and the truth of the fact, would be more powerful than those that inflicted the punishments upon him:—a proof of whose providence he quickly received; for the keeper of the prison taking notice of his care and fidelity in the affairs he had set him about, and the dignity of his countenance, relaxed his bonds, and thereby made his heavy calamity lighter, and more supportable to him: he also permitted him to make use of a diet better than that of the rest of the prisoners. Now, as his fellow-prisoners, when their hard labours were over, fell to discussing one among another, as is usual in such as are equal souls, and to inquire one of another, with the occasions of their being condemned to a prison: among them the king’s cup-bearer, and one that had been respected by him, was put in bonds, on the king’s anger at him. This man was under the same bonds with Joseph, and grew more familiar with him; and upon his observing that Joseph had a better understanding than the rest had, he told him of a dream he had, and desired he would interpret its meaning, complaining that, besides the afflictions he underwent from the king, God did add to him trouble from his dreams. 3. He therefore said, that in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already, and ripe for gathering; and that he squeezed them into a cup which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink, and that he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This, he said, was what he saw; and he desired Joseph, that if he had any portion of understanding in such matters, he would tell him what this vision foretold:—who bid him be of good cheer, and expect to be loosed from his bonds in three days’ time, because the king desired his service, and was about to restore him to it again; for he let him know that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good; which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and mutual confidence among men; and puts an end to their quarrels, takes away passion and grief out of the minds of them that use it, and makes them cheerful. "Thou saysest that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that therefore said it; but now therefore, that this vision is for thy good, and foretells a release from thy present distress within the same number of days as the branches had whence thou gatheredst thy grapes in thy sleep. However, remember what prosperity I have foretold thee when thou hast found it true by experience; and when thou art in authority, do not overlook us in this prison, wherein thou wilt leave us when thou art gone to the place we have foretold; for we are not in prison for any crime; but for the sake of our virtue and sobriety are condemned to suffer the penalty of malefactors, and because we are not willing to injure him that has thus distressed us, though it were for our own pleasure." The cup-bearer, therefore, as was natural to do, rejoiced to hear such an interpretation of his dream, and waited the completion of what had been thus shown him beforehand.

3. But another servant there was of the king, who had been chief baker, and was now bound in prison with the cup-bearer; he also was in good hopes:—and the interpretation of the other’s dream also; so he desired that Joseph would tell him what the visions he had seen the night before might mean. There were those that follow:—“I thought, I carried three baskets upon my head; two were full of loaves, and the third full of sweetmeats and other eatables, such as are prepared for kings; but that the fowls came flying, and eat them all up, and had no regard to my attempt to drive them away;” and he expected a prediction like to that of the cup-bearer. But Joseph, considering and reasoning about the dream, said to him, that he would willingly be an interpreter of good events to him, and not such as his dream denounced to him; but he told him, that he had only three days in all to live, for that the [three] baskets signify this, on the third day he should be crucified, and devoured by fowls, while he was not able to help himself. Now both these dreams had the same several events that Joseph foretold they should have, and this to both the parties; for on the third day before mentioned, when the king solemnized his birth-day, he crucified the chief baker, but set the butler free from his bonds, and restored him to his former ministration.

4. But God freed Joseph from his confinement, after he had endured his bonds two years, and had received no assistance from the cup-bearer, who did not remember what he had said to him formerly; and God contrived this method of deliverance for him. Pharaoh the king had seen in his sleep the same evening two visions; and after them had the interpretations of them both given him. He had forgotten the latter, but retained the dreams themselves. Being therefore troubled at what he had seen, for it seemed to him to be all of a melancholy nature, the next day he called together the wisest men among the Egyptians, desiring to learn from them the interpretation of his dreams. But when they hesitated about them, the king was so much the more disturbed. And now it was that the memory of Joseph, and his skill in dreams, came into the mind of the king’s cup-bearer, when he saw the confusion that Pharaoh was in; so he came and mentioned Joseph to him, as also the vision he had seen in prison, and how the event proved as he had said; as also that the chief baker was crucified on the very same day; and that this also happened to him according to the interpretation of Joseph. That Joseph himself was laid in bonds by Potiphar, who was his head cook, as a slave; but, he said, he was one of the noblest of the stock of the Hebrews; and said further, his father lived in great splendour. “If, therefore, thou wilt send for him, and not despise him on the score of his misfortunes, thou wilt learn what thy dreams signify.” So the king commanded that they should bring Joseph into his presence; and those who received the command came and brought him with them, having taken care of his habit, that it might be decent, as the king had enjoined them to do.

5. But the king took him by the hand; and, "O young man," says he, "for my servants witness that thou art at present the best and most skilful person I can consult with; vouchesafe me the same favours which thou bestowest on this servant of mine, and tell me what events they are which the visions of my dreams foreshow; and I desire thee to suppress nothing out of fear, nor to flatter me with lying words, or with what may please me, although the truth should be of a melancholy
nature. For it seemed to me that, as I walked by the river, I saw kine fat and very large, seven in number, going from the river to the marshes; and other kine of the same number like them, met them out of the marshes, exceeding lean and ill-favoured, which ate up the fat and the large kine, and yet were no better than before, and not less miserably pinched with famine. After I had seen this vision, I awoke out of my sleep; and being in disorder, and considering with myself what this appearance should be, I fell asleep again, and saw another dream, much more wonderful than the foregoing, which still did more affright and disturb me:—I saw seven ears of corn growing out of one root, having their heads borne down by the weight of the grains, and bending down with the fruit, which was now ripe and fit for reaping; and near these I saw seven other ears of corn, meagre and weak, for want of rain, which fell to eating and consuming those that were fit for reaping, and put me into great astonishment."

6. To which Joseph replied:—"This dream," said he, "O king, although seen under two forms, signifies one and the same event of things; for when thou sawest the fat kine, which is an animal made for the plough and for labour, devoured by the wiser kine, and the ears of corn eaten up by the smaller ears, they foretell a famine, and want of the fruits of the earth for the same number of years, and equal with those when Egypt was in a happy state; and this so far that the plenty of these years will be spent in the same number of years of scarcity, and that scarcity of necessary provisions will be very difficult to be corrected; as a sign whereof, the ill-favoured kine, when they had devoured the better sort, could not be satisfied. But still God foresaw what is to come upon men, not to grieve them, but that, when they know it beforehand, they may by prudence make the actual experience of what is foretold the more tolerable. I fully, therefore, carefully dispose of the plentiful ears of corn which will come in the former years, that we will procure that the future calamity will not be felt by the Egyptians."

7. Hereupon the king wondered at the discretion and wisdom of Joseph; and asked him by what means he might so dispense the foregoing plentiful crops, in the happy years, as to make the miserable crops more tolerable. Joseph then added this advice: To spare the good crops, and not permit the Egyptians to spend them luxuriously; but to reserve what they would have spent in luxury before their necessity, against the time of want. He also exhorted him to take the corn of the husbandsmen, and give them only so much as will be sufficient for their food. Accordingly Pharaoh being surprised at Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dream, but for the counsel he had given him, entrusted him with dispensing the corn; with power to do what he thought would be for the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the king, as believing that he who first discovered this method of acting, would prove the best overseer of it. But Joseph having this power given him by the king, with leave to make use of his seal, and to approach his chariot through all the land of Egypt, and took the corn of the husbandmen, alloting as much to every one as would be sufficient for seed and for food, but without discovering to any one the reason why he did so.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW JOSEPH, WHEN HE WAS BECOME FAMOUS IN EGYPT, HAD HIS BROTHERS IN SUBJECTION.

§ 1. Joseph was now grown up to thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honours from the king, who called him Psothom Phanech, out of regard to his prodigious degree of wisdom; for that name denotes the revealer of secrets. He also married a wife of very high quality; for he married the daughter of Petephes, 4 one of the priests of Heliopolis: she was a virgin, and her name was Asenath. By her he had children before the scarcity came on; Manasseh, the elder, which signifies forgetful, because his present happiness made him forget his former misfortunes; and Ephraim, the younger, which signifies restored, because he was restored to the freedom of his forefathers. Now after Egypt had happily passed over seven years, according to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, the famine came upon them in the eighth year; and because this misfortune fell upon them when they had no sense of it beforehand; 5 they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become confessedly a saviour to the whole multitude of the Egyptians. Nor did he open this market of corn for the people of that country only, but strangers had liberty to buy also; Joseph being willing that all men, who are naturally akin to one another should have assistance from those that lived in happiness.

2. Now Jacob also, when he understood that foreigners might come, sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn; for the land of Canaan was grievously afflicted with the famine, and this necessitated touched the whole continent. He only retained Benjamin, who was born to him by Rachel, and was of the same mother with Joseph. These sons of Jacob then came into Egypt, and applied themselves to Joseph, wanting to buy corn; for nothing of this kind was done without his approbation, since even then only was the honour that was paid the king himself advantageous to the persons that paid it, when they took care to honour Joseph also. Now when he well knew his brethren, they thought nothing of him; for he was but a youth when he left them, and was now come to an age so much greater, that the lineaments of his face were changed, and he was not known by them; besides this, the greatness of the dignity wherein he appeared, suffered them not so much as to suspect it was he. He now made trial what sentiments they had about affairs of the greatest consequence; for he refused to sell them corn, and said they were come as spies of the king's affairs; and that they

4 This Petephes, or, as Josephus, Petepheus, who was now a priest of On, or Heliopolis, is the same name in Josephus, and perhaps in Moses also, with him who is before called head cook or captain of the guard, and to whom Joseph was sold, see Gen. xxvi. 80, xxxix. 1, with all. 50. They are also affirmed to be one and the same person in the late version of Joseph (sect. 10), for he is there said to have married the daugh- ter of his master and mistress. Nor is this a notion peculiar to that translation, but, as Dr. Bernard observes (note on Acts viii. 6), common to Josephus, to the Septuagint interpreters, and to other learned Jews of old times.

5 This entire ignorance of the Egyptians of those years of famine before they came, told us before, as well as here (chap. v. sect. 7), by Josephus, seems to me almost incredible. It is in no other copy that I know of.
came from several countries, and joined themselves together, and pretended that they were of kin, it not being possible that a private man should brood up so many sons, and those of so great a beauty of countenance as they were, such an education of so many children, being not easily obtained by kings themselves. Now this he did in order to discover what concerned his father, and what happened to him after his own departure from him, and as desiring to know what was become of Benjamin his brother; for he was afraid that they had ventured on the like wicked enterprise against him that they had done to himself, and had taken him off also.

3. Now these brethren of his were under distraction and terror, and thought that very great danger hung over them; yet not at all reflecting upon their brother Joseph, and standing firm under the accusations laid against them, they made their defence by Reuben, the eldest of them, who now became their spokesman: “We come not hither,” said he, “with any unjust design, nor in order to bring any harm to the king’s affairs; we only want to be preserved, as supposing your humanity might be drawn from us from the same motives which our country labours under, we having heard that you proposed to sell corn not only to your own countrymen, but to strangers also, and that you determined to allow that corn, in order to preserve all that want it; but that we are brethren, and of the same common blood, the peculiar lineaments of our faces, and those not so much different from one another, plainly show. Our father’s name is Jacob, an Hebrew man, who had twelve of us for his sons by four wives; which twelve of us, while we were all alive, were a happy family; but when one of our brethren, whose name was Joseph, died, our affairs changed for the worse; for our father could not forget to make a long lamentation for him; and we are in affliction, both by the calamity of the death of our brother, and the miserable state of our aged father. We are now, therefore, come to buy corn, having intrusted the care of our father, and the provision for our family to Benjamin, our youngest brother; and if thou sendest to our house, thou mayest learn whether we are guilty of the least falsehoods in what we say.”

4. And thus did Reuben endeavour to persuade Joseph to have a better opinion of them. But when he had learned from them that Jacob was alive, and that his brother was not destroyed by them, he for the present put them in prison, as intending to examine more into their affairs when he should be at leisure. But on the third day he brought them out, and said to them, “Since you constantly affirm that you are not come to do any harm to the king’s affairs; that you are brethren, and the sons of the father whom you named, you will satisfy me of the truth of what you say, if you leave one of your company with me, who shall suffer no injury here; and if, when ye have carried corn to your father, you will come to me again, and bring your brother, whom you left here, along with you, for this shall be by me esteemed an assurance of the truth of what you have told me.” Hereupon they were in greater grief than before; they wept, and perpetually deplored one among another the calamity of Joseph; and said, “They were fallen into this misery as a punishment inflicted for what evil contrivances they had.” And Reuben was large in his, for their too late repentance, whence no profit arose to Joseph, and earnestly exhorted them to bear with patience whatever they suffered, since it was done by God in way of punishment, on his account. Thus they spoke to one another, not imagining that Joseph understood their language. A general sadness also seized on them at Reubel’s words, and a repentance for what they had done; and they condemned the wickedness they had perpetrated, for which they judged they were justly punished by God. Now when Joseph saw that they were in this distress, he was so affected at it that he fell into tears, and, not being willing that they should take notice of him, he retired; and after a while came to them again, and taking Symeon, in order to his being a pledge for his brethren’s return, he bid them take the ox they had bought, and go their way. He also commanded his steward privily to put the money which they had brought with them for the purchase of corn into their sacks, and to dismiss them therein; who did what he was commanded to do.

5. Now when Jacob’s sons were come into the land of Canaan, they told their father what had happened to them in Egypt, and that they were taken to be the common thither as spies upon them; and how they said they had suffered; and had left their eleventh brother with their father, but were not believed; and how they had left Symeon with the governor, until Benjamin should go thither, and be a testimonial of the truth of what they had said; and they begged of their father to fear nothing, but to send the lad along with them. But Jacob was not pleased with anything his sons had done; and he took the detraction of Symeon hospitably, and then thought it a foolish thing to give up Benjamin also. Neither did he yield to Reuben’s persuasion, though he begged it of him; and gave leave that the grandfather might, in way of requital, kill his own sons, in case any harm came to Benjamin in the journey. So they were distressed, and knew not what to do: nay, there was another accident that still disturbed them more, the money that was found hidden in their sacks of corn. Yet when the corn they had brought failed them, and when the famine still afflicted them, and necessity forced them, Jacob did not still resolve to send Benjamin with his brethren, although there was no returning into Egypt unless they came with what they had promised. Now the misery growing every day worse, and his sons begging it of him, he had no other course to take in his present circumstances. And Judas, who was of a bold temper on other occasions, spake his mind very freely to him: “That it did not become him to be afraid on account of his son, nor to suspect the worst, as he did; for nothing could be done to his son but by the appointment of God, which must also for certain come to pass, though he were at home with him; that he ought not to condemn them to such manifest destruction; nor deprive them of plenty of food they might have from Pharaoh, by his unreasonable fear about his son Benjamin, lest he ought to take care of the preservation of Symeon, lest by attempting to hinder Benjamin’s journey, Symeon should perish. He exhorted him to trust..."
God for him; and said he would either bring his son back to him safe, or together with his lost own life." So that Jacob was at length persuaded, and delivered Benjamin to them, with the price of the corn doubled; he also sent presents to Joseph of the fruits of the land of Canaan; balsam and rosin, as also turpentine and honey. Now their father shed many tears at the departure of his sons, as well as themselves. His concern was, that he might receive them back again safe after their journey; and their concern was, that they might find their father well, and no way afflicted with grief for them. And this lamentation lasted a whole day; so that the old man was at last tired with grief, and staid behind; but they went on their way for Egypt, endeavouring to mitigate their grief for their present misfortunes, with the hopes of better success hereafter.

6. As soon as they came into Egypt, they were brought down to Joseph; but here no small fear disturbed them, lest they should be accused about the price of the corn, if they had cheated Joseph. Then they made a long apology to Joseph's steward; and told him, that when they came home they found the money in their sacks, and that they had now brought it along with them. He said he did not know what they meant: so they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Symeon, and put him into a handsomely habit, he suffered him to be with his brethren; at which time Joseph came from his attendance on the king. So they offered him their presents; and upon his putting the question to them about their father, they answered, that they found him well. He also, upon inquiring after Benjamin, being alive, asked whether this was their younger brother? for he had seen him. Whereupon they said he was: he replied, that the God over all was his protector. But when his affection to him had made him shed tears, he retired, desiring he might not be seen in that plight by his brethren. Then Joseph took them to supper, and they were set down in the same order as they used to sit at their father's table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a mess to Benjamin that was double to what the rest of the guests had for their shares.

7. Now when after dinner they came to their chambers, Joseph commanded his steward both to give them their measures of corn, and to hide its price again in their sacks; and that withal they should put into Benjamin's sack the golden cup, out of which he loved himself to drink:—which things he did, in order to make trial of his brethren, whether they would stand by Benjamin when he should be accused of having stolen the cup, and should appear to be in danger; or whether they would leave him, and, depending on their own innocence, go to their father without him. When the servant had done as he was bidden, the sons of Jacob, knowing nothing of all this, went their way, and took Symeon along with them, and had a double cause of joy, both because they had received him again, and because they took back Benjamin to their father, as they had promised. But presently a troop of horsemen encompassed them, and brought with them Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected attack of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and asked what the reason was that they came thus upon men, who a little before had been by their lord thought worthy of an honourable and hospitable reception! They replied, by calling them wicked wretches, who had forgot that very hospitable and kind treatment which Joseph had given them, and did not scruple to be injurious to him, and to carry off that cup out of which he had, in so friendly a manner, drank to them, and not regarding their friendship. With Joseph, no more than the danger they should be in if they were taken, in comparison of the unjust gain. Hereupon he threatened that they should be punished; for though they had escaped the knowledge of him who was but a servant, yet had they not escaped the knowledge of God, nor had gone off with what they had stole; and, after all, asked why we come upon them! as if they knew nothing of the matter: and he told them that they should immediately know it by their punishment. This, and more of the same nature, did the servant say, in way of reproach to them: but they being wholly ignorant of any thing hereof, that occurred to them, laughed at what he said; and wondered at the abusive language which the servant gave them, when he was so hard as to accuse those who did not before so much as retain the price of their corn, which was found in their sacks, but brought it again, though nobody else knew of any such thing,—so far were they from offering any injury to Joseph voluntarily. But still, supposing that a search would be a more sure justification of themselves than their own denial of the fact, they bid him search them, and that if any of them had been guilty of the theft, to punish them all; for being no more conscious of any thing innocent than was for them to speak with assurance, and, as they thought, without any danger to themselves also. The servants desired there might be a search made; but they said the punishment should extend to him alone who should be found guilty of the theft. So they made the search; and, having searched all the rest, they came last of all to Benjamin, as knowing it was Benjamin's sack in which they had hidden the cup, they having indeed searched the rest only for a show of accuracy: so the rest were out of fear for themselves, and were now only concerned about Benjamin, but still very anxious that they would also be found innocent; and they reproached those that came after them for their hindering them, while they might, in the meanwhile, have gotten a good way on their journey. But as soon as they had searched Benjamin's sack, they found the cup, and took it from him; and all was changed into mourning and lamentation. They rent their garments, and wept for the punishment which their brother was to undergo for his theft, and for the delusion they had put on their father, when they promised they would bring Benjamin safe to him. What added to their misery was, that this melancholy accident came unfortunately at a time when they thought they had been gotten off clear: but they confessed that this misfortune of their brother, as well as the grief of their father for him, was owing to themselves, since it was they that forced their father to send him with them, when he was averse to it.

8. The horsemen therefore took Benjamin and brought him to Joseph, his brethren also following him; who, when he saw him in custody, and in the habit of mourners, said, "How came you vile wretches as you are, to have such a strange notion of my kindness to you, and of God's provi.
ready to suppose, that God is willing to afford thee this opportunity of showing thy virtuous disposition, by bringing us into this calamity, that it may appear thou canst not forgive the injuries that are done to thyself, and mayst be esteemed kind to others, besides those who, on other accounts, stand in need of thy assistance; since it is indeed a right thing to do well to those who are in distress for want of food, but still a more glorious thing to save those who deserve to be punished, when it is on account of heinous offences against thyself; for if it be a thing deserving commendation to forgive such as have been guilty of small offences, that tend a person's loss, and this be praised in him that overlooks such offences, to restrain a man's passion as to crimes which are capital to the guilty, is to be like the most excellent nature of God himself:

—and truly, as for myself, had it not been that we had a father, who had discovered, on occasion of the death of Joseph, how miserably he is always afflicted at the loss of his sons, I had not made any words on account of the saving of our own lives; I mean, any farther than as that would be an excellent character for thyself, to preserve even those that would have nobody to lament them when they were dead, but we would have yielded ourselves up to suffer, in sacrifice, our dear brother; and now (for we do not plead for mercy to ourselves, though indeed, if we die, it will be while we are young, and before we have had the enjoyment of life) have regard to our father, and take pity of his old age, on whose account it is that we make these supplications to thee. We beg thou wilt give us those lives which this wickedness of ours has rendered obnoxious to thy punishment; and this for his sake who is not himself wicked, nor does his being our father make us wicked. He is a good man, and not worthy to have such trials of his patience; and now, as we are absent, he is afflicted with care for us; but if he hear of our deaths, and what was the cause of it, he will on that account die an immediate death; and the reproachful manner of our ruin will hasten his end, and will directly kill him, nay, will bring him to a miserable death, while he will make haste to rid himself out of the world, and bring himself to a state of insensibility, before the sad story of our end come abroad into the rest of the world. Consider these things in this manner, although our wickedness does now provoke thee with a just desire of punishing that wickedness, and forgive it for our father's sake; and let thy commiseration of him weigh more with thee than our wickedness. Have regard to the old age of our father, who, if we perish, will be very lonely while he lives, and will soon die himself also. Grant this boon to the name of Fathers, for thereby thou wilt honour him that begat thee, and will grant it to thyself also, who enjoyest already that denomination; thou wilt then, by that denomination, be preserved of God, the Father of all,—by showing a pious regard to which, in the case of our father, thou wilt appear to honour him who is styled by the same name; I mean, if thou wilt have this pity on our father, upon this consideration, how miserable he will be if he be deprived of his sons! It is thy part therefore to bestow on us what God has given us, when it is in thy power to take it away, and so to render him entirely in charity; for it is good to me that power, which can either give or take away, on the merciful side; and when it is in thy power to destroy, to forget that thou ever hadst that power,
CHAPTER VII.

ANTIQUEITIES OF THE JEWS.

and to look on thyself as only allowed power for preservation; and that the more any one extends this power, the greater reputation does he gain to himself. Now, by forgiving our brother what he has unhappily committed, thou wilt preserve us all; for we cannot think of living if he be put to death, since we dare not show ourselves alive to our father without our brother, but here must we partake of one and the same catastrophe of his life; and so far we beg of thee, O governor, that if thou condemnest our brother to die, thou wilt punish us together with him, as partners of his crime,—for we shall not think it reasonable to be reserved to kill ourselves for grief of our brother's death, but so to divide our guilt equally with him of this crime! I will only leave with thee this one consideration, and then will say no more, viz. That our brother committed his fault when he was young, and not yet of confirmed wisdom in his conduct; and that men naturally forgive such young persons. I end here, without adding what more I have to say, that in case thou condemnest us, that omission may be supposed to have hurt us, and permitted thee to take the severer side; but in case thou settest us free, that this may be ascribed to thy own goodness, of which thou art inwardly conscious, that thou freest us from condemnation: and that not by barely proceeding in charity, but according to the immense love which make us appear more righteous than we really are, and by representing to thyself more motives for our deliverance than we are able to produce ourselves. If, therefore, thou resolvseth to slay him, I desire thou wilt slay me in his stead, and send him back to his father; or if thou pleasest to retain him with thee as a slave, I am fitter to labour for thy advantage in that capacity, and, as thou seest, am better prepared for either of those sufferings." So Judas, being very willing to undergo any thing whatever for the deliverance of his brother, cast himself down at Joseph's feet, and earnestly laboured to assuage and pacify his anger. All his brethren also fell down before him, weeping and delivering themselves up to destruction for the preservation of the life of Benjamin.

10. But Joseph, as overcome now with his affections, and no longer able to personate an angry man, commanded all that were present to depart, that he might make himself known to his brethren when they were alone; and when the rest were gone out, he made himself known to his brethren; and said, "I commend you for your virtue, and your kindness to our brother: I find you better men than I had returned home from. I have seen you conspired against the intentions of God to bring things to their present state. I would have you also rather to forget the same, since that imprudence of yours is come to such a happy conclusion, than to be uneasy and blush at those your offences. Do not, therefore, let your evil intentions, when you condemned me, and that bitter remorse which might follow, be a grief to you now, because those intentions were frustrated. Go, therefore, your way, rejoicing in what has happened by the Divine Providence, and inform your father of it, lest he should be spared with cares for you, and deprive me of the most agreeable part of my felicity; I mean, lest he should die before he comes into my sight, and enjoy the good things that we now have. Bring, therefore, with you our father, and your wives and children, and all your kindred, and remove your habitations hither; for it is not proper that the persons dearest to me should live remote from me, now my affairs are so prosperous, especially when they must endure five more years of famine." When Joseph had said this, he embraced his brethren, who were in tears and sorrow: but the generous kindness of their brother seemed to leave among them no room for fear, lest they should be punished on account of what they had consulted and acted against him; and they were then feasting. Now the king, as soon as he heard that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was exceeding glad of it, as if it had been a part of his own good fortune; and gave them wagons full of corn, and gold and silver, to be conveyed to his father. Now when they had received more of their brother, part to be carried to their father, and part as free gifts to every one of themselves, Benjamin having still more than the rest, they departed.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REMOVAL OF JOSEPH'S FATHER, WITH ALL HIS FAMILY TO HIM, ON ACCOUNT OF THE FAMINE.

§ 1. As soon as Jacob came to know, by his sons returning home, in what state Joseph was; that he had not only escaped death, for which yet he lived all along in mourning, but that he lived in splendour and happiness, and ruled over Egypt, jointly with the king, and had intrusted to his care almost all his affairs, he did not think any thing he was told to be incredible, considering the greatness of the works of God, and his kindness to him, although that kindness had, for some late times, been interrupted; so he immediately and zealously set out upon his journey to him.

2. When he came to the Well of the Oath (Beersheba), he offered sacrifice to God; and being afraid that the happiness there was in Egypt might tempt his posterity to fall in love with it, and settle in it, and no more think of removing into the land of Canaan, and possessing it, as God had promised them; as also being afraid, lest, if this descent into Egypt were made without the will of God, his family might be destroyed there; out of fear, withal, lest he should depair this life before he came to the sight of Joseph, he fell asleep, revolving these doubts in his mind.

3. But God stood by him, and called to him twice by his name; and when he asked who he was, God said, "No, sure; it is not just that thou Jacob's shouldst be unacquainted with that God who has been ever a protector and a helper to thy forefat-

* In all this speech of Judas we may observe, that Josephus still sup-

poseth that death was the punishment of theft in Egypt, in the days of Joseph, though it never was so among the Jews, by the law of Moses.
thers, and after them to thyself: for when thy father would have deprived thee of the dominion, I gave it thee; and by my kindness it was that, when thou wast in Memphis, all alone, thou obtainest good wives, and returnest with children, and much wealth. Thy whole family also has been preserved by my providence; and it was I who conducted Joseph, thy son, whom thou gavest up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, so that he differs but little from a king. Accordingly, I come now as a guide to thee in this journey; and foretold to thee, that thou shalt die in the arms of Joseph; and I inform thee, that thy posterity shall be many ages in authority and glory, and that I will settle them in a land which I have promised them.  

4. Jacob, encouraged by this dream, went on more cheerfully for Egypt with his sons, and all belonging to them. Now they were in all seventy. I once, indeed, thought it best not to set down the names of this family, especially because of their difficult pronunciation [by the Greeks]; but, upon the whole, I think it necessary to mention these names, that I may disprove such as believe that we came not originally from Mesopotamia, but are Egyptians. Now Jacob had twelve sons; of these Joseph was come thither before. We still therefore retain the names of Jacob's children and grandchildren. Reuben had four sons—Anoch, Phallu, Assaron, Charmi; Simeon had six—Johuel, Jamin, Avod, Jachin, Soar, Saul; Levi had three sons—Gersom, Caath, Merari; Judah had three sons—Sala, Phares, Zerah; and by Phares two grandchildren—Erom and Amor; Issachar had four sons—Thola, Phun, Jason, Samaron; Zabulon had with him three sons—Sarad, Helon, Javel. So far is the posterity of Levi; with whom went her daughter Dinah. These are thirty-three. Rachel had two sons, the one of whom, Joseph, had two sons also, Manasses and Ephraim. The other, Benjamin, had ten sons—Dolan, Dabush, Gersam, Naaman, Jes, Ros, Memphis, Ophphis, Arad. These fourteen added to the thirty-three before enumerated, amount to the number forty-seven; and this was the legitimate posterity of Jacob. He had besides, by Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, Dan and Nophthali; which last had four sons that followed him—Jesel, Guni, Issari, and Selim. Dan had an only-begotten son, Usi. If these he added to those before-mentioned, they complete the number fifty-four. Gad and Aser were the sons of Zilha, who was the handmaid of Leah. These had with them, Gad seven—Saphoniah, Agra, Sunis, Azabon, Aeron, Erede, Ariel. Aser had a daughter, Sarah, and six male children, whose names were Jomne, Isus, Issi, Baris, Abar, and Melchi. If we add these, which are sixteen, to the fifty-four, the forementioned number [70] is completed, Jacob not being himself included in that number.

5. When Joseph understood that his father was coming, for Judas his brother was come before him, and informed him of his approach, he went out to meet him; and they met together at Horeropolis. But Jacob almost fainted away at this unexpected meeting. However, Joseph received him, being yet not himself able to contain from being affected in the same manner, at the pleasure he now had; yet was he not wholly overcome with his passion, as his father was. After this he desired Jacob to travel on ahead; but he himself took five of his brethren with him, and made them king unto the king, so that Jacob and his family were come, which was a joyful bearing to him. He also bade Joseph tell him what sort of life his brethren loved to lead, that he might give them leave to follow the same; who told him they were good shepherds, and had been used to follow no other employment but this alone. Whereby he provided for them, that they should not be separated, but live in the same place, and take care of their father; as also hereby he provided, that they might be acceptable to the Egyptians, by doing nothing that would be common to them with the Egyptians; for the Egyptians do not join with the Egyptians in the same professions. 6. When Jacob was come to the king, and saluted him, and wished all prosperity to his government, Pharaoh asked him how old he now was; upon whose answer, that he was an hundred and thirty years old, he admired Jacob on account of the length of his life. And when he had added, that still he had not lived so long as his forefathers, he gave him leave to live with his children in Horeropolis; for in that city the king's shepherds had their pasture.

7. However, the famine increased among the Egyptians; and this heavy judgment grew more oppressive to them, because neither did the river overflow the ground, for it did not rise to its former height, nor did God send rain upon it; nor did they indeed make the least provision for themselves, so ignorant were they what was to be done; but Joseph sold them corn for their money. But when their money failed them, they bought corn with their cattle and their slaves; and if any of them had a small piece of land, they gave up that to purchase their food; which means the king became the owner of all their substance, and when there was a lack, some were removed, some to one place and some to another, that so the possession of their country might be firmly assured to the king, excepting the lands of the priests; for their country continued still in their own possession. And indeed this sore famine made their minds as well as their bodies slave; and at length compelled them to procure a sufficiency of food by such dishonourable means. But when this misery ceased, and the river overflowed the ground, and the ground brought forth its fruits plentifully, Joseph came to every city, and gathered the people thither belonging together, and gave them back entirely the land which, by their own consent, the king might have possessed alone, and alone enjoyed the fruits of it. He also exhorted them to look on it as every one's own possession, and to fall to their husbandry with cheerfulness; and to pay, as a tribute to the king, the fifth part of the fruits.
Chapter VIII.

Of the Death of Jacob and Joseph.

§ 1. Now when Jacob had lived seventeen years in Egypt, he fell into a disease, and died in the presence of his sons; but not till he made his prayers for their enjoying prosperity, and till he had foretold to them prophetically how every one of them was to dwell in the land of Canaan. But this happened many years afterward. He also enlarged upon the praises of Joseph, how he had not remembered the evil doings of his brethren to their disadvantage; nay, on the contrary, was kind to them, bestowing upon them so many benefits, as seldom are bestowed on men's own benefactors. He then commanded his own sons that they should admit Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, into their number, and divide the land of Canaan in common with them; concerning whom we shall treat hereafter. However, he made it his request that he might be buried at Hebron. So he died, when he had lived full a hundred and fifty years, three years after the death of his father, being not behind any of his ancestors in piety towards God, and having such a recompense for it, as it was fit those should have who were so good as these were. But Joseph, by the king's permission, carried his father's dead body to Hebron, and there buried it at a great expense. Now his brethren were at first unwilling to return back with him, because they were afraid lest, now their father was dead, he should punish them for their secret practices against him; since he was now gone, for whose sake he had been so gracious to them. But he persuaded them to follow him, and being taken by his assurances of them: so he brought them along with him, and gave them great possessions, and never left off his particular concern for them.

§ 2. Joseph also died when he had lived a hundred and ten years; having been a man of admirable virtue, and conducting all his affairs by the rules of reason; and used his authority with moderation, which was the cause of his so great felicity among the Egyptians, even when he came from another country, and that in such ill circumstances also, as we have already described. At length his brethren died, after they had lived happily in Egypt. Now the posterity and sons of these men, after some time, carried their bodies, and buried them at Hebron: but as to the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward, when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath; but what became of every one of these men, and by what toils they got the possession of the land of Canaan, shall be shown hereafter, when I have first explained upon what account it was that they left Egypt.

Chapter IX.

Concerning the Afflictions that befell the Hebrews in Egypt, during four hundred years.

§ 1. Now it happened that the Egyptians grew delicate and lazy, as to pains-taking; and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular to the love of gain. They also became very ill affected towards the Hebrews, as touched with envy at their prosperity; for when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become eminent already in plenty of wealth, which they had acquired by their virtue and natural love of labour, they thought their increase was to their own detriment; and having, in length of time, forgotten the benefits they had received from Joseph, particularly the crown being now come into another family, they became very abusive to the Israelites, and contrived many ways of afflicting them; for they enjoined them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities and ramparts, that they might restrain the river, and hinder its waters from stagnating, upon its running over its own banks: they set them also to build pyramids, and by it, no doubt, they forced them to learn all sorts of mechanical arts, and to accustom themselves to hard labour. And four hundred years did they spend under these afflictions; for they strove one against the other which should get the mastery, the Egyptians desiring to destroy the Israelites by these labours, and the Israelites desiring to hold out to the end under them.

2. While the affairs of the Hebrews were in this condition, there was this occasion offered itself to the Egyptians, which made them more solicitous for the extinction of our nation. One of those sacred scribes, who are very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the king, that about this time there would be a child born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites; that he would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory that would be remembered through all ages. Which thing was so feared by the king, that, according to this man's opinion, he commanded that they should cast every male child, which was born to the Israelites, into the river, and destroy it;
that besides this, the Egyptian midwives* should watch the labours of the Hebrew women, and observe what is born, for those were the women who were enjoined to do the office of midwives to them; and by reason of their relation to the king, would not transgress his commands. He enjoined also, that if any parents should disobey him, and venture to bear a male child, they and their families should be destroyed. This was a severe afflication indeed to those that suffered it, not only as they were deprived of their sons, and, while they were the parents themselves, they were obliged to be subservient to the destruction of their own children, but as it was to be supposed to the extirpation of their nation, while upon the destruction of their children, and their own gradual dissolution, the calamity would become very hard and insupportable to them; and this was the ill state they were in. But no one can be too hard for the purpose of God, though he contrive ten thousand subtle devices for that end; for this child, whom the sacred scribe foretold, was brought up and concealed from the observers appointed by the king; and he that foretold him did not mistake in the consequences of his preservation, which were brought to pass after the manner following:

3. A man, whose name was Amram, one of the noblest sort of the Hebrews, was afraid for his whole nation, lest it should fail, by the want of young men to be brought up hereafter, and was very uneasy at it, his wife being then with child, and he knew not what to do. Hereupon he betook himself to prayer to God; and entertained him to have compassion on those men who had nowise transgressed the laws of his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render abortive their enemies' hopes of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He stood by him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair of his future favours. He said farther, that he did not forget their piety towards him, and was ready to reward them for it, as he had formerly granted his favours to their forefathers, and made them increase from a few, to so great a multitude. He put him in mind, that when Abraham was come alone out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, he had been made happy, not only in other respects, but that when his wife was at first barren, she was afterwards by him enabled to conceive seed, and bear him sons. That he left to Israel and to his posterity the country of Arabia; as also to his sons by Keturah, Trogodietyts: and to Isaac, Canaan. That by his assistance too, he did great exploits in war, which, though you do yourself, insomuch as you do yours, you must still remember. As for Jacob, he became well known to strangers also, by the greatness of that prosperity in which he lived, and left to his sons, who came into Egypt with no more than seventy souls, while you are now become more than six hundred thousand. Know, therefore, that I shall provide for you all in common what is for your good, and particularly for thyself what shall make thee famous; for that child, out of dread of whose nativity the Egyptians have doomed the Israelite children to destruction, shall be this child of thine, and shall be concealed from those who watch to destroy him; and when he is brought up in a surprising way, he shall deliver the Hebrew nation from the designs they have against them, viz. the Egyptians. His memory shall be famous while the world lasts; and this not only among the Hebrews, but foreigners also;—all which shall be the effect of my favour to thee, and to thy posterity. He shall also have such a brother, that he shall himself obtain my priesthood, and his posterity shall have it after him to the end of the world.

4. When the vision had informed him of these things, Amram awakened, and told it to Jochebed, who was his wife. And now the fear increased upon them on account of the prediction in Amram's dream; for they were under no concern, only for the child, but on account of the great happiness that was to come to him also. However, the mother's labour was such as afforded a confirmation to what was foretold by God; for it was not known to those that watched her, by the easiness of her pains, and because the throes of her delivery did not fall upon her with violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time Amram, fearing he should be discovered, and by falling under the king's displeasure, both he and his child should perish, and so he should make the promise of God of none effect, he determined rather to intrust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him, which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and whereby both the child, so privately to be nourished, and himself, should be in imminent danger; but he believed that God would some way for certain procure the safety of the child, in order to secure the truth of his own predictions. When they had thus determined, they made an ark of bulrushes, after the manner of the scribes and the reed, of a bulrush sufficient for an infant to be laid in, with a covering upon it; they then daubed it over with slime, which would naturally keep out the water from entering between the bulrushes, and put the infant into it, and setting it afloat upon the river, they left its preservation to God; so the river received the child, and carried him along. But Miriam, the child's sister, passed along upon the bank over against him, as her mother had bid her, to see whether the ark would be carried; where God demonstrated that human wisdom was nothing, but that the Supreme Being is able to do whatsoever he pleases; that those who, in order to their own security, condemn others to destruction, and use great endeavours about it, fail of their purpose; but that others are in a surprising manner preserved, and obtain a prosperous condition almost from the very midst of their calamities; those, I mean, whose dangers arise by the appointment of God. And, indeed, such a providence was exercised in the case of this child, as showed the power of God.

5. Theresahith was the king's daughter. She was now divesting herself by the banks of the river; and seeing the cradle current, she sent some that could swim, and bid them bring the cradle to her. When those that were sent in this errand, came to her with the cradle, and she saw the little child, she was greatly in love with it,

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* Josephus is clear that these midwives were Egyptians, and not Israelites, as in our other copies; which is very probable, it being not much likely, that the Egyptian midwives would execute so barbarous a command against their own nation. Contra, therefore, and correct, hence our ordinary copies, Ant. i. 15, 22. And, indeed, Josephus has here made use of the corrupt and mixed copies of the Punic, or other authentic records now but, about the birth and actions of Moses, see Josephus, Antiq. cxxiv. 9; Suetonius, Augustus xii. 4; and Ritius, De Bello, vii. 10. Which enabled him to be as large and particular about him.
on account of its largeness and beauty; for God had taken such great care in the formation of Moses, that he caused him to be bathed when he was brought up, and provided for, by all those who had observed the most fatal resolutions, on account of the dread of his nativity, for the destruction of the rest of the Hebrew nation. Thermuthis bid them bring her a woman that might afford her breast to the child; yet would not the child admit of her breast, but turned away from it, and did the like to many other women. Now Miriam was by when this happened, not to appear to be there on purpose, but only as staying to see the child; and she said, "It is in vain that thou, O Queen, callest for these women for the nourishing of the child, who are no way of kin to it; but see thou with order one of the Hebrew women to be brought, perhaps it may admit the breast of one of its own nation." Now since she seemed to speak well, Thermuthis bid her procure such a one, and to bring one of those Hebrew women that gave suck. So when she had such authority given her, she came back and brought the mother, who was known to nobody there. And now the child gladly admitted the breast, and seemed to stick close to it; and so it was, that, at the queen's desire, the nursing of the child was entirely intrusted to the mother.

6. Hereupon was it that Thermuthis imposed this name Moses upon him, from what had happened when he was put into the river; for the Egyptians call water by the name of Mo; and such as are saved out of it by the name of Us; so by putting these two words together, they imposed this name upon him; and he was, by the confession of all, according to God's prediction, as well for his greatness of mind as for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews; for Abraham was his ancestor, of the seventh generation. For Moses was the son of Amram, who was the son of Caath, whose father, Levi, was the son of Jacob, who was the son of Isaac, who was the son of Abraham. Now Moses's understanding became superior to his age, far beyond that standard; and when he was taught, he discovered greater quickness of apprehension than was usual at his age; and his actions at that time promised greater, when he should come to the age of a man. God did also give him that tallness, when he was but three years old, as was wonderful; and for his beauty, there was nobody so envious as, when they saw Moses, they were not greatly surprised at the beauty of his countenance: nay, it happened frequently, that those that met him as he was carried along the road, were obliged to turn again upon seeing the child; that they left what they were about, and stood still a great while to look on him; for the beauty of the child was so remarkable and natural to him on many accounts, that it detained the spectators, and made them stay longer to look upon him.

7. Thermuthis, therefore, perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for his son, having no child of her own. And when one time she had carried Moses to her father, she showed him to him, and said she thought to make him her father's successor, if it should please God she should have no legitimate child of her own; and said to him, "I have brought up a child who is of a divine form,* and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bounty of the river, in a wonderful manner, I thought proper to adopt him for my son, and the heir of thy kingdom." And when she had said this, she put the infant into her father's hands: so he took him, and hugged him close to his breast; and on his daughter's account, in a pleasant way, put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and, in a peculiar mood, he wrenched it round, and trod upon it with his feet; which seemed to bring along with it an evil presage concerning the kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribe saw this (he was the same person who foretold that his nativity would bring the dominion of that kingdom low), he made a violent attempt to kill him; and crying out in a frightful manner, he said, "This, O king! this child is he of whom God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in no danger; he himself affords an attestation to the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon thy government, and treading upon thy diadem. Take him, therefore, out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of being encouraged by him." But Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was not hasty to slay him, God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the king to spare him. He was, therefore, educated with great care. So the Hebrews depended on him, and were of good hopes that great things would be done by him; but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would follow such his education. Yet because, if Moses had been slain, there was no one, either akin or adopted, that had any oracle on his side for pretending to the crown of Egypt, and likely to be of greater advantage to them, they abstained from killing him.

CHAPTER X.

HOW MOSES MADE WAR WITH THE ETHEHIOPIANS.

§ 1. Moses, therefore, when he was born, and brought up in the foregoing manner, and came to the age of maturity, made his virtue manifest to the Egyptians; and showed that he was born for the bringing them down, and raising the Israelites; and the occasion he laid hold of was this:—The Ethiopians, who are next neighbours to the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, which they seized upon, and carried off the effects of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, fought against them, and revenged the affronts they had received from them; but, being overcome in battle, some of them were slain, and the rest run away in a shameful manner, and by that means saved themselves; whereupon the Ethiopians followed after them in the pursuit, and thinking that it would be a mark of cowardice if they did not subdue all Egypt, they went on to subdue the rest with greater vengeance; and when they had taken the city, the crown of the country, they never left off the prosecution of the war; and as the nearest parts had not courage enough at first to fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis, and the sea itself; while not one of the cities was able to oppose them. The Egyptians, under this sad oppression, betook themselves to their oracles and prophecies; and when God had given them this counsel, to make use of Moses the Hebrew and

* What Josephus here says of the beauty of Moses, that he was of a tall form, so very like what St. Hilary says of the same beauty, that he was beautiful in the sight of God, Acts vii. 20.
take his assistance, the king commanded his daughter to produce him, that he might be the general of his army. Upon which, when she had made him swear he would do him no harm, she delivered him to the king, and supposed his assistance would be of great advantage to them. She withheld the prophet, who, when they had before admonished the Egyptians to kill him, was not ashamed now to own their wish of his help.

2. So Moses, at the persuasion both of Thermuthis and the king himself, cheerfully undertook the business: and the sacred scribes of both nations were glad; those of the Egyptians, that they should at once overcome their enemies by his valour, and that by the same piece of management Moses would be slain; but those of the Hebrews, that they should escape from the Egyptians, because Moses was to be their general; but Moses prevented the enemies, and took and led his army by those enemies were apprized of his attacking them; for he did not march by the river, but by land, where he gave a wonderful demonstration of his sagacity; for when the ground was difficult to be passed over, because of the multitude of serpents (which it produces in vast numbers, and indeed is singular in some of those productions, which other countries do not breed, and yet such as are worse than those in power and mischief, and an unusual fierceness of sight, some of which ascend out of the ground unseen, and also fly in the air, and so come upon men unawares, and do them mischief), Moses invented a wonderful stratagem to preserve the army safe, and without hurt; for he made baskets, like unto ark, of sedge, and filled them with ibr, and carried them along with them; which animal is the greatest enemy to serpents imaginable, for they fly from them when they come near them; and as they fly, they are caught and devoured by them, as if it were done by the hands; but the ibr are tame creatures, and only enemies to the serpentine kind: but about these ibr I say no more at present, since the Greeks themselves are not unacquainted with this sort of bird. As soon, therefore, as Moses came to the land which was the breeder of these serpents, he let loose the ibr, and by their means repelled the serpentine kind, and used them for his assistants before the army came upon that ground. When he had therefore proceeded thus on his journey, he came upon the Ethiopians before they expected him; and, joining battle with them, he beat them, and deprived them of the hopes they had of success against the Egyptians, and went on in overthrowing their cities, and indeed made a great slaughter of these Ethiopians. Now when the Egyptian army had once tasted of this prosperous success, by the means of Moses, they did not slacken their diligence, insomuch that the Ethiopians were in danger of being reduced to slavery, and all sorts of destruction; and at length they retired to Saba, which was a royal city of Ethiopia, which Cambyses afterwards named Medo, after the name of his own sister. The place was to be besieged with very great difficulty, since it was both encompassed by the Nile quite round, and the other rivers, Astapus and Aselahora, made it a very difficult thing for such as attempted to pass over them; for the city was situate in a retired place, and was inhabited after the manner of an island, being encompassed with a strong wall, and having the rivers to guard them from their enemies, and having great ramparts between the wall and the rivers, insomuch, that when the waters come with the greatest violence it can never be drowned; which ramparts make it next to impossible for even such as are gotten over the rivers to take the city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle (for the enemies durst not come to a battle), this accident happened:—Tharsis was the daughter of the king of the Ethiopians; she happened to see Moses as he led the army near the walls, and fought with great courage; and admiring the subtility of his undertakings, and believing him to be the author of the Egyptians' success, when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty, and to be the occasion of the great danger the Ethiopians were in, when they had before boasted of their great achievements, she fell deeply in love with him; and upon the prevalence of that passion, sent to him the most faithful of all her servants to discourse with him about their marriage. He thereupon accepted the offer, on condition she would procure the delivering up of the city; and gave her the assurance of an oath to take her to his wife; and that when he had once taken possession of the city, he would not break his oath to her. No sooner was the agreement made, but it took effect immediately; and when Moses had cut off the Ethiopians, he gave thanks to God, and consummated his marriage, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW MOSES FLED OUT OF EGYPT INTO MIDEAN.

§ 1. Now the Egyptians, after they had been preserved by Moses, entertained a hatred to him; and were very eager in compassing their designs against him, as suspecting that he would take occasion from his good success, to raise a sedition, and bring innovations into Egypt; and told the king he ought to be slain. The king had also some intentions of himself to the same purpose, and this as well out of envy at his glorious expedition at the head of his army, as out of fear of being brought low by him; and being instigated by the sacred scriptures, he was ready to undertake to kill Moses; but when he had learned beforehand what plots there were against him, he went away privately; and because the public roads were watched, he took his flight through the deserts, and where his enemies could not suspect him he would travel, and, though he was destitute of food, he went on, and despised that difficulty courageously; and when he came to the city Midian, which lay upon the Red Sea, and was so denominated from one of Abraham's sons by Ketura, he sat upon a certain well, and rested himself there after his laborious journey, and the affliction he had been in. It was not far from the
city, and the time of the day was noon, where he had an occasion offered him by the custom of the country of doing what recommended his virtue, and afforded him an opportunity of bettering his circumstances.

For that country having but little water, the shepherds used to seizing on the wells before others came, lest their flocks should want water, and lest it should be spent by others before they came. There were now some, therefore, to this well seven sisters that were virgins, the daughters of Raguel, a priest, and one thought worthy by the people of the country of great honour. These virgins, who took care of their father’s flocks, which sort of work was customary and very familiar for women to do in the country of the Troglydotes, they came first of all, and drew water out of the well in a quantity sufficient for their flocks, into troughs, which were made for the reception of that water; but when the shepherds came upon the maidens, and drove them away, that they might have the command of the water themselves, Moses, thinking it would be a terrible reproach upon him if he overlooked the young women under unjust oppression, and should suffer the violence of the men to prevail over the right of the maidens, he drove away the men, who had a mind to more than their share, and afforded a proper assistance to the women; who, when they had received such a benefit from him, came to their father, and told him how they had been afforded by the shepherds, and assisted by a stranger, and entreated that he would not let this generous action be done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well from his daughters that they were so desirous to render their benefactor; and bid them bring Moses into his presence, that he might be rewarded as he deserved; and when Moses came, he told him what testimony his daughters bore to him, that he had assisted them; and that, as he admired him for his virtue, he said that Moses had bestowed such his assistance on persons not insensible of benefits, but where they were both able and willing to return the kindness, and even to exceed the measure of his generosity. So he made him his son, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and appointed him to be the guardian and superintendent over his cattle; for of old, all the wealth of the barbarians was in those cattle.

CHAPTER XII.

CONCERNING THE BURNING BUSH, AND THE ROD OF MOSES.

§ 1. Now Moses, when he had obtained the favour of Jethro, for that was one of the names of Raguel, said there and fed his flock; but some time afterward, taking his station at the mountain called Sinai, he drove his flock thither to feed them. Now this is the highest of all the mountains thereabout, and the best for pasturage, the herbage being there good; and it had not been before fed upon, because of the opinion men had that God dwelt there, the shepherds not daring to ascend up to it; and here it was that a wonderful prodigy happened to Moses; for a fire fed upon a thorn-bush, yet did the green leaves and the flowers continue untouched, and the fire did not at all consume the fruit-branches, although the flame was great and fierce. Moses was affrighted at this strange sight, as it was to him; but he was still more astonished when the fire uttered a voice, and called to him by name, and spoke words to him, by which it signified how bold it had been that he had ventured to come into a place where no man had ever come before, because the place was divine; and advised him to remove a great way off from the flame, and to be contented with what he had seen; and though he were himself a good man, and the offspring of great men, yet that he should not pry any farther: and he foretold to him, that he should have glory and honour among men, by the blessing of God upon him. He also commanded him to go away thence with confidence to Egypt, in order to his being the commander and conductor of the body of the Hebrews, and to his delivering his own people from the injuries they suffered there: “For,” said God, “they shall inhabit this happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all sorts of good things; and thou, by thy prudence, shalt guide them to those good things.” But still he enjoined him, when he had brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there. Such were the divine oracles which were delivered out of the fire.

2. But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and he said, “I think it would be an instance of too great madness, O Lord, for one of that regard I bear to thee, to distrust thy power, since I myself adore it, and know that it has been made manifest to my progenitors: but I am still in doubt how I, who am a private man, and one of no abilities, should either persuade my own countrymen to leave the country they now inhabit, and to follow me to a land whither I lead them; or, if they should be persuaded, how can I force Pharaoh to permit them to depart, since they augment their own wealth and prosperity by the labours and works they put upon them?”

3. But God persuaded him to be courageous on all occasions, and promised to be with him, and to assist him in his words, when he was to persuade men; and in his deeds, when he was to perform wonders. He bid him also to take a signal of the truth of what he said, by throwing his rod upon the ground; which when he had done, it crept along, and was become a serpent, and rolled itself round in its folds, and erected its head, as ready to revenge itself on such as should assure it; and thus it became a rod again as before. After this God bid Moses to put his right hand into his bosom: he obeyed, and when he took it out it was white, and in colour like to chalk, but afterward it returned to its wonted colour again. He also, upon God’s command, took some of the water that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the colour was that of blood. Upon the wonder that Moses showed at these signs, God exhorted him to be of good courage, and to be assured that he would be the greatest support to him in a number of those signs, in order to obtain belief among all men, that “they art sent by me, and dost all things according to my commands.” Accordingly I encourage thee to make no more delays, but to make haste to Egypt, and to travel night and day, and not to draw out the time, and so make the slavery of the Hebrews and their sufferings to last the longer.”

4. Moses having now seen and heard these wonders that assured him of the truth of these promises
of God, had no room left him to disbelieve them: he entreated him to grant him that power when he should be in Egypt; and besought him to vouchsafe him the knowledge of his own name; and, since he had heard and seen him, that he would also tell him his name, that when he offered sacrifice he might invoke him by such his name in his oblations. Whereupon God declared to him his holy name, which had never been discovered to men before; concerning which it is not lawful for me to say any more.* Now these signs accompanied Moses, not then only, but always when he prayed for them, of all which signs he attributed the firmest assent to the fire in the bush; and believing that God would be a gracious supporter to him, he hoped he should be able to deliver his own nation, and bring calamities on the Egyptians.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOW MOSES AND AARON RETURNED INTO EGYPT TO PHARAOH.

§ 1. So Moses, when he understood that the Pharaoh, in whose reign he fled away, was dead, asked leave of Raguel to go to Egypt, for the benefit of his own people: and he took with him Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, whom he had married, and the children he had by her, Gersom and Eleazer, and made haste into Egypt. Now the former of those names, Gersom, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies that he was born in a strange land: and Eleazer, that, by his assistance, he found his fathers. As to the latter, he had escaped from the Egyptians. Now when they were near the borders, Aaron his brother, by the command of God, met them, to whom he declared what had befallen him at the mountain, and the commands that God had given him. But as they were going forward, the chief men among the Hebrews, having learned that they were coming, met them; to whom Moses declared the signs he had seen; and while they could not believe them, he made them see them. So they took courage at these surprising and unexpected sights, and hoped well of their deliverance; and believing now that God took care of their preservation.

2. Since then Moses found that the Hebrews would be obedient to whatsoever he should direct, as they promised to be, and were in love with liberty, he came to the king, who had indeed but lately received the government, and told him how much he had done for the good of the Egyptians, when they were despoiled by the Ethiopians, and their country laid waste by them; and how he had been the commander of their forces, and had laboured for them, as if they had been his own people; and he informed him in what danger he had been during that expedition, without having any proper return made him as he had deserved. He also informed him distinctly what things happened to him at mount Sinai; and what God said to him; and the signs that were done by God, in order to assure him of the authority of those commands which he had given him. He also exhorted him not to disbelieve what he told him, nor to oppose the will of God.

3. But when the king derided Moses, he made him in earnest see the signs that were done at mount Sinai. Yet was the king very angry with him, and called him an ill man, who had formerly run away from his Egyptian slavery, and came now back with deceitful tales and wonders and magical arts, to astonish him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to let him see the same wonderful sights: as knowing that the Egyptians were skilful in this kind of learning, and that he was not the only person who knew them, and pretended them to be divine; as also he told him, that when he brought such wonderful sights before him, he would only be believed by the unlearned. Now when the priests threw down their rods, they became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at it; and said to the king, I do not despise the rod of the Egyptians, but I say that what I do is so much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks, as divine power exceeds the power of man: but I will demonstrate that what I do is not done by craft, or counterfeiting what is not really true, but that they appear by the presence and power of God." And when he had said this, he cast his rod down upon the ground, and changed it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, till all the rods of the king were changed into the same form, and Moses took it into his hand again.

4. However, the king was no more moved when this was done than before; and being very angry, he said that he should gain nothing by this his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians; and he commanded him that was the chief task-master over the Hebrews, to give them no relaxation from their labours, but to compel them to submit to greater oppressions than before; and though he allowed them chaff before for making their load, he would allow it them no longer; and he made them to work hard as brick-making in the day-time, and to gather chaff in the night. Now when their labour was thus doubled upon them, they laid the blame upon Moses, because their labour and their misery were on his account become more severe to them; but Moses did not let his courage sink for the king's threatenings: nor did he abate of his zeal on account of the Hebrews' complaints; but he supported himself, and set his soul resolutely against them both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to himself despises the king. So he went to the king, and persuaded him to let the Hebrews go to mount Sinai, and there to sacrifice to God, because God had enjoined them so to do. He persuaded him also not to counterwork the designs of God, but to esteem his favour above all things; and to permit them to depart, lest, before he be aware, he lay an obstruction in the way of the divine commands, and so occasion his own suffering such punishments as it was probable any one that counterworked the divine commands should undergo; since the severest afflictions arise from every object to those that provoke the divine wrath against them; for such as these have neither the earth nor the air for their friends: nor are the fruits of the
CHAPTER XIV.
CONCERNING THE TEN PLAGUES WHICH CAME UPON THE EGYPTIANS.

4. But when the king despised the words of Moses, and had no regard at all to them, grievous plagues seized the Egyptians; every one of which I will describe, both because no such plagues did ever happen to any other nation as the Egyptians now fell upon; and because I would demonstrate that Moses did not fail in any one thing that he foretold them; and because it is for the good of mankind, that they may learn this caution:—Not to do any thing that may displease God, lest he be provoked to wrath, and avenge their iniquities upon them. For the Egyptian river ran with bloody water at the command of God, insomuch that it could not be drunk, and they had no other spring of water. Moreover, the water was not only of the colour of blood, but it was also such as those that were tured to drink of it, great pains and bitter torment. Such was the river to the Egyptians; but it was sweet and fit for drinking to the Hebrews, and no way different from what it naturally used to be. As the king therefore knew not what to do in these surprising circumstances, and was in fear for the Egyptians, he gave the Hebrews leave to go away; but when the plague ceased, he changed his mind again, and would not suffer them to go.

2. But when God saw that he was ungrateful, and would not repent of his wickedness, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians:—An innumerable multitude of frogs consumed the fruit of the ground; the river was also full of them, insomuch that those who drew water had it spoiled by the blood of these animals, as they died in, and were destroyed by, the water; and the country was full of filthy slime, as they were born and as they died: they also spoiled their vessels in their houses, which they used, and were found among what they ate and what they drank, and came in great numbers upon their beds. There was also an ungrateful smell, and a stink arose from them, as they were born, and as they died therein. Now, when the Egyptians were under the oppression of these miseries, the king ordered Moses to take the Hebrews with him, and be gone. Upon which the whole multitude of the frogs vanished away; and both the land and the river returned to their former natures. But as soon as Pharaoh saw the land freed from this plague, he forgot the cause of it, and retained the Hebrews; and, as though he had a mind to try the nature of more such judgments, he would not yet suffer Moses and his people to depart, having granted that liberty rather out of fear than any good consideration.

3. Accordingly God punished his falseness with another plague, added to the former; for there arose out of the bodies of the Egyptians an innumerable quantity of lice, by which, wicked as they were, they miserably perished, as not able to destroy this sort of vermin either with washes or with ointments. At which terrible judgment the king of Egypt was in disorder, upon the fear into which he reasoned himself, lest his people should be destroyed, and that the manner of this death was also reproachful, so that he was forced in part to recover himself from his wicked temper to a sounder mind, for he gave leave for the Hebrews themselves to depart. But when the plague thereupon ceased, he thought it proper to require that they should leave their children and wives behind them, as pledges of their return; whereby he provoked God to be more vehemently angry at him, as if he thought to impose on his providence, and as if it were only Moses, and not God, who punished the Egyptians for the sake of the Hebrews: for he filled that country full of various sorts of pestilential creatures, with their various properties, such indeed, as had never come into the sight of men before, by whose means the men perished themselves, and the land was destitute of husbandmen for its cultivation; but if any thing escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper which the men underwent also.

4. But when Pharaoh did not even then yield to the will of God, but, while he gave leave to the husbands to take their wives with them, yet insisted that the children should be left behind, God presently resolved to punish his wickedness with several sorts of calamities, and those worse than the foregoing, which yet had so generally afflicted them; for their bodies had terrible boils, breaking forth with blains, while they were already inwardly consumed; and a great part of the Egyptians perished in this manner. But when the king was not brought to reason by this plague, hail was sent down from heaven; and such hail it was, as the climate of Egypt had never suffered before, nor was it like to that which falls in other climates in winter time, but was larger than that which falls in the middle of spring to those that dwell in the northern and north-western regions. This hail broke down their boughs laden with fruit. After this a tribe of locusts consumed the seed which was not hurt by the hail: so that to the Egyptians all hopes of the future fruits of the ground were entirely lost.

5. One would think the forementioned calamities might have been sufficient for one that was only foolish, without wickedness, to make him wise, and to make him sensible what was for his advantage. But Pharaoh, led not so much by his folly as by his wickedness, even when he saw the cause of his miseries, he still contended with God, and wilfully deserted the cause of virtue; so he bid Moses take the Hebrews away, with their wives and children, but to leave their cattle behind, since their own cattle were destroyed. But when Moses said that what he desired was unjust, since they were obliged to offer sacrifices to God of those cattle; and the time being prolonged on this account, a thick darkness, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, which was the most bitter; and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and under a terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. Besides this, when the darkness, after three days and as many nights, was dissipated, and when Pharaoh did not still repent and let the Hebrews go,
Moses came to him and said, "How long will thou be disobedient to the command of God? for he enjoins thee to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of being freed from the calamities you are under, unless you do so." But the king was angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head if he came any more to trouble him about these matters. Hereupon Moses said he would not speak to him any more about them, for that he himself, together with the principal men among the Egyptians, should desire the Hebrews to go away. So when Moses had said this, he went his way.

But when God had signified unto him with one more plague he would compel the Egyptians to let the Hebrews go, he commanded Moses to tell the people that they should have a sacrifice ready, and that they should prepare themselves on the tenth day of the month Nisan, against the fourteenth (which month is called by the Egyptians, Pharnath, and Nisan by the Hebrews; but the Macedonians call it Xanthicus) and that he should carry away the Hebrews with all they had. Accordingly, he having got the Hebrews ready for their departure, and having sorted the flocks, and the cattle, he kept them together in one place; but when the fourteenth day was come, and all were ready to depart, they offered the sacrifice, and purified their houses with the blood, using bunches of hyssop for that purpose; and when they had supped, they burnt the remainder of the flesh, as just ready to depart. Whence it is that we do still offer this sacrifice in like manner to this day, and call this festival Pascha, which signifies the feast of the passover: because on that day God passed us over, and sent the plague upon the Egyptians; for the destruction of the first-born came upon the Egyptians that night, so that many of the Egyptians who lived near the king's palace, persuaded Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go. Accordingly he called for Moses, and bid them go; as supposing, that if once the Hebrews were gone out of the country, Egypt should be freed from its miseries. They also honoured the Hebrews with gifts; some in order to get them to depart quickly, and others on account of their neighbourhood, and the friendship they had with them.

CHAPTER XV.

HOW THE HEBREWS, UNDER THE CONDUCT OF MOSES, LEFT EGYPT.

§ 1. So the Hebrews went out of Egypt, while the Egyptians wept, and repented that they had treated them so hardly. Now they took their journey by Leopolis, a place at that time deserted, but where Babylon was built afterwards, when Cambyses laid Egypt waste; but as they went away hastily, on the third day they came to a place called Bechephon, on the Red Sea; and when they had no food out of the land, because it was a desert, they eat of loaves kneaded of flour, only warmed by a gentle heat; and this food they made use of for thirty days; for what they brought with them out of Egypt would not suffice them any longer time; and this only while they dispensed it to each person, to use as much only as would serve for necessity, but not for satiety. Whence it is that, in memory of the vast we were then in, we keep a feast for eight days, which is called the feast of unleavened bread. Now the entire multitude of those that went out, including the women and children, was not easy to be numbered; but those that were of an age fit for war, numbered four hundred thousand.

2. They left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the fifteenth day of the lunar month; four hundred and thirty years after our forerunner Abraham came into Canaan, but two hundred and fifteen years only after Jacob removed into Egypt. It was the eightieth year of the age of Moses, and of that of Aaron three more. They also carried out the bones of Joseph with them, as he had charged his sons to do.

3. But the Egyptians soon repented that the Hebrews were gone; and the king also was piteously concerned that this had been procured by the magic arts of Moses; so they resolved to go after them. Accordingly they took their weapons, and other warlike furniture, and pursued after them, in order to bring them back, if once they overtakethem, because they would now have no pretence to pray to God against them, since they had already been permitted to go out; and they thought they should easily overcome them, as they had no armour, and would be weary with their journey; so they came up to the pursuit, and asked of every one of them which way they went, which was not easy to answer. And indeed land was difficult to be travelled over, not only by armies, but by single persons. Now Moses led the Hebrews this way, that in case the Egyptians should repent and be desirous to pursue them after then, they might undergo the punishment of their wickedness, and of the breach of those promises they had made to them. As also he led them this way, on account of the Philistines, who had quarrelled with them, and hated them of old, that by all means they might not know of their departure, for their country was nearer to that of the Philistines, than that of the Egyptians. For this was that Moses led them not along the road that tended to the land of the Philistines, but he was desirous that they should go through the desert, that so after a long journey, and after many afflictions, they might enter upon the land of Canaan. Another reason of this was, that God commanded him to bring the people to mount Sinai, that there they might offer him sacrifices. Now when the Egyptians had overtaken the Hebrews, they prepared to fight them, and by their multitude they would have them into a narrow place; for the number that pursued after them was six hundred chariots, with fifty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand footmen, all armed. They also seized on the passages by which they imagined the Hebrews might fly, shutting them up between inaccessible precipices.

* These large pages made me to those, of vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and renamite, were, as Josephus truly tells them, gifts really given them; and lost them, as our English falsely renders them. They were spoilt required, not borrowed of them, since, Ex. xiv, 14, 21, 16, 22, 31, 32, 33, and, as the same version falsely renders the Hebrew word here used, Exod. xii, 38, 39, 36. God had ordered the Jews to redeem them as their pay and reward, during their long and bitter slavery in Egypt, in compensation for the loss of the Egyptians, and as the occasion of the Jews' departure, and of the Egyptians' deliverance from those terrible judgments, which had so threatened them, and they had seen and heard, when they themselves suffered, ob. a. 58. 59. Nor was there any value placed on them in Egypt, let alone in Syriæ, among the Hebrews, whose name was Beshan, which he esteemed.
and the sea; for there was [on each side] a [ridge of] mountains that terminated at the sea, which were impassable by reason of their roughness, and obstructed their flight; wherefore they there pressed the army near to the sea, and the mountains behind, afforded them opportunity for flying for; even these mountains, if God so please, may be made plain ground for you, and the sea become dry land.\(^5\)

CHAP. XVI.

HOW THE SEA WAS DIVIDED ASUNDER FOR THE
HEBREWS, WHEN THEY WERE PURSUED BY THE
EGYPTIANS, AND SO GAVE THEM AN OPPORTUNITY
OF ESCAPING FROM THEM.

§ 1. When Moses had said this, he led them to the sea, while the Egyptians looked on; for they were within sight. Now these were so distressed by the toil of their pursuit, that they thought proper to put off fighting till the next day. But when Moses was come to the sea-shore, he took his rod, and made supplication to God, and called upon him to be their helper and assistant; and said, “Thou art not ignorant, O Lord, that it is beyond human strength and human contrivance to avoid the difficulties we are now under; but it must be thy work altogether to procure deliverance to this army, which has left Egypt at thy appointment. We despair of any other assistance or contrivance, and have recourse only to that hope we have in thee; and if there be any method that can promise us an escape by thy providence, we look up to thee for it. And let it come quickly, and manifest thy power to us; and do thou raise up this people unto good courage and hope of deliverance, who are deeply sunk into a desolate state of mind. We are in a helpless place, but still it is a place that thou possessest; still the sea is thine, the mountains also that enclose us are thine; so that these mountains will open themselves if thou commandest them, and the sea also, if thou commandest it, will become dry land. Nay, we might escape by a flight through the air, if thou shouldst determine we should have that way of salvation.”

2. When Moses had thus addressed himself to God, he smote the sea with his rod, which parted asunder at the stroke, and receiving those waters into itself, left the ground dry, as a road and a place of flight for the Hebrews. Now when Moses saw this appearance of God, and that the sea went out of its own place, and left dry land, he went first of all into it, and bid the Hebrews to follow him along that divine road, and to rejoice at the danger their enemies that followed them were in: and gave thanks to God for this so surprising a deliverance which appeared from him.

3. Now, while these Hebrews made no stay, but went on earnestly, as led by God’s presence with them, the Egyptians supposed at first that they were distracted, and were going rashly upon manifest destruction. But when they saw that they were going a great way without any harm, and that no obstacle or difficulty fell in their journey, they made haste to pursue them, hoping that the sea would be calm for them also. They put their horse foremost, and went down themselves into the sea. Now the Hebrews, while these were putting on their armour, and therein spending their time, were beforehand

\(^5\) Egypt, told me that he went thence by way from Egypt to mount Sinai, which he supposed the Israelites of old travelled; and that he found several mountains near it, through which the Egyptians had passed so far as the desert of Etham (Exod. 14:8, 9). When they were surrounded by God to return back (Exod. 14:22), they were as if in a strait between an impenetrable sea and mountains. But when they were not able to fly, unless by sea, they were about to go backward; the sea, however, might not be able to harm them, and the Egyptians were in Etham, but they did not harm the Hebrews. This is the city of Etham when they had passed over the sea. Exodus, he gave me an account how it was passed over a year and a half after the city. When he was so much in the desert of the mountains, since that city would not be unsafe anywhere else in that neighborhood.\(^{10}\) An ancient passage here by Dr. Burnet, and of the Jews,

\(^{10}\) As the most ancient tradition of the Israelites coming from the Red Sea into Palestine, Bishop Cumberland has shown that it belongs to the old Canaanites of Phoenician shepherds, and their retiring sea of Egypt into Canaan of Techea, long before the descent Moses, Joshua, Judges, ch. 12:15, &c.
with them, and escaped them, and got first over to the land on the other side without any hurt. Whence the others were encouraged, and more courageously pursued them, as hoping no harm would come to them neither: but the Egyptians were not discouraged, nor shrank back, but made a wind for the Hebrews, and not for others; that this road was made for the deliverance of those in danger, but not for those that were earnest to make use of it for the others' destruction. As soon, therefore, as ever the whole Egyptian army was within it, the sea flowed to its own place, and came down with a torrent raised by storms of wind, and encompassed the Egyptians. Showers of rain also came down from the sky, and dreadful thunders and lightning, with flashes of fire. Thunder-bolts also were darted upon them; nor was there any thing which seemed to be sent by God upon men, as indications of his wrath, which did not happen at this time; for a dark and dismal night oppressed them. And thus did all these men perish, so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians.

4. But the Hebrews were not able to contain themselves for joy at their wonderful deliverance, and destruction of their enemies. Now indeed, supposing themselves firmly delivered, when those that would have forced them into slavery were destroyed, and when they found they had God so evidently for their protector; and now these Hebrews having escaped the danger they were in, after this manner, and besides that, seeing their enemies punished in such a way as is never recorded of any other men whomsoever, were all the night employed in singing of hymns; and in mirth. Moses also composed a song unto God, containing his praises, and a thanksgiving for his kindness, in hexameter verse.

1. Of those storms of wind, thunder, and lightning, at this drowning of Pharaoh's army, almost wanting in our copies of Exodus, but fully extant in that of Scalvini, Paul. Ex. 19, 17, 18, and in that of Josephus here, see Essay on the Old Test. Append. p. 154, 155.

2. Of these floods of the Red Sea, and its exit, as the Egyptians say, see two, and more, times the accounts of the Israelites over the Red Sea, in this one night, from the common maps, viz. that this sea being here about thirty miles broad, so great an armory could not pass over it in so short a time, is a great mistake. Moses, therefore, as an authentic eye-witness, informs us, that this sea, for about five or six days, is nowhere more than about eight miles over and over, and in one place but four or five miles, according to De Lacy's map, which is made from the best travellers themselves, and not copied from others. What has been further objected against this passage of the Israelites, and drowning of the Egyptians, being extraneous also, viz. that Moses might carry the Israelites over at a low tide without any miracle, while yet the Egyptians, not knowing the low tide as well as he, might be seen drowned upon the return of the tide, is strange story indeed! That Moses, who never had lived here, should know the quantity and time of the flux and reflux of the Red Sea better than the Egyptians themselves in its neighbourhood! Yet does Aragonese, an ancient historian heathens, inform us, that this was what the more ignorant Egyptians, who lived at a great distance, pretended, though he confutes, that the more learned Heliopolitans, who lived much nearer, owed the destruction of the Egyptians to the deluge of the Israelites, to have been mistaken; and De Oroso, a mathematician, who surveyed this sea with great exactness, informs us, that there is no place in the world that can give a colour to this hypothesis: nay, that at the elevation of the tide there was more than twenty fathoms, as is shown in this Essay on the Old Test. Append. p. 292, 293. So rain and sandstorms are these and the like wakers and shockers of our modern sceptics and unbelievers, that certainly do thorough inquiries and authentic evidence dispel and confute such sions and subterfuges upon all occasions.

3. In the last place, the above passage, in which Moses' triumphant song is here said to be written, distinctly means, our present ignorance of the old history, the present unacquaintance with the present condition of the land which, in the case of the Egyptians, is a sea, and, in the case of the Hebrews, a country, which is also now a sea, and, in the case of the Egyptians, a country, which is also now a sea, is no proof of the certainty of other inquiries and authentic evidence dispel and confute such sions and subterfuges upon all occasions.

4. As for myself, I have delivered every part of this history as I found it in the sacred books; nor lay any one wonder at the strangeness of the narration, if, by a way were discovered to these men of old time, who were free from the wickedness of the modern world, when, in a wind made by God, or whether it happened of its own accord,—while, for the sake of those that accompanied Alexander, king of Macedonia, who yet lived, comparatively, but a little while ago, the Pamphylia Sea retired and afforded them a passageway through itself, when they had no other way to go; I mean, when it was the will of God to destroy the monarchy of the Persians: and this is confessed to be true by all that have written about the actions of Alexander; but as to these events, let every one determine as he pleases.

5. On the next day Moses gathered together the weapons of the Egyptians, which were brought to the camp of the Hebrews by the current of the sea, and the force of the winds assisting it; and he conjectured that this also happened by Divine Providence, that so they might not be destitute of weapons. So when he had ordered the Hebrews to arm themselves with them, he led them to mount Sinai, in order to offer sacrifice to God, and to render oblations for the salvation of the multitude, as he was charged to do beforehand.
BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO YEARS.

FROM THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT, TO THE REJECTION OF THAT GENERATION.

CHAPTER I.

HOW MOSES, WHEN HE HAD BROUGHT THE PEOPLE OUT OF EGYPT, LED THEM TO MOUNT SINAI; BUT NOT TILL THEY HAD SUFFERED MUCH IN THEIR JOURNEY.

§ 1. WHEN the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance, the country was a great trouble to them, for it was entirely a desert, and without all sustenance for them; and also had exceeding little water, so that it not only was not at all sufficient for the men, but not enough to feed any of the cattle; for it was parched up, and had no moisture that made it suitable to the vegetables; so they were forced to travel over this country, as having no other country but this to travel in. They had indeed carried water along with them, from the land over which they had travelled before, as their conductor had bid them: but when that was spent, they were obliged to draw water out of wells, with pain, by reason of the hardness of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking: and this in small quantities also; and as they thus travelled, they came late in the evening to a place called Marah,* which had that name from the badness of its water, for Mar means bitter. Thither they came afflicted both by the tediousness of their journey, and by their want of food, for it entirely failed them at that time. Now here was a well, which made them choose to stay in the place, which, although it were not sufficient to satisfy so great an army, did yet afford them some comfort, as found in such desert places; for they heard from those who had been to search, that there was nothing to be found, if they travelled on farther. Yet was this water bitter, and not fit for men to drink; and not only so, but it was intolerable even to the cattle themselves.

2. When Moses saw how much the people were cast down, and that the occasion of it could not be contradicted, for the people were not in the nature of a complete army of men, who might oppose a manly fortitude to the necessity that distressed them; the multitude of the children, and of the women also, being of too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men themselves;—he was therefore in great difficulties, and made every body's calamity his own; for they ran all of them to him, and begged of him to intercede for their infants, and the men for the women, that he would not overlook them, but procure some way or other for their deliverance. He therefore betook himself to prayer to God, that he would change the water from its present badness and make it fit for drinking. And when God had granted him that favour, he took the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and divided it in the middle, and made the section lengthways. He then let it down into the well, and persuaded the Hebrews that God had hearkened to his prayers, and had promised to render the water such as they desired it to be, in case they would be subservient to him in what he should enjoin them to do, and this not after a remiss or negligent manner. And when they asked what they were to do in order to have the water changed for the better, he bid them gather stranger men among them that stood there, to draw up water, and told them, that when the greatest part was drawn up, the remainder would be fit to drink: so they laboured at it till the water was so agitated and purified as to be fit to drink.

3. And now removing from thence, they came to Elim; which place looked well at a distance, for there was a grove of palm trees; but when they came near to it, it appeared to be a bad place, for the palm-trees were no more than seventy; and they were ill grown and creeping trees, by the want of water, for the country about was all parched, and no moisture sufficient to water them, and make them hopeful and useful, was derived to them from the fountains, which were in number twelve: they were rather a few moist places than springs, which not breaking out of the ground, nor running over, could not sufficiently water the trees. And when they dug into the sand, they met with no water; and if they took a few drops of it into their hands, they found it to be useless, on account of its mud. The trees also were too weak to bear fruit, for want of being sufficiently cherished and enlivened by the water. So they laid the blame on their conductor, and made heavy complaints against him; and said that this their miserable state, and the experience they had of adversity, were owing to him; for that they had then journeyed an entire thirty days, and had spent all the provisions they had brought with

* The additions here to Moses account of the sweetness of the waters at Marah are derived from some ancient profane authors, and by Josephus. While he has not a syllable of those additions, nor any other scholiast or writer that we know of. Had Josephus written these his Anecdotes for the use of Jews, he would hardly have given them them very improbable circumstances; but writing to Gentiles, that they might not complain of his exclusion of any accounts of such incidents derived from Gentiles, he did not think proper to conceal what he had met with there about this matter; which procedure is perfectly agreeable to the character and usage of Josephus upon many occasions. This note is 1 endless, tautly conjectural; and since Josephus never tells us when his own copy, taken out of the temple, had such additions, or whether any ancient notes supplied them; or indeed when they are derived from Jewish, and when from Gentile antiquity,—we are to go so far further than have our conjectures in such cases; only the notions of Jews were generally so diff.

* Dr. Beza had some notice here, that that place, Mar, where the canes were broken, is called by the Syrians and Arabians Mardel, and to the Syrians sometimes Merdel, all derived from the Hebrew Mar; he also took notice, that it is called the Bitter Fountain by Piling himself, which makes remain there to this day, and are in ill bitter, as the present names us; and that there are also abundance of palm-trees. See his Travels, part 1 chap. xxiv. p. 166.
them; and meeting with no relief, they were in a very desponding condition. And by fixing their attention upon nothing but their present misfortunes, they were rendered, from over-numbering what deliverances they had received from God, and those by the virtue and wisdom of Moses also; so they were very angry at their conductor, and were zealous in their attempt to stone him, as the direct occasion of their present miseries.

4. But as for Moses himself, while the multitude were irritated and bitterly set against him, he cheerfully relied upon God, and upon his consciousness of the care he had taken of these his own people: and he came into the midst of them, even while the very same risings, and had stones in their hands in order to despatch him. Now he was of an agreeable presence, and very able to persuade the people by his speeches; accordingly he began to mitigate their anger, and exhort them not to be over-mindful of their present adversities, lest they should thereby suffer the benefits that had formerly been bestowed upon them to slip out of their memories; and he desired them by no means, on account of their present uneasiness, to cast those great and wonderful favours and gifts, which they had obtained from God, out of their minds, but to expect deliverance out of those present troubles, which they could not free themselves from, and this by the means of that Divine Providence which watched over them; seeing it is probable that God tried their virtue, and exercised their patience by these adversities, that it may appear what forbearance they have, and what memory they retain of his former wonderful works in their favour, and whether they will not think of them upon occasion of the miseries they now feel. He told them it appeared they were not really good men, either in patience, or in remembering what had been successfully done for them, sometimes by contending God and his commandments, by whose commandments they left the land of Egypt; and sometimes by behaving themselves ill towards him who was the servant of God, and this when he had never received them, either in what he said, or in any promised to do by God's command. He also put them in mind of all that had passed: how the Egyptians were destroyed when they attempted to detain them, contrary to the command of God; and after what manner they were persecuted and pursued, to the others bloody, and not fit for drinking, but was to them sweet and fit for drinking; and how they went a new road through the sea, which fled a long way from them, by which very means they were preserved, but saw their enemies destroyed; and that when they were in want of weapons, God gave them plenty of them: and so he recounted all the particular instances, how when they were in appearance, just going to be destroyed, God had saved them in a surprising manner; that he had the same power; and that they ought not even now to despair of his providence over them; and accordingly he exhorted them to continue quiet, to consider that help would not come too late, though it came not immediately, if he be present with them before they suffer any great misfortune; that they ought to reason thus: that God delays to assist them, not because he has no regard to them, but because he will first try their fortitude, and the pleasure they take in their freedom, that he may learn whether you have souls great enough to bear want of food, and scarcity of water, on its account; or whether you rather love to be slaves, as cattle are slaves to such as own them, and feed them liberally, but only in order to make them more wretched in their houses. Thus as for himself, he shall not be so much concerned for his own preservation; for if he die unjustly, he shall not reckon it any affliction; but that he is concerned for them, lest, by casting stones at him, they should be thought to condemn God himself.

5. By this means Moses pacified the people, and restrained them from stoning him, and brought them to repent of what they were going to do; and because he thought the necessity they were under made their passion less unjustifiable, he cast it off; and applied himself to God by prayer and supplication; and going up to an eminence, he requested of God for some succour for the people, and some way of deliverance from the want they were in, because in him, and in him alone, was their hope of salvation: and he desired that he would form what necessity had forced the people to do, and such was the nature of mankind, hard to please, and very complaining under adversities. Accordingly God promised he would take care of them, and afford them the succour they were desiring. Now when Moses had heard this from God, because he was down to the multitude: but as soon as they saw him, joyful at the promises he had received from God, they changed their sad countenances into gladness. So he placed himself in the midst of them, and told them he came to bring them from God a deliverance from their present distresses. Accordingly a little after came a vast number of quails, which is a bird more plentiful in this Arabian gulf than anywhere else, flying over the sea, and hovered over them. Now they were weary with their labours, and indeed, as usual, flying very near to the earth, they fell upon the Hebrews, who caught them and satisfied their hunger with them, and supposed that this was the method whereby God meant to supply them with food. Upon which Moses returned thanks to God for affording them his assistance so suddenly, and sooner than he had promised them.

6. But presently after this first supply of food, he sent them a second; for as Moses was life of his hands in prayer, a dew fell down; and Moses looked round when he found it stick to his hands, supposed this was also come for food from God to them; he sent over to tell the people what it was, and thought it showed, and that it was what usually fell at that time of the year, he informed them that this dew did not fall from heaven after the manner they imagined, but came for their preservation and sustenance. So he tasted it, and gave them some of it, that they might be satisfied about what he told them. They also imitated their conductor, and were pleased with the food, for it was like honey in sweetness and pleasant taste, but like in its body to chaff, one of the sweetest species, and in bulkness equal to covered seed. And very earnest they were in gathering it; but they were enjoined to gather it equally; the measure of an omer for each one every day, because this food should not come in too small a quantity, lest the weaker might not be able to get their share, by reason of the overbearing of the strong in collecting it. However, these strong men, when they had gathered more than the measure appointed for them,
had no more than others, but only tired themselves more in gathering it, for they found no more than an ever-suspected abundance; and the advantage they got by it was superfluous, was none at all, it corrupting both by the worms breeding in it, and by its bitterness. So divine and wonderful a food was this! It also supplied the want of other sorts of food to those that fed on it; and even now, in all that place, this manna comes down in rain, according to what Moses then obtained of God, to send it to the people for their sustenance. Now the Hebrews call this bread of the rock; for they particularly, in that language, is the asking of a question, What is this? So the Hebrews were very wise at what was sent from heaven. Now they made use of this food for forty years, or as long as they were in the wilderness.

7. As soon as they were removed thence, they came to Rephidim, being distressed to the last degree by thirst; and while in the foregoing days they had lit on a few small fountains, but now found the entire destitute of water, they were in an evil case. The Israelites were now engaged against Moses; but he at first avoided the fury of the multitude, and then betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching him, that as he had given them food when they were in the greatest want of it, so he would give them drink, since the favour of giving them food was of no value to them while they had nothing to drink: and God did not long delay to give it them, but promised Moses that he would procure them a fountain, and plenty of water from a place they did not expect any; so he commanded him, and they saw water springing out of the rock, and they drank with his rod, and out of it to receive plenty of what they wanted; for he had taken care that drink should come to them without any labour or pain-taking. When Moses had received this command from God, he came to the people, who waited for him, and looked upon him; for they saw already that he was coming from his eminence. As soon as he was come, he told them that God would deliver them from their present distress, and had granted them an unexpected favour; and informed them that a river should run forth out of the rock, and a fountain should spring forth, so as to be of necessity to cut the rock in pieces, now they were distressed by their thirst, and by their journey—while Moses, only smiting the rock with his rod, opened a passage, and out of it burst water, and that in great abundance, and very clear; but they were astonish'd at this wonderful effect, and, as it were, quenched their thirst by the very sight of it. So they drank this pleasant, this sweet water; and such it seemed to be, as might well be expected where God was the donor. They were also admonished how Moses was honou'd by God; and they made grateful returns of sacrifices to God for his providence towards them. Now that Scripture which is laid up in the temple, tells us how God foretold to Moses, that water should in this manner be derived out of the rock.

CHAPTER II.

HOW THE AMALEKITES, AND THE NEIGHBOURING NATIONS, MADE WAR WITH THE HEBREWS, AND WERE BEATEN; AND LOST A GREAT PART OF THEIR ARMY.

§ 1. The name of the Hebrews began already to be everywhere renowned, and rumours about them ran abroad. This made the inhabitants of those countries to be in no small fear. Accordingly they sent ambassadors to one another, and exhorted one another to defend themselves, and to endeavour to destroy these men. Those that induced the rest to do so, were some of the Inhabitants of Gaza and Petra. These were called Amalekites, and were the most warlike of the nations that lived thereabout; and whose kings exhorted one another and their neighbours to go to this war against the Hebrews; telling them that an army of strangers, and such a one as had run away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in wait to ruin them; which army they were not, in common prudence and regard to their own safety, to overlook, but to crush them before they gather strength, and come to be in prosperity; and perhaps attack them first in a hostile manner, as presuming upon our indolence in not attacking them before; and that we ought to avenge ourselves of them for what they have done in the wilderness, but that this cannot be so well done when they have once laid their hands on our cities and our goods: that those who endeavour to crush a power in its first rise, are wiser than those that endeavour to put a stop to its progress when it is become formidable; for these last seem to be angry only at the flourishing of others, but the former do not leave any room for their enemies to become troublesome to them. After they had sent such embassages to the neighbouring nations, and among one another, they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.

2. These proceedings of the people of those countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to Moses, who expected no such warlike preparations; and when these nations were ready to fight, and the multitude of the Hebrews were obliged to try the fortune of war, they were in a mighty disorder, and in want of all necessaries, and yet were to make war with men who were thoroughly well prepared for it. Then, therefore, it was that Moses began to encourage them to exert themselves to have a good heart, and rely on God's assistance, by which they had been advanced into a state of freedom, and to hope for victory over those who were ready to fight with them, in order to deprive them of that blessing that they were to suppose their own army to be numerous, wanting nothing, neither weapons, nor money, nor provisions, nor such other conveniences as, when men are in possession of, they fight undauntedly; and they are to judge themselves to have all these advantages in the divine assistance.
hands, thus stretched out (for as often as he let down his hands, so often were his own people worsted) he had his brother Aaron, and his sister Miriam's husband, to stand on each side of him, and take hold of his hands, and not permit his weariness to prevent it, but to assist him in the extension of his hands. When this was done, the Hebrews conquered the Amalekites by main force; and indeed they had all perished, unless the approach of the night had not obliged the Hebrews to desist from killing any more. So our forefathers obtained the most signal and most reasonable victory; for they not only overcame those that fought against them, but terrified also the neighbouring nations, and got great and splendid advantages, which they obtained of their enemies by their hard pains in this battle: for when they had taken the enemy’s camp, they got ready booty for the public, and for their own private families, whereas till then they had not any sort of plenty, of even necessary food. The forementioned battle, when they had once got, was also the occasion of their prosperity, and for the present, but for the future ages also; for they not only made slaves of the bodies of their enemies, but subdued their minds also, and after this battle, became terrible to all that dwelt round about them. Moreover, they acquired a vast quantity of riches; for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemy's camp; as also brazen vessels, which they made common use of in their families; many utensils also that were embroidered, there were of both sorts, that is of what were woven, and what were the ornaments of their armour, and other riches indeed made, like another Moses, a teacher of piety towards God. He also appointed a small party of the armed men to be near the water, and to take care of the children, and the women, and of the entire camp. So that whole night they prepared themselves for the battle; they took their weapons, if any of them had such as were well made, and attended to their commanders as ready to rush forth to the battle as soon as Moses should give the word of command. Moses also kept a watch, teaching Joshua after what manner he should order his army. So, when the watch began, Moses called for Joshua again, and exhorted him to approve himself in deeds such a one as his reputation made men expect from him; and to gain glory by the present expedition, in the opinion of those under him, for his exploits in this battle. He also gave a particular exhortation to the principal men of the Hebrews, and encouraged the whole army as it stood armed before him. And when he had thus animated the army, both by his words and works, and prepared every thing was first, he directed his camp, and committed the army to God and to Joshua. So the armies joined battle; and it came to a close fight, hand to hand, both sides showing great alacrity, and encouraging one another. And indeed while Moses stretched out his hand towards heaven, the Hebrews were too hard for the Amalekites; but Moses not being able to sustain his
CHAPTER III.

THAT MOSES KINDLY RECEIVED HIS FATHER-IN-LAW, JETHRO, WHEN HE CAME TO HIM TO MOUNT SINAI.

Now when Raguel, Moses's father-in-law, understood in what a prosperous condition his affairs were, he willingly came to meet him. And Moses took Zipporah, his wife, and his children, and pleased himself with his coming. And when he had offered sacrifices, he made a feast for the multitude, near the Bush he had formerly seen; which multitude, every one, according to their families, partook of the feast. But Aaron and his family took Raguel, and sung hymns to God, as to him who had been the author and procurer of their deliverance, and their freedom. They also praised their conductor, as him by whose virtue it was that all things had succeeded so well with them. Raguel also, in his eucharistical oration to Moses, made great encomiums upon the whole multitude: and he could not but admire Moses for his fortitude, and that humanity he had shown in the delivery of his friends.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW RAGUEL SUGGESTED TO MOSES TO SIT HIS PEOPLE IN ORDER, UNDER THEIR RULERS OF THOUSANDS, AND RULERS OF HUNDREDS, WHO LIVED WITHOUT ORDER BEFORE; AND HOW MOSES COMPLIED IN ALL THINGS WITH HIS FATHER-IN-LAW'S ADVICE.

§ 1. The next day, as Raguel saw Moses in the midst of a crowd of business (for he determined the differences of those that referred them to him, every one still going to him, and supposing that they should then only obtain justice, if he were the arbiter; and those that lost their causes thought it no harm while they thought they lost them justly and not by partiality); Raguel, however, said nothing to him at that time, as not desirous to be any hindrance to such as had a mind to make use of the virtue of their conductor. But afterward he took him to himself, and when he had him alone, he instructed him in what he ought to do; and advised him to know the trouble of lesser causes to others, but himself to take care of the greater, and of the people's safety; for that certain others of the Hebrews might be found that were fit to determine causes, but that nobody but a Moses could take care of the safety of so many ten thousands. "Be not, therefore," says he, "insensible of thine own virtue, and what thou hast done by ministering under God to the people's preservation. Permit, therefore, the determination of common causes to be done by others, but do thou reserve thyself to the attendance on God only, and look out for methods of preserving the multitude from their present distress. Make use of the method I suggest to you, as to human affairs; and take a review of the laws, and appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and then over thousands; then divide them into five hundreds, and again into hundreds, and into fifties; and set rulers over each of them, who may distinguish them into thirty, and keep them in order; and at last number them by twenties and by tens; and let their be one commander over each number, to be denominated from the number of those over whom they are rulers, but such as the whole multitude have tried, and do approve of, as being good and righteous men;" and let those rulers decide the controversies they attend to with another. But if any great cause arise, let them bring the cognisance of it before the rulers of a higher dignity; but if any great difficulty arise that is too hard for even their determination, let them send it to thee. By these means two advantages will be gained; the Hebrews will have justice done them, and thou wilt be able to attend constantly on God, and procure him to be more favourable to the people."

2. This was the admonition of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted according to his suggestion. Nor did he conceal the invention of this method, nor pretend to it himself, but informed the multitude who it was that invented it: nay, he has named Raguel in the books he wrote, as the person who invented this ordering of the people, as thinking it right to give a true testimony to worthy persons, although he might have gotten reputation by ascribing to himself the inventions of other men; whence we may learn the virtuous disposition of Moses: but of such his disposition, we shall have proper occasion to speak in other places of these books.

CHAPTER V.

HOW MOSES ASCENDED UP TO MOUNT SINAI, AND RECEIVED LAWS FROM GOD, AND DELIVERED THEM TO THE HEBREWS.

§ 1. Now Moses called the multitude together, and told them that he was going from them unto mount Sinai to converse with God; to receive from him, and to bring back with him, a certain oracle; but he enjoined them to pitch their tents near the mountain, and prefer the habitation that was nearest to God, before one more remote. When he had said this, he ascended up to mount Sinai, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in that country, and is not only very difficult to be ascended by men, on account of its vast altitude, but because of the harshness of its precipices also; nay, indeed, it cannot be looked at without pain of the eyes; and besides this, it was terrible and inaccessible, on account of the rumour that passed about, that God dwelt there. But the Hebrews removed their tents as Moses had bidden them, and took possession of the lowest parts of the mountain; and were elevated in their minds, in expectation that Moses would return from God with promises of the good things he had proposed to them. So they feasted and waited for their conductor, and kept themselves pure as in other respects, and not according to their laws, but as if they were commanded by God, or by Moses, degrees to be carefully noted, because it was the pattern of the like manner of the choice and ordination of Bishops, Prelates, and Deacons, in the Christian church.

† This manner of selecting the judges and officers of the Israelites by the testimonies and sufferings of the people, before they were command by God, or by Moses, degrees to be carefully noted, because it was the pattern of the like manner of the choice and ordination of Bishops, Prelates, and Deacons, in the Christian church.

‡ This mountain, Sinai, is here said to be the highest of all the mountains that are in that country, it must be that now called Mt. Horeb, which is one-third higher than that within a mile of it, now called Sinai, as Moses Theron informs us, Travels, I. chap, xxii., p. 209. The other name of it, Horæb, is never used by Josephus, and perhaps was his name among the Egyptians only, when the Egyptians were lately come, as Sinai was its name among the Arabsians, Chaldæans, and other nations. Accordingly, when (Ækgr. xii. 8.) the heathen says that Elias came to Horeb, the mount of God, Josephus justly says (Antiq. b. viii. chap. xiii. sect. 7), that he came to the mountain called Sinai: and Josephus was here led by Moses, that he took this mountain to have two names, Sinai and Cherith. De Nomin. iv. p. 427.
companying with their wives for three days, as he had before ordered them to do. And they prayed to God that he would favourably receive Moses in his conversing with him, and bestow some such gift upon them by which they might live well. They also lived more plentifully as to their diet; and put on their wives and children more ornamental and decent clothing than they usually wore.

2. So they passed two days in this way of feasting; but on the third day, before the sun was up, a great light shone over the whole camp of the Hebrews, such a one as none had before seen, and encompassed the place where they had pitched their tents; and while all the rest of the air was clear, there came strong winds, that raised up large showers of rain, which became a mighty tempest. There was also such lightning, as was terrible to those that saw it; and thunder with its thunderbolts, were sent down, and declared God to be there present in a gracious way such as Moses desired he should be gracious. Now, as to these matters, believed by my readers, may think as he pleased; but I am under a necessity of relating this history as it is described in the sacred books. This sight, and the amazing sound that came to their ears, disturbed the Hebrews to a prodigious degree, for they were not such as they were accustomed to; and then the rumour that was spread abroad, how God frequented that mountain, greatly astonished their minds, so they sorrowfully combined themselves within their tents, as both suppressing Moses to be destroyed by the divine wrath, and expecting the like destruction for themselves.

3. When they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared as joyful and greatly exalted. When they saw him, they were freed from their fear, and admitted of more comfortable hopes as to what was to come. The air also was become clear and pure of its former disorders, upon the appearance of Moses; whereupon he called together the people to a congregation, in order to their hearing what God would say to them: and when they were gathered together, he stood on an eminence whence they might all hear him, and said, *God has received me graciously, O Hebrews, as his servant formerly, and has suggested a happy method of living for himself, and an order of political government, and is now present in the camp: I therefore charge you, for his sake and the sake of his works, and what we have done by his means, that you do not put a low value on what I am going to say, because the commands have been given by me that now deliver them to you, nor because it is the tongue of a man that delivers them to you; but if you have a due regard to the great importance of the things themselves, you will understand the greatness of him whose institutions they are, and who has not disdained to communicate them to me for our common advantage; for it is not to be supposed that the author of these institutions is barely Moses, the son of Amram and Jochebed, but he who obliged the Nile to run bloody for your sakes, and tamed the bounteousness of the Egyptians by various sorts of judgments; he who provided a way through the sea for us; he who contrived a method of sending us food from heaven, when we were wholly disconsolate; he who made the water to issue out of a rock, when we had very little of it before; he by whose means Adam was made to partake of the fruits both of the land and of the sea; he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge; he by whose means our forefather Abraham, of a wandering pilgrim, was made the heir of the land of Canaan; he by whose means Isaac was born of parents that were very old; he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons, he by whose means Joseph became a potent lord over the Egyptians; he is it who conveys these instructions to you by me his interpreter. And let them be to you venerable, and contended for more earnestly by you than your own children and your own wives; for we shall rely on them, you will lead a happy life; you will enjoy the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the fruit of the womb born complete, as nature requires; you will be also terrible to your enemies; for I have been admitted into the presence of God, and been made a bearer of his incontestable voice; as great is his concern for your nation, and its duration.*

4. When he had said this, he brought the people, with their wives and children, so near to the mountains, that they might hear God himself speaking to them about the present things they were to practice; that the energy of what should be spoken might not be hurt by its utterance by that tongue of a man, which could but imperfectly deliver it to their understanding. And they all heard a voice that came to all of them from above, insomuch that no one of these words escaped them, which Moses wrote as so many tables; which it is not lawful for us to write down directly, but their import we will declare.

5. The first commandment teaches us, that there is but one God, and that we ought to worship him only; the second commandments us not to make the image of any living creature to worship it; the third, That we must not swear by God in a false matter; the fourth, That we must keep the seventh day, by resting from all sorts of work; the fifth, That we must honour our parents; the sixth, That we must abstain from murder; the seventh, That we must not commit adultery; the eighth, That we must not be guilty of theft; the ninth, That we must not bear false witness; the tenth, That we must not admit of the desire of any thing that is not our own.*

6. Now when the multitude had heard God himself giving those precepts which Moses had disproved of, they rejoiced at what was said; and the congregation was dissolved; but on the following days they came to his tent, and desired him to bring them, besides, other laws from God. Accordingly, he appointed such laws, and afterwards informed them in what manner they should act in all cases; which laws I shall make mention of in their proper time; but I shall reserve most of those laws for another day; and make there a distinct explication of them.

7. When matters were brought to this state, Moses went up again to mount Sinai, of which he had told them beforehand. He made his ascent in their sight; and while he stood there so long a time (for he was absent from them forty days), fear seized upon the Hebrews, lest Moses should have come to any harm: nor was there anything else so sad, and that so much troubled them, as this supposal that Moses was perished. Now there was a variety in their sentiments about it; some saying...
that he was fallen among wild beasts; and those who of this opinion were chiefly such as were ill-disposed to him; but others said that he was departed, and gone to God; but the wiser sort were led by their reason to embrace neither of those opinions, with any satisfaction, thinking, that as it was a thing that sometimes happens to men to fall among wild beasts, and perish that way, so it was probable enough that he might depart and go to God, on account of his virtue; they therefore were quiet, and expected the event; yet were they exceeding sorry upon the supposal that they were deprived of a governor and a protector, such a one indeed as they could never recover again; nor would this suspicion give them leave to expect any comfortable event about this man, nor could they prevent their trouble and melancholy upon this occasion. However, the camp durst not remove all this while, because Moses had hidden them afore to stay there.

3. But when the forty days, and as many nights, were over, Moses came down, having tasted nothing of food usually appointed for the nourishment of men. His appearance filled the army with gladness, and he declared to them what care God had of them, and by what manner of conduct of their lives they might live happily; telling them, that during these days of his absence he had suggested to him also that he would have a tabernacle built for him, into which he would descend when he came to them; and how we should carry it about with us when we remove from this place; and that there would be no longer any occasion for going up to mount Sinai, but that he would himself come and pitch his tabernacle amongst us, and be present at our prayers; as also, that the tabernacle should be of such measures and construction as he had shown him; and that you are to fall to the work, and prosecute it diligently. When he had said this, he showed them the two tables, with the ten commandments engraved upon them, five upon each table; and the writing was by the hand of God.

CHAPTER VI.
CONCERNING THE TABERNACLE WHICH MOSES BUILT IN THE WILDERNESS FOR THE HONOUR OF GOD, AND WHICH SEEMED TO BE A TEMPLE.

§ 1. HEREBY the Israelites rejoiced at what they had seen and heard of their conductor, and were not wanting in diligence according to their ability; for they brought silver, and gold, and brass, and of the best sorts of wood, and such as would not at all decay by putrefaction; cumbels’ hair also, and sheep-skins, some of them dyed of a blue colour, and some of a scarlet; some brought the flower for the purple colour, and others for white, with wool dyed by the flowers aforementioned; and fine linen and precious stones, those that use costly ornaments set inouches of gold; they brought also a great quantity of spices; for of these materials did Moses build the tabernacle, which did not at all differ from a moveable and ambulatory temple. Now when these things were brought together with great diligence, (for every one was ambitious to further the work even beyond their ability,) he set architects over the works, and this by the command of God; and indeed the very same which the people themselves would have chosen, had the election been allowed to them. Now their names are set down in writing in the sacred books; and they were these: Bezaleel the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, the grandson of Mariam, the sister of their conductor; and Aholiah, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. Now the people went on with what they had undertaken with so great alacrity, that Moses was obliged to restrain them, by making proclamation, that what had been brought was sufficient, as the artificers had informed him; so they fell to work upon the building of the tabernacle. Moses also informed them, according to the direction of God, both what the measures were to be, and its largeness; and how many vessels it ought to contain for the use of the sacrifices. The women also were ambitious to do their parts, about the garments of the priests, and about other things that would be wanted in this work, both for ornament and for the divine service itself.

2. Now when all things were prepared, the gold, and the silver, and the brass, and that which was wood, Moses, when he had appointed beforehand that there should be a festival, and that sacrifices should be offered according to every one’s ability, reared up the tabernacle; and when he had measured the open court, fifty cubits broad and a hundred long, he set up brazen pillars, five cubits high, twenty on each of the longer sides, and ten pillars for the breadth behind; every one of the pillars also had a ring. Their chapiters were of silver, but their bases were of brass: they resembled the sharp ends of spears, and were of brass, fixed into the ground. Cords were also put through the rings, and were tied at their outer ends in brazen rings of a cubit long, which, at every pillar, were driven into the floor, and would keep the tabernacle from being shaken by the violence of winds; but a certain of fine soft linen went round all the pillars, and hung down in a flowing and loose manner from their chapiters, and enclosed the whole space, and seemed not at all unlike to a wall about it. And this was the structure of three of the sides of this inclosure; but as for the fourth side, which was fifty cubits in extent, and was the front of the whole, twenty cubits of it were for the opening of the doors, and good two pillars on each side, after the resemblance of open gates. These were made wholly of silver, and polished, and that all over, excepting the bases, which were of brass. Now on each side of the gates there stood three pillars, which were inserted into the concave bases of the gates, and were suited to them; and round them was drawn a curtain of fine linen; but to the gates themselves, which were twenty cubits in extent, and five in height, the curtain was composed of purple, and scarlet, and blue, and fine linen, and embroidered with many and divers sorts of figures, excepting the figures of animals. Within these gates was the brazen laver for purification, having a basin beneath of the like matter, whence the priests might wash their hands and sprinkle their feet; and this was the ornamental construction of the inclosure about the court of the tabernacle, which was exposed to the open air.

3. As to the tabernacle itself, Moses placed it in the middle of that court, with its front to the east, that, when the sun arose, it might send its first rays...
upon it. Its length, when it was set up, was thirty cubits, and its breadth was twelve [ten] cubits. The one of its walls was on the south, and the other was exposed to the north, and on the back part of it remained the west. It was necessary that its height should be equal to its breadth [ten cubits]. Three sockets or pedestals, of which there were one on each side; they were wrought into a quadrangular figure, in breadth a cubit and a half, but the thickness was four fingers: they had thin plates of gold affixed to them on both sides, inwardly and outwardly: they had each of them two tenons belonging to them, inserted into their bases, and these were of silver, in each of which bases there was a socket to receive the tenon; but the pillars on the west wall were six. Now all these tenons and sockets accurately fitted one another, so much that the joints were invisible, and both seemed to be one entire and united wall. It was also covered with gold, both within and without. The number of pillars, was equal on the opposite sides, and there were on each part twenty, and every one of them had the third part of a span in thickness; so that the number of thirty cubits were fully made up between them; but as to the wall behind, where the six pillars made up together only nine cubits, they made two other pillars, and cut them out of one cubit, which they placed in the corners, and made them equally fine with the other. Now every one of the pillars had rings of gold affixed to their fronts outward, as if they had taken root in the pillars, and stood one row over against another round about, through which were inserted bars gilt over with gold, each of them five cubits long, and these bound together the pillars, the head of one bar running into another, after the nature of one tenon inserted into another; but for the wall behind, there was but one row of bars that went through all the pillars, into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls; the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole firmly together; and for this reason was all this joined so fast together, that the tabernacle might not be shaken, either by the winds, or by any other means, but that it might preserve itself quiet and immovable continually.

4. As for the inside, Moses parted its length into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the most secret end, Moses placed four pillars, the workmanship of which was the very same with that of the rest; and they stood upon the like bases with them, each but a small matter distant from his fellow. Now the room within those pillars was the most holy place; but the rest of the room was the tabernacle, which was open for the priests. However, this proportion of the measures of the tabernacle proved to be an imitation of the system of the world: for that third part thereof which was within the four pillars, to which the priests were not admitted, is, as it were, a Heaven peculiar to God; but the space of the twenty cubits, is, as it were, sea and land, on which men live, and so this part is peculiar to persons. In places where the entrance was made, they placed pillars of gold, that stood on bases of brass, in number seven; but then they spread over the tabernacle veils of fine linen and purple, and blue, and scarlet colours, embroidered. The first veil was ten cubits every way, and this they spread over the pillars which parted the temple, and kept the most holy place concealed within; and this veil was that which made this part not visible to any. Now the whole temple was called The Holy Place; but that part which was within the four pillars, and to which none were admitted, was called The Holy of Holies. This veil was very ornamental, and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the earth produces; and there were many pictures of variety that might be an ornament, excepting the forms of animals. Another veil there was which covered the five pillars that were at the entrance. It was like the former in its magnitude, and texture, and colour; and at the corner of every pillar a ring retained it from the top downwards half the depth of the pillars, the other half affording an entrance for the priests, who crept under it. Over this there was a veil of linen, of the same largeness with the former: it was to be drawn this way or that way by cords, the rings of which, fixed to the texture of the veil, and to the cords also, were subservient to the drawing and undrawing of the veil, and to the fastening it at the corner, that then it might be no hinderance to the view of the sanctuary, especially on solemn days; but that on other days, and especially when the weather was inclined to snow, it might be expanded, and afford a covering to the veil of divers colours; whence that custom of ours is derived, of having a fine linen veil, after the temple has been built, to be drawn over the entrances; but these other curtains were four cubits in breadth, and twenty-eight in length; and having golden clasps, in order to join the one curtain to the other, which was done so exactly that they seemed to be one entire curtain. These were spread over the temple, and covered all the top and parts of the walls, on the sides and behind, so far as within one cubit of the ground. There were other curtains of the same breadth with these, but one more in number, and longer, for they were thirty cubits long; but these were woven with hair, with the like subtlety as those of wool were made, and were extended loosely down to the ground, appearing like a triangular front and elevation at the gates, the eleventh curtain being used for this very purpose. There were also other curtains made of skins above these, which afforded covering and protection to those that were woven, both in hot weather, and when it rained; and great was the surprise of those who viewed these curtains at a distance, for they seemed not at all to differ from the colour of the sky; but those that were made of hair and of skins, rested laid down in the same manner as did the veil at the gates, and kept off the heat of the sun, and what injury the rains might do; and after this manner was the tabernacle reared.

5. There was also an ark made, sacred to God, of wood that was naturally strong, and could not be corrupted. This was calledaron, in our own language. Its construction was thus: Its length was five spans, but its breadth and height was each of them three spans. It was covered all over with gold, both within and without, so that the wooden part was not seen. It had also a cover united to it, by golden rings, where the entrance was made, which cover was every way evenly fitted to it, and had no eminences to hinder its exact conjunction. There were also two golden rings belonging to each of the longer boards, and passing through the entire wood, and through them gilt bars passed along each board, that it might thereby be moved and carried about, as occasion should require; for it was not drawn in a cart by beasts of burden, but borne
on the shoulders of the priests. Upon this its covers were two images, which the Hebrews call Cherubims; they are flying creatures, but their form is not the least of any of the creatures which men have seen, though Moses said he had seen such beings near the throne of God. In this ark he put the two tables whereon the ten commandments were written, five upon each table, and two and a half upon each side of them; and this ark he placed in the most holy place.

6. But in the holy place he placed a table, like those at Delphi: its length was two cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and its height three spans. It had feet also, the lower half of which were complete, but the upper half of which the Divine put to their bedsteads; but the upper parts towards the table were wrought into a square form. The table had a hollow towards every side, having a ledge of four fingers' depth, that went round about like a spiral, both on the upper and lower part of the body of the work. Upon every one of the feet was there also inserted a ring, not far from the cover, through which went bars of wood beneath, but gilded, to be taken out upon occasion, there being a cavity where it was joined to the rings; for they were not made rings before they were cast. In the corners of the table, in acute points, the one of which was inserted into the prominent part of the table, and the other into the foot; and by these it was carried when they journeyed. Upon this table, which was placed on the north side of the temple, not far from the most holy place, were laid twelve unleavened loaves of bread, six upon each heap, one above another: they were made of two tenth-dells of the purest flour, which tenth dell [an omer] is a measure of the Hebrews, containing seven Athenian ephylac; and above these loaves were put two vials full of frankincense.

Now after seven days other loaves were brought in their stead, on the day which is by us called the Sabbath; for we call the seventh day the Sabbath. But for the occasion of this invention of placing loaves here, we will speak to in another place.

7. Over against this table, near the southern wall, was set a candlestick of cast gold, hollow within, being of the weight of one hundred pounds, which the Hebrews call Cherubim; if it be turned into the Greek language, it is called a Lemeche. It was made with its knops and lilies, and pomegranates, and bowls (which ornaments amounted to seventy in all); by which means the shaft elevated itself high from a single base, and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun among them. It terminated in seven heads, in one row, all standing parallel to one another; and these branches carried seven lamps, one by one, in imitation of the number of the planets. These lamps looked to the east and to the south, the candlestick being situate obliquely.

8. Now between this candlestick and the table, which, as we said, were within the sanctuary, was the altar of incense, made of wood indeed, but of the same wood of which the foregoing vessels were made, such as was not liable to corruption; it was entirely covered over with a golden plate. Its breadth on each side was a cubit, but the altitude double. Upon it was a grate of gold, that was extant above the altar, which had a golden crown encompassing it round about, whereof belonged rings and bars, by which the priests carried it when they journeyed. Before this tabernacle there was reared a brazen altar, but it was within made of wood, five cubits by measure on each side, but its height was but three, in like manner adorned with brass plates as bright as gold. It had also a brazen hearth of net-work; for the ground underneath received the fire from the hearth, because it had no basis to receive it. Hard by this altar lay the basins, and the vails, and the censers, and the caldrons, made of gold; but the other vessels, made for the use of the sacrifices, were all of brass. And such was the construction of the tabernacle; and these were the vessels thereto belonging.

CHAPTER VII

CONCERNING THE GARMENTS OF THE PRIESTS, AND OF THE HIGH-PRIEST.

§ 1. There were peculiar garments appointed for the priests, and for all the rest, which they call Cohanae [priestly] garments, as also for the high-priests, which they call Cohanae Rabbae, and denote the high-priest's garments. The circuit of the circumference was therefore the half of the rest; but when the priest approaches the sacrifices, he purifies himself with the purification which the law prescribes; and, in the first place he puts on that which is called Mahana, which means somewhat that is fast tied. It is a girdle, composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them, in the nature of breeches; but above half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs and is there tied fast.

2. Over this he wore a linen vestment, made of fine flax doubled; it is called Chethone, and denotes linen, for we call linen by the name of Chethone. This vestment reaches down to the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms; it is girded to the breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven, that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine twined linen; but the warp was nothing but fine linen. The beginning of its circumference is in the breast; and when it has gone round, it is therewith tied, and hangs loosely there down to the ankles: I mean this, all the time the priest is not about any laborious service, for in this position it appears in the most agreeable manner to the spectators; but when he is obliged to assist at the offering sacrifices, and to do the appointed service, that he may not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he throws it to the left, and bears it on his shoulder. Moses, indeed calls this belt Abaneth; but we have learned from the Babylonians to call it Emia, for so it is by them called. This vestment has no loose or hollow parts anywhere in it, but only a narrow aperture about the neck; and it is tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and is fastened above each shoulder: it is called Masabazanes.

3. Upon his head he wears a cap, not brought to a conic form, nor encircling the whole head, but still covering more than half of it, which is called Masnaepothes; and its make is such, that it seems to be a crown, being made of thick swathes, but the contexture is of linen; and it is doubled.
stood in three rows, by four in a row, and were inserted into the breast-plate itself, and they were set in ouches of gold, that they were themselves inserted in the breast-plate, and were so made that they might not fall out. Now the first three stones were a sardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a Jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a chrysolite, then an onyx, and then a beryl, which was the last of all. Now the names of all those sons of Jacob were engraven in these stones, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, each stone having the honour of a name, in the order according to which they were born. And whereas the rings were too weak to sustain the weight of the stones, they made two other rings of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breast-plate which reached to the neck, and inserted into the very texture of the breast-plate, to receive chains finely wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the tops of the shoulders, whose extremity turned backwards, and went into the robe on the prominent back part of the ephod; and these for the security of the breast-plate, that it might not fall out of its place. There was also a girdle sewed to the breast-plate, which was of the aforementioned colours, with gold interwoven, which, when it had once round, was tied again upon the seam, and hung down. There were also gold loops that admitted its rings at each extremity of the girdle, and included them entirely.

5. Besides these, the high priest put on a third garment, which is called the Ephod, which resembles the Ephodim of the Greeks. Its make was after this manner: it was woven to the depth of a cubit, of several colours, with gold intermixed, and embroidered, but it left the middle of the breast uncovered: it was made with sleeves also; nor did it appear to be at all differently made from a short coat. But in the void place of this garment there was inserted a piece of the bigness of a span, embroidered with gold, and the other colours of the ephod, and was called Edon [the breast-plate], which in the Greek language signifies the Oracle. This piece exactly filled up the void space in the ephod. It was united to it by golden rings at every corner, the like rings being annexed to the ephod, and a blue ribbon was made use of to tie them together by those rings: and that the space between the rings might not appear empty, they contrived to fill it up with stitches of blue ribands. There were also two sardonyxes upon the ephod, at the shoulders to fasten it, in the nature of buttons, having each end running to the sardonyxes of gold, that they might be buttoned by them. On these were engraven the names of the sons of Jacob, in our own country letters, and in our own tongue, six on each of the stones, on either side; and the elder sons' names were on the right shoulder. Twelve stones also were there upon the breast-plate, extraordinary in largeness and beauty; and they were an ornament not to be purchased by men, because of their immense value. These stones, however,
Sideritis: it sends out a flower that may seem to resemble that of poppy. Of this was a crown made, as far as from the hinder part of the head to each of the temples; but this Ephichm, for so this calyx may be called, did not cover the forehead, but it was extended with a golden plate, wherein he inscribed upon it the name of God in sacred characters. And such were the ornaments of the high-priest.

7. Now here one may wonder at the ill-will which men bear to us, and which they profess to bear on account of our despising that Deity which they pretend to honour; for if any one do but consider the fabric of the tabernacle, and take a view of the garments of the high-priest, and of those vessels which we make use of in our sacred ministration, he will find that our legislator was a divine man, and that we are unjustly reproached by others: for if any one do without prejudice, and with judgment, look upon these things, he will find they were every one made in way of imitation and representation of the universe. When Moses distinguished the tabernacle into three parts; and allowed two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and common, he denoted the land and the sea, these being of general access to all; but he set apart the third for God, because heaven is inaccessible to men. And when he placed twelve lances to set on the table, he denoted the year, as distinguished into so many months. By branching out the candlestick into seventy parts, he secretly intimated the Decani, or seventy divisions of the planets; and as to the seven lamps upon the candlesticks, they referred to the course of the planets, of which that is the number. The vails, too, which were composed of four things, they declared the four elements; for the fine linen was proper to signify the earth, because the flux grows out of the earth; the purple signified the sea, because that colour is dyed by the blood of a sea shell-fish; the blue is to signify the air; and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Now the vestment of the high-priest being made of linen, signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of the bells resembling thunder. And for the ephod, it showed that God had made the universe of four elements; and as for the gold interwoven, I suppose it related to the splendour by which all things are enlightened. He may have intimated the breast-plate to be placed in the middle of the tabernacle, for the earth, for that has the very middle place of the world. And the girdle which encompassed the high-priest round, signified the ocean, for that goes round about and includes the universe. Each of the sardonyxes declares to us the sun and the moon; those, I mean, that were in the nature of buttons on the high-priest's shoulders. And for the twelve stones, whether we understand by them the months, or whether we understand the likenumber of the signs of that circle which the Greeks call the Zodiac, we shall not be mistaken in their meaning.

And for the mitre, which was of a blue colour, it seems to me to mean heaven; for how otherwise could the name of God be inscribed upon it? That it was also illustrated with a crown, and that of gold also, is because of that splendour with which God is pleased. Let this explanation suffice at present, since the course of my narration will often, and on many occasions, afford me the opportunity of enlarging upon the virtue of our legislator.

CHAPTER VIII.
OF THE PRIESTHOOD OF AARON.

§ 1. When what has been described was brought to a conclusion, gifts not being yet presented, God appeared to Moses, and enjoined him to bestow the high-priesthood upon Aaron his brother, as upon him that best of all deserved to obtain that honour, on account of his virtue. And when he had gathered the multitude together, he gave them an account of Aaron's virtues, and of his good-will to them, and of the dangers he had undergone for their sakes. Upon which, when they had given testimony to him in all respects, and showed their readiness to receive him, Moses said to them, "O Israelites, this work is already brought to a conclusion, in a manner most acceptable to God, and according to our abilities. And now since you see that he is received into this tabernacle, we shall first of all stand in need of one that may officiate for us, and may minister to the sacrifices, and to the prayers that are to be put up for us; and indeed had the inquiry after such a person been left to me, I should have thought myself worthy of this honour, both because men are naturally fond of themselves, and because I am conscious to myself that I have taken a great deal of pains for your deliverance; but now God himself has determined that Aaron is worthy of this honour, and has chosen him for his priest, as knowing him to be the most righteous person among you. So that he is to put on the vestments which are consecrated to God; he is to have the care of the altars, and to make provision for the sacrifices; and he it is that must put up prayers for you to God, who will readily hear them, not only because he is himself solicitous for your nation, but also because he will receive them as offered by one whom he hath himself chosen to this office." The Hebrews were pleased with what was said, and they gave their approbation to him whom God had ordained; for Aaron was, of them

* This explanation of the mystical meaning of the Jewish tabernacle was received, with the approbation of the high priest himself, by Philo, and fitted to Gentile philosophical notions. This may possibly be referred to in Jer. xxviii, 9. It is concealed under the name of Apol. Philo, as Philo had ever been, and as Josephus had long been when he wrote these Antiquities. In the meantime, it is not to be doubted, but in the investigation that both have made of the Jewish institutions, such as we meet with in the epistle of Barnabas, in that to the Ephesians, and elsewhere among the same, we find Pliny also wrote his book of the Jewish War, for the use of the Jews, at the same time he was effectively pursuing other less useful, and in a manner at least less useful, and in a manner pleasing, as it were, to the Jews. But in this, I think we find one specimen of such a Jewish interpretation; for there (b. vili. ch. v. sect. 5), he makes the seven days of Genesis according to the Jewish calendar, with their seven lamps, with the seven altars, with the seven days of creation, and rest, which are here emblems of the seven planets. Nor certainly ought ancient Jewish customs to be explained any other way than according to ancient Jewish, and not Gentile, notions. See the War, b. iv. ch. xxxiii. sect. 2.

§ 2 It is well worth our observation, that the two principal qualifications required in this instance, for the constitution of the first high-priest (viz., that he should have an excellent character for virtues and good actions; as also that he should have the approbation of the people) are here noted by Josephus, even where the nomination belonged to God himself, which are the very same qualifications which the Christian religion requires in the choice of Christian bishops, priests, and deacons; as the Apostolical Constitutions informs us, b. vii. chap. viii.
all, the most deserving of this honour, on account of his own stock and gift of prophecy, and his brother's virtue. He had at that time four sons, Na-dab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

2. Now Moses commanded them to make use of all the utensils which were more than were necessary to the structure of the tabernacle, for covering the tabernacle itself, the candlestick, and altar of incense, and the other vessels, that they might not be at all hurt when they journeyed, neither from the rain, or by the rising of the dust. And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordained that they should offer half a shekel for every man, as an offering to God; which shekel is a piece among the Hebrews, and is equal to four Athenian drachmae.* Whereupon they readily obeyed what Moses had commanded; and the number of the offerers was six hundred and five thousand five hundred and fifty. Now this money that was brought by the men that were free, was given by such as were above sixty years old, but under seventy; and what was collected was spent in the uses of the tabernacle.

3. Moses now purified the tabernacle and the priests; which purification was performed after the following manner:—He commanded them to take five hundred shekels of choice myrrh, an equal quantity of cassia, and half the foregoing weight of cinnamon and calamus (this last is a sort of sweet spice); to beat them small, and wet them with an hin of oil of olives (an hin is our own country measure, and contains two Athenian eous), and compound them together, and boil them, and prepare them after the art of the apothecary, and make them into a very sweet ointment; and afterward to take it to anoint and purify the priests themselves, and all the tabernacle, as also the sacrifices. There were also many, and those of various kinds, of sweet spices, that belonged to the tabernacle, and such as were of very great price, and were brought to the golden altar of incense, the nature of which I do not now describe, lest it should be troublesome to my readers; but incense was burned twice every day, before sun-rising and at sun-setting. They were also to keep oil already purified for the lamps; three of which were to give light all day long, upon the sacred candlestick, before God, and the rest were to be lighted at the evening.

4. Now all was finished. Besaleel and Aholiab appeared to be the most skilful of the workmen; for they invented finer works than what others had done before them, and were of great abilities to gain notions of what they were formerly ignorant of; and of these, Besaleel was judged to be the best. Now the whole time they were about this work, was the interval of seven months; and after this it was that was ended the first year since their departure out of Egypt. But at the beginning of the second year, on the month Xanthicus, as the Macedonians call it, but on the month Nisan, as the Hebrews call it, on the new moon, they consecrated the tabernacle, and all its vessels, which I have already described.

5. Now God showed himself pleased with the work of the Hebrews, and did not permit their labours to be in vain; nor did he disdain to make use of what they had made, but he came and accompanied them, and pitched his tabernacle in the holy house. And in the following manner he came to it:—The sky was clear, but there was a mist over the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with such a very deep and thick cloud as they saw in the winter season, nor yet in so thin a one as men might be able to discern any thing through it; but from it there dropped a sweet dew, and such a one as showed the presence of God to those that desired and believed it.

6. Now when Moses had bestowed such honour presents on the workmen, as it was fit they should receive, who had wrought so well, he offered sacrifices in their name; and as God commanded him; a bull, a ram, and a kid of the goats, for a sin-offering. Now I shall speak of what we do in our sacred offices, in my discourse about sacrifices; and therein shall inform you in what cases Moses bid us offer a whole burnt-offering, and in what cases the law permits us to partake of them as of food. And when Moses had sprinkled Aaron's vestments, himself and his sons, with the blood of the beasts that were slain, and purified them with spring waters and ointment, they became God's priests. After this manner did he consecrate them and their garments for seven days together. The same he did to the tabernacle and the vessels thereto belonging, both with oil first incensed, as I said, and with the blood of bulls and of rams, slain day by day, according to its kind. But on the eighth day he appointed a feast for the people, and commanded them to offer sacrifices according to their ability. Accordingly they, contended one with another, and were ambitious to exceed each other in the sacrifices with which they brought, and so fulfilled Moses' injunctions. But as the sun set before the altar, a sudden fire was kindled from among them of its own accord, and appeared to the sight like fire from a flash of lightning, and consumed whatsoever was upon the altar.

7. Hereupon an affidavit befell Aaron, considered as a man and a father, but was undergone by him with true fortitude; for he had indeed a frame of soul in such accidents, and he thought the calamity came upon him according to God's will: for whereas he had four sons, as I said before, the two eldest of them, Na-dab and Abihu, did not bring the sacrifices which Moses had bidden them, but which they used to offer formerly, and were burnt to death. Now when the fire rushed upon them, and began to burn them, nobody could quench it. Accordingly they died in this manner. And Moses bid their father and their brethren to take up their bodies, to carry them out of the camp, and to bury them magnificently. Now the multitude lamented them, and were deeply affected at this their death, which so unexpectedly befell them. But Moses comforted their brethren and their father not to be troubled for them, but to prefer the honour of God before their grief about them; for Aaron had already put on his sacred garments.

8. But Moses refused all that honour which he
priest bare on his shoulders, which were sardouyxes (and I think it needless to describe their nature, they being known to every body), the one of them shined out when God was present at their sacrifices; I mean that which was in the nature of a button on his right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by those that were most remote; which splendour yet was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as have not so far indulged themselves in philosophy, as to despise Divine Revelation. Yet with a mention which is still more wonderful for this: God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high-priest bare on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendour shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance. Whence it came to pass that those Greeks, who had a veneration for our laws, because they could not possibly contradict this, called that breastplate the Egypt, and the sardouyx left off shining two hundred years before I composed this book, God having been displeased at the transgressions of his laws. Of which things we shall further discourse on a fitter opportunity; but I will now go on with my proposed narration.

10. The tabernacle being now consecrated, and a regular order being settled for the priests, the multitude judged that God now dwelt among them, and betook themselves to sacrifices and praises to God, as being now delivered from all the expiation of sins, and entertaining a hopeful prospect of better times hereafter. They offered also to God, some as common to the whole nation, and others as peculiar to themselves, and these tribe by tribe; for the heads of the tribes combined together, two by two, and brought a waggon and a yoke of oxen. These amounted to six, and they carried the tabernacle when they journeyed. Besides which, each head of a tribe brought a bowl, and a charger, and a spoon, of ten daries, full of incense. Now the charger and bowl were of silver, and the spoons of gold; and the other two hundred shekels, but the bowl cost no more than seventy shekels; and these were full of fine flour mingled with oil, such as they used on the altar about the sacrifices. They brought also a young bullock, and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, for a whole burnt-offering; as also a goat for the forgiveness of sins. Every one of the heads of the tribes brought also other sacrifices, called peace-offerings for every day two bulls, and five rams, with lambs of a year old, and kids of the goats. These heads of tribes were twelve days in sacrifice.
ing, one sacrificing every day. Now Moses went no longer up to mount Sinai, but went into the tabernacle, and learned of God what they were to do, and what laws should be made; which laws were preferable to what have been devised by human understanding, and proved to be firmly observed for all time to come, as being believed to be the gift of God, insomuch that the Hebrews did not transgress any of those laws, either as tempted in times of peace by luxury, or in times of war by distress of affairs. But I say no more here concerning them, because I have resolved to compose another work concerning our laws.

CHAPTER IX.
THE MANNER OF OUR OFFERING SACRIFICES.

§ 1. I WILL now, however, make mention of a few of our laws which belong to purifications, and the like sacred offices, since I am accidentally come to this matter of sacrifices. These sacrifices were of two sorts; of those sorts one was offered for private persons, and the other for the people in general; and they are done in two different ways: in the one case, what is slain is burnt, as a whole burnt-offering, whence that name is given to it; but the other is a thank-offering, and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I will speak of the former. Suppose a private man offer a burnt-offering, he must slay either a bull, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, and the two latter of the first year, though of bulls he is permitted to sacrifice those of a greater age; but all burnt-offerings are to be of males. When they are slain, the priests sprinkle the blood round about the altar: they then cleanse the bodies, and divide them into parts, and salt them with salt, and lay them upon the altar, while the pieces of wood are piled one upon another, and the fire is burning; they next cleanse the feet of the sacrifices and the inward in an accurate manner, and so lay them to the rest to be purged by the fire, while the priests receive the hides. This is the way of offering a burnt-offering.

2. But those that offer thank-offerings do indeed sacrifice the same creatures, but such as are unblemished, and above a year old; however, they may take either males or females. They also sprinkle the altar with their blood: but they lay upon the altar the kidneys and the caul, and all the fat, and the lobe of the liver, together with the rump of the lamb; then, giving the breast and the right shoulder to the priests, the offerers feast upon the remainder of the flesh for two days; and what remains they burn.

3. The sacrifices for sins are offered in the same manner as is the thank-offering. But those who are unable to purchase complete sacrifices, offer two pigeons, or turtle doves; the one of which is made a burnt-offering to God, the other they give as food to the priests. But we shall treat more accurately about the oblation of these creatures in our discourse concerning sacrifices. But if a person fall into sin by ignorance, he offers an ewe lamb, or a female kid of the goats, of the same age; and the priests sprinkle the blood at the altar, not after the former manner, but at the corners of it. They also bring the kidneys and the rest of the fat, together with the lobe of the liver, to the altar, while the priests bear away the hides and the flesh, and spend it in the holy place, on the same day,* for the law does not permit them to leave it until the morning. But if any one sin, and is conscious of it himself, but hath no means that can prove it upon him, he offers a ram, the law enjoining him so to do; the flesh of which the priests eat, as before, in the holy place, on the same day. And if the rulers offer sacrifices for their sins, they bring the same oblations that private men do; only they do so far differ, that they are to bring for sacrifice a bull or a kid of the goats, both males.

4. Now the law requires, both in private and public sacrifices, that the finest flour be also brought; for a lamb the measure of one tenth deal, and for a ram two, and for a bull three. They consume upon the altar, when it is mingled with oil; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifice; for a bull the half of an hin, and for a ram the third part of the same measure, and one quarter of an hin a lamb. This hin is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equivalent to two Athenian ch sta (or ephruses). They bring the same quantity of oil with which they do of wine, and pour the wine about the altar; but if any one does not offer a complete sacrifice of animals, but brings fine flour only, and a vow, he throws a handful upon the altar in its first fruits, while the priests take the rest for their food, either boiled or mingled with oil, but made into cakes of bread. But whatsoever it be that a priest himself offers, it must of necessity be all burnt. Now the law forbids us to sacrifice any animal at the same time with its dam: and, in other cases, not till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices there are also appointed for expiating distempers, or for other occasions, in which meat offerings are consumed, together with the animals that are sacrificed; of which it is not lawful to leave any part till the next day, only the priest is to take their own share.

CHAPTER X.
CONCERNING THE FESTIVALS; AND HOW EACH DAY OF SUCH FESTIVAL IS TO BE OBSERVED.

§ 1. The law requires, that out of the public expences a lamb of the first year he killed every day at the beginning and at the ending of the day; but on the seventh day, which is called the Sabbath, they kill two, and sacrifice them in the same manner. At the new moon, they both perform the daily sacrifices, and slay two bulls, with seven lambs of the first year, and a kid of the goats also, for the expiation of sins; that is, if they have sinned through ignorance.

2. But on the seventh month, which the Macedonians call Hyperberotes, they make an addition to those already mentioned, and sacrifice a bull, a ram, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins.

3. On the tenth day of the same lunar month, * What cliché well observed here, out of Josephus, as amended with the law of Moses, Lev. vii. 17 (that the offering of the same day was offered, seems to mean only before the morning sacrifice, although the latter part, 2 & 3, the subject of the next day, according to the Jewish reckoning is probably the day which was offered upon other occasions also. The Jewish remark that it is not so, because the day after it is the vigil, appears to me to be the language both of the Old and New Testament, also the note on Acts 15. iv. Ex. iv. 29: and 5. 20: and Ephes. 5, chap. viii. and 24.
they fast till the evening; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins. And besides these, they bring two kids of the goats; the one of which is set out of the camp into the wilderness for the scape goat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude; but the other is brought into a place of great cleanness within the limits of the camp, and is there burnt, with its skin, without any sort of cleansing. With this goat was burnt a bull, not brought by the people, but by the high-priest, at his own charges; which, when it was slain, he brought of the blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and sprinkled the ceiling with the blood seven times, as also its pavement, and again as often toward the most holy place, and about the golden altar: he also at last brings it into the open court, and sprinkles it about the great altar. Besides this, they set the extremities, and the kidneys, and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, upon the altar. The high-priest likewise presents a ram to God as a burnt-offering.

4. Upon the fifteenth day of the same month, when the season of the year is changing for winter, the law enjoin us to pitch tabernacles in every one of our houses; and to preserve ourselves from the cold of that time of the year; as also that when we should arrive at our own country, and come to that city which we should have then for our metropolis, because of the temple therein to be built, and keep a festival for eight days, and offer burnt-offerings, and sacrifice thank-offerings, that we should then carry in our hands a branch of myrtle, and willow, and a bough of the palm-tree, with the addition of the pomegranate. That the burnt-offering on the first of these days, was to be a sacrifice of thirteen bulls, and fourteen lambs, and fifteen rams, with the addition of a kid of the goats, as an expiation for sins; and on the following days the same number of lambs, and of rams, with the kids of the goats; but abating one of the bulls every day till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work was laid aside, and then, as we said before, they sacrificed to God a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, with a kid of the goats, for an expiation of sins. And this is the accustomed solemnity of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

5. In the month of Nisanthus, which is by us called Nisan, and is the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries (for in this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians), the law ordained that we should every year slay that sacrifice which I before told you we slew when we came out of Egypt, and which was called the Pasover; and so do we celebrate this pasover in companies, leaving nothing of what we sacrifice till the day following. The feast of unleavened bread succeeds that of the passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days, wherein they eat bread unleavened; on every one of which days two bulls are killed, and one ram, and seven lambs. Now these lambs are entirely burnt, beside the kid of the goats which is added to all the rest, for sins; for it is intended as a feast for the priest on every one of those days. But on the second day of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month, they first partake of the fruits of the earth, for before that day they do not touch them. And while they suppose it proper to honour God, from whom they obtain this plentiful provision, in the first place, they offer the first-fruits of their barley, and that in the manner following: They take a handful of the ears, and dry them, then beat them small, and purge the barley from the bran; they then bring one tenth deal to the altar, to God; and, casting one handful of it upon the fire, they leave the rest for the use of the priest; and after this it is that they may publicly or privately reap their harvest. They also at this participation of the first-fruits of the earth, sacrifice a lamb, as a burnt-offering to God.

6. When a week of weeks has passed over after this sacrifice (which weeks contain forty and nine days), on the fiftieth day, which is Pentecost, but is called by the Hebrews Asartha, which signifies Pentecost, they bring to God a loaf, made of wheat flour, of two tenth deals, with leaven; and for sacrifices, they bring two lambs; and when they have only presented them to God, they are made ready for supper for the priests; nor is it permitted to leave any thing of them till the day following. They also slay three bullocks for a burnt-offering, and two rams; and fourteen lambs, with two kids of the goat, for sins; nor is there any one of the festivals but in it they offer burnt-offerings, and also allow themselves to rest on every one of them. Accordingly, the law prescribes in them all what kinds they are to sacrifice, and how they are to rest entirely, and must slay sacrifices, in order to feast upon them.

7. However, out of the common charges, baked bread [was set on the table of show-bread], without leaven, of twenty-four tenth deals of flour, for so much is spent upon this bread; two heaps of these were baked; they were baked the day before the Sabbath, but were brought into the holy place on the morning of the Sabbath, and set upon the holy table, six on a heap, one loaf still standing over-against another; where two golden cups full of frankincense were also set upon them, and there they remained till another Sabbath, and then other loaves were brought in their stead, while the leavess were given to the priests for their food, and the frankincense was burnt in that sacred fire wherein all their offerings were burnt also; and so other frankincense was set upon the leaves instead of what was there before. The [high] priest also, of his own charges, offers a sacrifice, and that twice every day. It was made of flour mingled with oil, and gently baked by the fire; the quantity was one tenth deal of flour; he brought the half of it to the fire in the morning, and the other half at night. The account of these sacrifices I shall give more accurately hereafter; but I think I have premised what for the present may be sufficient concerning them.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE PURIFICATIONS.

§ 1. Moses took out the tribe of Levi from communicating with the rest of the people, and set them apart to be a holy tribe; and purified them by water taken from perpetual springs, and with such sacrifices as were usually offered to God on the like occasions. He delivered to them also the tabernacle, and the sacred vessels, and the other
curtains, which were made for covering the tabernacle, that they might minister under the conduct of the priests, who had been already consecrated to God.

2. He also determined concerning animals; of which they might be used for food, and which they were obliged to abstain from; which matters, when this work shall give me occasion, shall be farther explained; and the causes shall be added, by which he was moved to allot some of them to be our food, and enjoined us to abstain from others. However, he entirely forbade us the use of blood for food, and esteemed it to contain the soul and spirit. He also forbade us to eat the flesh of an animal that died of itself, as also the caul, and the fat of goats, and sheep, and bulls.

3. He also ordered, that those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy, and who had a gomorrhcea, should not come into the city; nay, he removed the women, when they had their natural purgations, till the seventh day; after which he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again. The law permits those who have taken care of funerals to come in after the same manner, when this space of days is over; but if any continued longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law appointed the offering two lambs for a sacrifice; the one of which they are to purify by fire, and for the other, the priests take it for themselves.

In the same manner do those sacrifices who have had a gomorrhcea. But he that sheds his seed in his sleep, if he go down into cold water, has the same privilege with those who have lawfully accompanied with their wives. And for the lepers, he suffered them not to come into the city at all, nor to live with any others, as if they were in effect, dead persons; but if any one had obtained, by prayer to God, the recovery from that distemper, and had gained a healthful complexion again, such a one returned thanks to God, with several sorts of sacrifices, concerning which we will speak hereafter.

4. Whence one cannot but smile at those who say that Moses was himself afflicted with the leprosy when he fled out of Egypt, and that he became the conductor of those who on that account left that country, and led them into the land of Canaan; for had this been true, Moses would not have made these laws to his own dishonour, which indeed it was more likely he would have opposed, if others had endeavoured to introduce them; and this the rather, because there are lepers in many nations, who are yet in honour, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been enlisted with high offices in the commonwealth, and have had the privilege to enter into holy places and temples; so that nothing hindered, but if either Moses himself, or the multitude that was with him, had been liable to such a misfortune in the colour of his skin, he might have made laws about them for their credit and advantage, and have laid no manner of difficulty upon them. Accordingly, it is a plain case, that it is out of violent prejudice only, that they report these things about us; but Moses was pure from any such distemper, and lived with countrymen who were pure of it also, and thence made the laws which concerned others that had the distemper. He did this for the honour of God; but as to these matters, let every one consider then after what manner he pleases.

5. As to the women, when they have borne a child, Moses forbade them to come into the temple, or touch the sacrifices, before forty days were over, supposing it to be a boy; but if she has borne a girl, the law is that she cannot be admitted before two months number of days be over; and when after the mentioned time appointed for them, they perform their sacrifices, the priests distribute them before God.

6. But if any one suspect that his wife has been guilty of adultery, he was to bring a tenth deal of barley flour; they then cast one handful to God, and gave the rest of it to the priests for food. One of the priests set the woman at the gates that are turned towards the temple, and took the veil from her head, and wrote the name of God on parchment, and enjoined her to swear that she had not at all injured her husband; and to wish that, if she had violated her chastity, her right thigh might be put out of joint; that her belly might swell, and that she might die thus; but that if her husband, by the violence of his affections, and of the jealousy which arose from it, had been rashly moved to the suspicion, that she might bear a male child in the tenth month. Now when these oaths were over, the priest wiped the name of God out of the parchment, and wrung the water into a vial. He also took some dust out of the temple (if any happened to be there), and put a little of it into the vial, and gave it to her to drink; whereupon the woman, if she were unjustly accused, conceived with child, and brought it to perfection in her womb; but if she had broken her faith of wedlock to her husband, and had sworn falsely before God, she died in a reproachful manner; her thigh fell off from her, and her belly swelled with a dropsy. And these are the ceremonies about sacrifices, and about the purifications thereto belonging, which Moses provided for his countrymen. He also prescribed the following laws to them:—

CHAPTER XII.

SEVERAL LAWS.

§ 1. As for adultery, Moses forbade it entirely, as esteeming it a happy thing that men should be wise in the affairs of wedlock; and that it was profitable both to cities and families that children should be known to be genuine. He also abhorred more lying with their mothers, as one of the greatest crimes; and the like for lying with the father's wife, and with aunts, and sisters, and some others, as all instances of abominable wickedness. He also forbade a man to lie with his wife when she was distempered by her natural purgation; and not to come near brute beasts; nor to approve of the lying with a male, which was to hunt after unlawful pleasures on account of beauty. To those who were guilty of such insolent behaviour, he ordained death for their punishment.

2. As for the priests, he prescribed to them a double degree of purity: * for he restrained them

* We may also here note, that Josephus frequently calls the camp the city, and the encampment, and the city. The priest himself had a holy house, with sanction to the inner city, temple, and holy house, which he knew so well long afterwards.

* These words of Josephus are remarkable, that the law was of the Jews required of the priests a double degree of purity, in some respect of that required of the people, of which he gives several instances. It was for certain the case also among the first Christians, as
in the instances above, and moreover forbade them to marry harlots. He also forbade them to marry a slave, or a captive, and such as got their living by cheating trades, and by keeping inns: as also a woman parted from her husband, on any account whatsoever. Nay, he did not think it proper for the high-priest to marry even the widow of one that was dead, though he allowed that to the priests; but he permitted him only to marry a virgin, and to retain her. Whence it is that the high-priest is not to come near to one that is dead, although the rest are not prohibited from coming near to their brethren, or parents, or children, when they are dead; but they are to be unblemished in all respects. He ordered that the priest, who had any blemish, should have his portion indeed among the priests; but he forbade him to ascend the altar, or to enter into the holy house. He also enjoined them, not only to observe purity in their sacred ministrations, but in their daily conversations, that it might be unblameable also; and on this account that it is that those who wear the sacred garments are without spot, and eminent for their purity and sobriety: now are they permitted to drink wine so long as they wear those garments. Moreover, they offer sacrifices that are entire, and have no defect whatsoever.

3. And truly Moses gave them all these precepts, being such as were observed during his own lifetime; but though he lived now in the wilderness, yet did he make provision how they might observe the same laws when they should have taken the land of Canaan. He gave them to the land from ploughing and planting every seventh year, as he had prescribed to them to rest from working every seventh day; and ordered, that they should not grow of its own accord out of the earth, should it be common belong to all that pleased to use it, making no distinction in that respect between their own countrymen and foreigners: and he ordained, that they should do the same after seven times seven years, which in all are fifty years; and that fifteenth year is called by the Hebrews The Jubilees, wherein debts are freed from their debts, and slaves are set at liberty; which slaves became such, though they were of the same stock, by transgressing some of those laws the punishment of which was not capital, but they were punished by this method of slavery. This year also restores the land to its former possessors in the manner following:—When the Jubilee is come, which name denotes liberty, he that sold the land, and he that bought it, meet together, and make an estimate, on one hand, of the fruits gathered; and, on the other hand, of the expenses laid out upon it. If the fruits gathered, come to more than the expenses laid out, he that sold it, takes the land again; but if the expenses prove more than the fruits, the present possessor receives of the former owner the difference that was wanting, and leaves the land to him; and if the fruits received, and the expenses laid out, prove equal to one another, the present possessor relinquishes it to the former owners. Moses would have the same law obtain as to those houses also which were sold in villages; but he made a different law for such as were sold in a city; for if he that sold it tendered the purchaser his money again, within a year, he was forced to restore it; but in case a whole year had intervened, the purchaser was to enjoy what he had bought. This was the constitution of the laws which Moses learned of God when the camp lay under mount Sinai: and this he delivered in writing to the Hebrews.

4. Now when this settlement of laws seemed to be well over, Moses thought fit at length to take a review of the host, as thinking it proper to settle the affairs of war. So he charged the heads of the tribes, excepting the tribe of Levi, to take an exact account of the number of those that were able to go to war; for to the Levites they were holy, and free from all such burdens. Now when the people had been numbered, there were found six hundred thousand that were able to go to war, from twenty to fifty years of age, besides three thousand six hundred and fifty. Instead of Levi, Moses took Manasseh, the son of Joseph, among the heads of tribes; and Ephraim instead of Joseph. It was indeed the desire of Jacob himself to Joseph, that he would give him his sons to be his own by adoption, as I have before related.

5. When they set up the tabernacle, they received it into the midst of their camp, three of the tribes pitching their tents on each side of it; and roads were cut through the midst of these tents. It was like a well appointed market; and every thing was there ready for sale in due order; and all sorts of artificers were in the shops; and it seemed nothing so much as a city that sometimes was movable, and sometimes fixed. The priest had the first places about the tabernacle; then the Levites, who, because their whole multitude was reckoned from thirty days old, were twenty-three thousand eight hundred and eighty males; and, during the time that the cloud stood over the tabernacle, they thought proper to stay in the same place, as supposing that God there inhabited among them; but when that removed, they journeyed also.

6. Moreover, Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description is this:—In length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thinner than a flute, but with so much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth; it ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets. Its sound was called in the Hebrew tongue Asarua. Two of these being made, one of them was sounded when they required the multitude to come together to congregations. When the first of them gave a signal, the heads of the tribes were to assemble, and consult about the affairs to them properly belonging; but when they gave the signal by both of them, they called the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, it was done in this solemn order:—At the first alarm of the trumpet, those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared themselves to move; when the second signal was given, those that were on the south quarter did the like; in the next place, the tabernacle was taken to pieces, and was carried in the midst of six tribes that went before, and of six that followed, all the Levites assisting about the tabernacle; when the third signal was given, that part which had their tents towards the west, put themselves in motion; and at the fourth signal, those on the north did so likewise. They also made
use of these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar, as well on the Sabbaths as on the rest of the [festival] days; and now it was that Moses offered that sacrifice which was called the Passover in the Wilderness, as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOW MOSES REMOVED FROM MOUNT SINAI, AND CONDUCTED THE PEOPLE TO THE BORDERS OF THE CANAANITES.

A little while afterwards he rose up, and went from mount Sinai; and, having passed through several mansions, of which we will speak anon, he came to a place called Hazereth, where the multitude began again to be mutinous, and to blame Moses for the misfortunes they had suffered in their travels; and that when he had persuaded them to leave a good land, they at once had lost that land, and instead of that happy state he had promised them, they were still wandering in their present miserable condition, being already in want of water; and if the manna should happen to fail, they must then utterly perish. Yet while they generally spoke many and sore things against the man, there was one of them who exhorted them not to be unkindly to Moses, and of what great pains he had been at about their common safety; and not to despair of assistance from God. The multitude thereupon became still more unruly, and more mutiny against Moses than before. Hereupon Moses, although he was so basely abused by them, encouraged them in their despairing condition, and promised that he would procure them a great quantity of flesh-meat, and that not for a few days only, but for many days. This they were not willing to believe; and when one of them asked, whence he could obtain such vast plenty of what he promised, he replied, "Neither God nor I, although we hear such opprobrious language from you, will leave off our labours for you; and this shall soon appear also." As soon as ever he had said this, the whole camp was filled with qualms, and they stood round about him, and gathered them in great numbers. However, it was not long ere God punished the Hebrews for their insolence, and those reproaches they had used towards him, for no small number of them died; and still to this day the place retains the memory of this destruction, and is named Kibroth-hattaueath, which is, The Graves of Lust.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW MOSES SENT SOME PERSONS TO SEARCH OUT THE LAND OF THE CANAANITES, AND THE LARGENESS OF THEIR CITIES; AND FARTHER, THAT WHEN THOSE WHO WERE SENT WERE RETURNED, AFTER FORTY DAYS, AND REPORTED THAT THEY SHOULD NOT BE A MATCH FOR THEM, AND EXTOLEST THE STRENGTH OF THE CANAANITES, THE MULTITUDE WERE DISTURBED, AND FELL INTO DESPAIR; AND WERE RESOLVED TO STONE MOSES, AND TO RETURN BACK AGAIN INTO EGYPT, AND SERVE THE EGYPTIANS.

1. When Moses had led the Hebrews away from thence to a place called Paran, which was near to the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to be continued in, he gathered the multitude together to a congregation; and standing in the midst of them, he said, "Of the two things that God determined to bestow upon us, Liberty, and the Possession of a Happy Country, the one of them already are partakers of, by the gift of God, and the other you will quickly obtain; for we now have our abode near the borders of the Canaanites, and nothing can hinder the acquisition of it, when we now at last are fallen upon it: I say, not only as king nor city, but neither the whole race of the land, if they were all gathered together, could do it. Let us therefore prepare ourselves for the work, for the Canaanites will not resign up their land to us without fighting, but it must be wrested from them by great struggles in war. Let us send spies, who may take a view of the goodness of the land, and what strength it is of; but, above all things, let us be of one mind, and let us honor God, who above all is our helper and assister."
possession of the happiness promised them, because neither the height of mountains nor the depth of rivers could hinder men of true courage from attempting them, especially while God would take care of them beforehand, and be assistant to them. "Let us then go," said they, "against our enemies, and have no suspicion of ill success, trusting in God to conduct us, and following those that are to be our leaders." Thus did these two exhort them, and endeavour to pacify the rage they were in. But Moses and Aaron fell on the ground, and besought God, not for their own deliverance, but that he would put a stop to what the people were unwarily doing, and would bring their minds to a quiet temper, which were now disorders by their present passion. The cloud also did now appear, and stood over the tabernacle, and declared to them the presence of God to be there.

CHAPTER XV.

HOW MOSES WAS DISPLEASED AT THIS, AND FORSOKE THAT GOD WAS ANGRY, AND THAT THEY SHOULD CONTINUE IN THE WILDERNESS FOR FORTY YEARS, AND NOT, DURING THAT TIME, EITHER RETURN INTO EGYPT, OR TAKE POSSESSION OF CANAAN.

§ 1. Moses came now boldly to the multitude, and informed them that God had moved at their abuse of him, and would inflict punishment upon them, not indeed such as they deserved for their sins, but such as parents inflict on their children, in order to their correction: For, he said, that when he was in the tabernacle, and was bewailing with tears that destruction which was coming upon them, God put him in mind of things he had done for them, and what benefits they had received from him, and how ungrateful they had been to him; that just now they had been induced, through the timorousness of the spies, to think that their words were truer than his own promise to them; and that on this account, though he would not indeed destroy them all, nor utterly expire their nation, which he had honoured more than any other part of mankind, yet he would not permit them to take possession of the land of Canaan, nor enjoy its happiness; but would make them wander in the wilderness, and live without a fixed habitation, and without a city, for forty years together, as a punishment for this their transgression; but that he had promised to give that land to our children, and that he would make them the possessors of those good things which, by your ungoverned passions, you have deprived yourselves of.

2. When Moses had discourse thus to them, according to the direction of God, the multitude grieved, and were in affliction, and entreated Moses to procure their reconciliation to God, and to permit them no longer to wander in the wilderness, but to bestow cities upon them; but he replied, that God would not permit of any such trial, for that God was not moved to this determination from any human levity or anger, but that he had judicially condemned them to that punishment. Nay, we are not to disbelieve that Moses, who was but a single person, pacified so many ten thousands when they were in anger, and converted them to a mildness of temper; for God was with him, and prepared the way to his persuasions of the multitude; and as they had often been disobedient, they were now sensible that such disobedience was disadvantageous to them, and that they had still thereby fallen into calamities.

3. But this man was admirable for his virtue, and powerful in making men give credit to what he delivered, not only during the time of his natural life, but even there is still no one of the Hebrews, who does not act even now as if Moses were present, and ready to punish him if he should do any thing that is indecent; nay, there is no one but is obedient to what laws he ordained, although they might be concealed in their transgressions. There are also many other demonstrations that his power was more than human, for still some there have been, who have come from the parts beyond Euphrates, a journey of four months, through many dangers, and at great expenses, in honour of our temple; and yet, when they had offered their oblations, could not take part of their own sacrifices, because Moses had forbidden it, by somewhat in the law that did not permit them, or somewhat that had befallen them, which our ancient customs made inconsistent therewith; some of these did not sacrifice at all, and others left their sacrifices in an imperfect condition; nay, many were not able, even at first, so much as to enter into the temple, but went their ways in this state, as preferring a submission to the laws of Moses before the fulfilling of their own inclinations, even when they had no fear upon them that any body could convict them, but only out of a reverence to their own conscience. Thus this legislation, which appeared to be divine, made this man to be esteemed as one superior to his own nature. Nay, farther, a little before the beginning of this war, when Claudius was emperor of the Romans, and Ismael was our high-priest, and when so great a famine was come upon us, that one tenth deal of wheat was sold for four drachmae, and when no less than seventy cori of flour were brought into the temple, at the feast of unleavened bread (these cori are thirty-one Sicilian, but forty-one Athenian medimni), not one of the priests was so hardy as to eat one crumb of it, even while so great a distress was upon the land; and this out of a dread of the law, and of that wrath which God retains against acts of wickedness, even when no one can accuse the actors. Whence we are not to wonder at what was then done, while to this very day the writings left by Moses have so great a force, that even those that hate us do confess, that he who established this settlement was God, and that it was by the means of Moses, and of his virtue; but as to these matters, let every one take them as he thinks fit.

*This great famine in the days of Claudius, is again mentioned in Antiq. b. xxvii. chap. 32, sect. 6; and Acts xii. 25.
CHAPTER I.
The Fight of the Hebrews with the Canaanites, without the Consent of Moses; and their Defeat.

§ 1. Now this life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, and they were so uneasy at it, that although God had forbidden them to meddle with the Canaanites, yet could they not be persuaded to be obedient to the words of Moses, and to be quiet; but supposing they should be able to beat their enemies, even without his approbation, they accused him, and suspected that he made it his business to keep them in a distressed condition, that they might always stand in need of his assistance. Accordingly they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, and said that God gave them his assistance,—not out of regard to Moses’s intercessions, but because he took care of their entire nation, on account of their forefathers, whose affairs he took under his own conduct; as also, that it was on account of their own virtue, that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would be assisting to them, now they were willing to take pains for it. They also said that they were possessed of abilities sufficient for the conquest of their enemies, although Moses should have a mind to alienate God from them; that, however, it was for their advantage to be their own masters, and not so far to rejoice in their deliverance from the indignities they endured under the Egyptians, as to bear the tyranny of Moses over them, and to suffer themselves to be deluded, and live according to his pleasure, as though God did only foretell what concerns us out of his kindness to him, as if they were not all the posterity of Abraham; that God made him alone, the author of all the knowledge we have, and we must still learn it from him; that it would be a piece of prudence to oppose his arrogant pretences, and to put their confidence in God, and to resolve to take possession of that land which he had promised them, and not to give ear to him, who, on this account, and under the pretence of divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering, therefore, the distressed state they were in at present, and that in those desert places they were still to expect things would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, as submitting only to God, their supreme commander, and not waiting for any assistance from their legislator.

2. When, therefore, they had come to this resolution, as being best for them, they went against their enemies; but those enemies were not dismayed, either at the attack itself, or at the great multitude that made it, and received them with great courage. Many of the Hebrews were slain; and the remainder of the army, upon the disorder of their troops, were pursued, and fled, after a shameful manner, to their camp. Whereupon this unexpected misfortune made them quite despond; and they hoped for nothing that was good; as gathering from it, that this affliction came from the wrath of God, because they rashly went out to war without his approbation.

3. But when Moses saw how deeply they were affected with this defeat, and being afraid lest the enemies should grow insolent upon this victory, and should be desirous of gaining still greater glory, and should attack them, he resolved that it was proper to withdraw the army into the wilderness to a farther distance from the Canaanites: so the multitude gave themselves up again to his counsel; for they were sensible that, without his care for them, their affairs would not be in a good condition; and he caused, and he went farther into the wilderness, as intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should afford them a more favourable opportunity.
2. Corah, a Hebrew of principal account, both by his family and by his wealth, one that was also able to speak well, and one that could easily persuade the people by his speeches, saw that Moses was in an exceeding great dignity, and was uneasy at it, and envied him on that account (he was of the same tribe with Moses, and of Kim to him), was particularly grieved, because he thought he better deserved that honourable post on account of his great riches, and not inferior to him in his birth. So he raised a clamour against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and especially among his kindred, saying, "That it was a very sad thing that they should overlook Moses, while he hunted after, and paved the way to glory for himself, and by ill arts should obtain it, under the pretence of God's command, while, contrary to the laws, he had given the priesthood to Aaron, not by the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own vote, as bestowing dignities in a tyranny to those of his own pleased." He added, "That this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne than it had been done by an open force upon them, because he did now not only take away their power without their consent, but even while they were unapprized of his contrivances against them; for whosoever is conscious to himself that he deserves any dignity, aims to get it by persuasion, and not by an arrogant method of violence; but those that believe it impossible to obtain those honours justly, make a show of goodness, and do not introduce force, but by cunning tricks grow wickedly powerful: that it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they think themselves concealed in their designs, and not suffer them to gain strength, till they have them for their open enemies. For what account," added he, "is Moses able to give, why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron and his sons? for if God had determined to bestow that honour on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more worthy of it than he is; I myself being equal to Moses by my tribe, and to him both in riches and in age: but if God had laid that honour on a man's head, he might not bestow it on the eldest tribe, that of Reuben might have it most justly; and then Dathan, and Abiram, and [On, the son of ] Peleth, would have it; for these are the eldest men of that tribe, and potent on account of their great wealth also."

3. Now Corah, when he said this, had a mind to appear to take care of the public welfare; but in reality he was endeavouring to procure to have that dignity transferred by the multitude to himself. This did he, out of a malignant design, but with plausible words, discourse to those of his own tribe; and when these words did gradually spread to more of the people, and when the hearers still added to what tended to the scandals that were cast upon Aaron, the whole army was full of them. Now of those that conspired with Corah, there were two hundred and fifty, and those of the principal men also, who were eager to have the priesthood taken away from Moses's brother, and to bring him into disgrace: nay, the multitude themselves were pressed innumerable to stone Moses, and gathered themselves together after an indecent manner, with confusion and disorder. And now they all were, in a tumultuous manner, raising a clamour before the tabernacle of God, to prosecute the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from their slavery under him who, under colour of the divine commands, had violent injunctions upon them; for that had it been God who chose one that was to perform the office of a priest, he would have raised a worthy person to that dignity, and would not have produced such a one as was inferior to many others, nor have given him that office; and that in case he had judged it fit to bestow it on Aaron, he would have permitted it to the multitude to bestow it, and not have left it to be bestowed by his own brother, when he pleased. And thus it was proposed by Corah.

4. Now although Moses had a great while ago foreseen this calamity of Corah, and had seen that the people were irritated, yet was he not affrighted at it; but being of good courage, because he had given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had been made partaker of the priesthood at the command of God, and not by his own favour to him, he came to the assembly; and, as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as loud to Corah as he could; that being very skilful in making speeches, and having this natural talent for orators, that he could greatly move the multitude with his discourses, he said, "O Corah, both thou and all these with thee (pointing to the two hundred and fifty men) seem to be worthy of this honour; nor do I pretend but that this whole company may be worthy of the like dignity, although they may not be so rich, or so great as you are: nor have I taken and given this office to my brother, because he excelled others in riches, for thou exceedest us both in the greatness of thy wealth; nor indeed because he was of an eminent family, for God, by giving us the same common ancestor, has made our families equal: nay, nor was it out of brotherly affection, which another might yet have justly done; for certainly unless I had bestowed this honour out of regard to God, and to his laws, I had not passed by myself, and given it to another, as being nearer of kin to myself than to my brother, and having a closer intimacy with myself than I have with him; for surely it would not be a wise thing for me, to expose myself to the dangers of offending; and of being exceedingly unreasonably, while he has been exceedingly unreasonable to another. But I am above such base practices: nor would God have overlooked this matter, and seen himself thus despised; nor would he have suffered you to be ignorant of what you were to do, in order to please him; but he hath himself chosen one that is to perform that sacred office to him, and thereby freed us from that care. So that it was not a thing that I pretend to give, but only according to the determination of God; I therefore propose it still to be contended for by such as please to put in for it, only desiring, that he who has been already preferred, and has already obtained it, may be allowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He prefers your peace, and your living without sedition, to this honourable employment, although in truth it was with your approbation that he obtained it: for though God were the donor, yet do we not offend when we think fit to accept it with your good-will; yet would it have been an instance of impiety not to have taken that honourable employment when he offered it; nay, he had been exceedingly unreasonably, when God had thought fit any one should have it for all time to come, and had made it secure and firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself will judge again who it shall be.
whom he would have to offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direction of matters of religion; for it is absurd that Corah, who is ambitious of this honour, should deprive God of the power of giving it to whom he pleases. Put an end, therefore, to your sedition and disturbance on this account; and tomorrow morning do every one of you that desires the priesthood bring a censer from home, and come hither with incense and fire: and do thou, O Corah, leave the judgment to God, and await to see on which side he will give his determination upon this occasion, but do not thou make thyself greater than God. Do thou also come, that this contest about this honourable employment may receive determination. And I suppose we may admit Aaron without offence, to offer himself to this scrutiny, since he is of the same lineage with thyself, and has done nothing in his priesthood that can be liable to exception. Come ye therefore together, and offer your incense in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he whose sacrifice God shall accept shall be ordained to the priesthood, and shall be clear of the present calumny on Aaron, as if I had granted him that favour because he was my brother."

CHAPTER III.

HOW THOSE THAT STIRRED UP THIS SEDITION WERE DESTROYED, ACCORDING TO THE WILL OF GOD; AND HOW AARON, MOSES'S BROTHER, BOTH HE AND HIS POSTERITY, RETAINED THE PRIESTHOOD.

§ 1. When Moses had said this, the multitude left off the turbulent behaviour they had indulged, and the suspicion they had of Moses, and commended what he had said; for those proposals were good, and were so esteemed of the people. At that time therefore, they dissolved the assembly; but on the next day they came to the congregation, in order to be present at the sacrifice, and at the determination that was to be made between the candidates for the priesthood. Now this congregation proved a turbulent one, and the multitude were in great suspense in expectation of what was to be done; for some of them would have been pleased if Moses had been convicted of evil practices: but the wiser sort desired that they might be delivered from the present disorder and disturbance: for they were afraid, that if this sedition went on, the good order of their settlement would rather be destroyed; but the whole body of the people do naturally delight in clamours against their governors, and, by changing their opinions upon the harangues of every speaker, disturb the public tranquillity. And now Moses sent messengers for Abiram and Dathan, and ordered them to come to the assembly, and wait there for the holy offices that were to be performed. But they answered the messenger, that they would not obey his summons; nay, would not overlook Moses's behaviour; for it was growing too great for them by evil practices. Now when Moses heard of this their answer, he desired the heads of the people to follow him, and he went to the faction of Dathan, not thinking it any frightful thing at all to go to these insolent people; so they made no opposition, but went along with him. But Dathan, and his associates, when they understood that Moses and the principal of the people were coming to them, came out, with their wives and children, and stood before their tents, and looked to see what Moses would do. They had also their servants about them to defend themselves, in case Moses should use force against them.

2. But he came near, and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude, and said, "O Lord of the creatures that are in the heaven, in the earth, and in the sea; for thou art the most authentic witness to what I have done, that it has all been done by thy appointment, and that it was thou that afforded us assistance when we attempted any thing, and showedst mercy on the Hebrews in all their distresses, do thou come now, and hearken that I say, for no action or thought escapes thy knowledge; so that thou wilt not dissemble to speak what is true, for my vindication, without any regard to the ungrateful imputations of these men. As for what was done before I was born, thou knowest best, as not learning them by report, but seeing them, and being present with them when they were done; but for what has been done of late, and which these men, although they knew them well enough, unjustly pretend to suspect, be thou my witness. When I lived a private quiet life, I left those good things, which by my own diligence, and by thy counsel, I enjoyed with Raguel my father-in-law; and I gave myself up to the people, and underwent much hardship for their account. I also bore great labours at first, in order to obtain liberty for them, and now in order to their preservation; and have always showed myself ready to assist them in every distress of theirs. Now, therefore, since I am suspected by these very men whose being is owing to my labours, come thou, as it is reasonable to hope thou wilt; and I say, who showedst me that fire at mount Sinai? and madest me to hear its voice, and to see the several wonders which that place afforded me? thou who commandedst me to go to Egypt, and declare my will to this people; thou who disturbed the happy estate of the Egyptians, and gavest us the opportunity of flying away from our slavery under them, and madest the dominion of Pharaoh inferior to my dominion; thou who didst make the sea dry land for us, when we knew not whither to go, and didst overwhelm the Egyptians with those destructive waves which had been divided for ever; thou who didst bestow upon us the sacred weapons when we were naked; thou who didst make the fountains that were corrupted to flow, so as to be fit for drinking, and didst furnish us with water that came out of the rocks, when we were in the greatest want of it; thou who didst preserve our lives with [quails, which was] food from the sea, when the fruits of the ground failed us; thou who didst send us such food from heaven as had never been seen before; thou who didst suggest to us the knowledge of thy laws, and appoint to us a form of government,—come thou, I say, O Lord of the whole world, and that as such a Judge and Witness, as thou knowest how I have never admitted of any gift against justice, from any of the Hebrews, and have never condemned a poor man that ought to have been acquitted, on account of one that was rich; and have never attempted to hurt this commonwealth. I am now here present, and am suspected of a thing the remotest from my intentions, as if I had given the priesthood to Aaron, not at thy command, but out of my own favour to him; do thou at this time
demonstrate that all things are administered by thy providence, and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by thy will, and whereby attains its end: as also demonstrate that thou takest care of those that have done good to the Hebrews; demonstrate this, I say, by the punishment of Abram and Dathan, who condemn thee as an insensible Being, and one overcome by my contrivances. This will thou do by inflicting such an open punishment on these men who so madly fly in the face of thy glory, as will take them out of the world, not in an ordinary manner, but so that it may appear they do not die after the manner of other men: let that ground which they tread upon, open about them and consume them, with their families and goods. This will be a demonstration of thy power to all men: and this method of their sufferings will be an instruction of wisdom for those that entertain prophane sentiments of thee. By this means I shall be found a good servant in the precepts thou hast given me. But if the calamities they have raised against me be true, mayest thou preserve these men from every evil accident, and bring all that destruction on me which I have imparted upon them. And when thou hast inflicted punishment on those that have endeavoured to deal unjustly with this people, bestow upon them concord and peace. Save this multitude that follow thy commandments, and preserve them free from harm, and let them not partake of the punishment of those that have sinned; for thou knowest thyself it is not just, that for the wickedness of those men the whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment.

8. When Moses had said this, with tears in his eyes, the ground was moved on a sudden; and the agitation that set it in motion was such as to make all the vain productions in waves of the sea. The people were all affrighted; and the ground that was about their tents sunk down at the great noise, with a terrible sound, and carried whatsoever was dear to the sedition, into itself, who so entirely perished, that there was not the least appearance that any man had ever been seen there, the earth that had opened itself about them, closing again, and becoming entire as it was before, insomuch that such as saw it afterward, did not perceive that any such accident had happened to it. Thus did these men perish, and became a demonstration of the power of God. And truly, any one would lament them, not only on account of this calamity that befell them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also because their kindred were pleased with their sufferings; for they forgot the relation they bare to them, and at the sight of this sad accident approved of the judgment given against them; and because they looked upon the people about Dathan as pestilent men, they thought they perished as such, and did not grieve for them.

4. And now Moses called for those that contended about the priesthood, that trial might be made who should be priest, and that he whose sacrifice God was best pleased with, might be ordained to that function. There attended two hundred and fifty men, who indeed were honoured by the people, not only on account of the power of their ancestors, but also on account of their own, in which they excelled the others: Aaron also and Corah came forth, and they all offered incense, in those censers of theirs which they brought with them before the tabernacle. Hereupon so great a fire arose out as no one ever saw in any that is made by the hand of man, neither in those eruptions out of the earth that are caused by subterraneous burnings, nor in such fires as arise of their own accord in the woods, when the agitation is caused by the trees rubbing one against another but this fire was very bright, and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; by whose irruption on them, all the company, and Corah himself, were destroyed, and this so entirely, that their very bodies left no remains behind. Aaron alone was preserved, and not at all hurt by the fire, because it was God that sent the fire, to burn those only who ought to be burned. Hereupon Moses, after these men were destroyed, was desirous that the memory of this judgment might be delivered down to posterity, and that future ages might be acquainted with it; and so he commanded Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to put their censers near the brazen altar, that they might be a memorial to posterity of what these men suffered, for supposing that the power of God might be elucidated. And thus Aaron was now no longer esteemed to have the priesthood Moses, but by the public judgment of God; and thus he and his children peaceably enjoyed that honour afterward.

CHAPTER IV.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE HEBREWS DURING THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS IN THE WILDERNESS.

§ 1. However, this sedition was so far from ceasing upon this destruction, that it grew much stronger, and became more intolerable. And the occasion of its growing worse was of that nature, as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time; for the men, believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came thus to pass, not without God's favour to Moses; they therefore laid the blame upon him, that God was so angry, and that this happened, not so much because of the wickedness of those that were punished, as because Moses procured the punishment; and that these men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, only because they were zealous about the divine worship; as also, that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people, by destroying so many men, and those the most excellent of them all, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him; for no one else, to be sure, could now put in for it, since he must have seen those that first did so, to have miserably perished. Nay, besides this, the kindred of those that were destroyed, made great entreaties to the multitude to abate the arrogance of Moses, because it would be safest for them so to do.

2. Now Moses, upon his hearing for a good while that the people were tumultuous, was afraid that they would attempt some other innovation, and that some great and sad calamity would be the consequence. He called the multitude to a congregation, and patiently heard what apology they had to make. It appears here, and from the Samaritan Pentateuch, and in effect, from the Peshitta, as also from the Apocryphal Constellations, from Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, from Ignatius's epistle to the Magnesians, and from Justin's, that Corah was not swallowed up with the multitude, but burned with the Levites of his own tribe. See an Essay on the Old Testament, p. 64, 65.
make for themselves, without opposing them, and this lest he should imitate the multitude: he only desired the heads of the tribes to bring their rods, with the names of their tribes inscribed upon them, and that he should receive the priesthood in whose rod God should give a sign. This was agreed to. So the rest brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi on his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought out the rods, which were known from one another by those who brought them, they having distinctly noted them, as had the multitude also; and as to the rest, in the same form Moses had received them, in that they saw them still; but they also saw buds and branches grown out of Aaron's rod, with ripe fruits upon them; they were almonds, the rod having been cut out of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before under some degree of hatred, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to admire the judgment of God concerning them; so that hereafter they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the priesthood peaceably. And thus God ordained him priest, three several times, and he retained that honour without further disturbance. And hereby this sedition of the Hebrews, which had been a great one, and had lasted a great while, was at last composed.

3. And now Moses, because the tribe of Levi was made free from war and warlike expeditions, and was set apart for the divine worship, lest they should want and seek after the necessities of life, and so neglect the temple, commanded the Hebrews, according to the will of God, that when they should gain the possession of the land of Canaan, they should assign forty-eight good and fair cities to the Levites; and permit them to enjoy their suburbs, as far as the limit of two thousand cubits would extend from the walls of the city. And besides this, he appointed that the people should pay the tithe of their annual fruits of the earth, both to the Levites and to the priests. And this is what that tribe receives of the multitude; but I think it necessary to set down what is paid by all, particularly to the priests.

4. Accordingly he commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set apart for them the tenth part of the tithes which they every year receive of the people; as also, that it was but just to offer to God the tithe of the entire produce of the ground; and that they should offer the first-born of those four-footed beasts that are appointed for sacrifices, if it be a male, to the priests, to be slain, that they and their entire families may eat them in the holy city; but that the owners of those first-born which are not appointed for sacrifices in the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead; but for the first born of a man, five shekels; that they should also have the first-fruits out of the shearing of the sheep; and that when any baked bread-corn was made leavened, they should give some of what they had baked to them. Moreover, when any have made a sacred vow, I mean those that are called Nazarites, that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they con-secrate their hair; and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot that hair for the priests (to be thrown into the fire). Such also as dedicate themselves to God, as a corban, which denotes what the Greeks call a gift, when they are desirous of being freed from thatminsteration, are to lay down money for the priests: thirty shekels if it be a woman, and fifty if it be a man; but if any be too poor to pay the appointed sum, it shall be lawful for the priests to determine that sum as they think fit. And if any lay beasts at home for a private festival, but offer a religious one, they are obliged to bring the nail and the cheek (or breast), and the right shoulder of the sacrifice to the priests. With those, Moses contrived that the priests should be plentifully maintained, besides what they had out of those offerings for sins, which the people gave them, as I have set it down in the foregoing book. He also ordered, that out of every thing allotted for the priests, their servants, their sons, their daughters, and their wives, should partake, as well as themselves, except what came to them out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins; for those none but the males of the family of the priests might eat, and this in the temple also, and that the same day they were offered.

5. When Moses had made these constitutions, after the sedition was over, he removed, together with the whole army, and came to the borders of Idumea. He then sent ambassadors to the king of the Idumeans, and desired him to give him a passage through his country; and agreed to send him what hostages he should desire, to secure him from an injury. He desired him also, that he would allow his army liberty to buy provisions; and, if he insisted upon it, he would pay down a price for the very water they should drink. But the king was not pleased with this amicable from Moses; nor did he allow a passage for the army, but brought his people armed to meet Moses, and to hinder them, in case they should endeavour to force his passage. Upon which Moses consulted God by the oracle, who would not have him begin the war first; and so he withdrew his forces, and travelled round about through the wilderness.

6. Then it was that Miriam, the sister of Moses, came to her end, having completed her fortieth year, since she left Egypt, on the first day of the lunar month Xannah. Then they made a public funeral for her, at a great expense. She was buried upon a certain mountain, which they called Sin; and when they had mourned for her thirty days, Moses purified the people after this manner: He brought a heifer that had never been used to the plough or to husbandry, that was complete in all its parts, and entirely of a red colour, at a little distance from the camp, into a place perfectly clean. This heifer was slain by the high-priest, and her blood sprinkled with his finger seven times before the tabernacle of God; after this, the entire heifer was burnt in that state, together with its skin and entrails; and they threw cedar-wood, and hyssop, and scarlet wool, into the midst of the fire; then a clean

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1. Gressius, in Numb. vi. 15, takes notice that the Greeks also, as well as the Jews, sometimes consecrated the hair of their heads to the priest.

2. Josephus argues on this place, "we are to understand the same rod, for which one was consecrated," for which it was broken; as St. Luke, "when the day of Pentecost was accomplished," Acts ii. 1.

3. Whether Miriam died, as Josephus says, is very uncertain, only, on the first day of the month, may be concluded, because the Jews were the last, and so say the Targums, and so some of the old church writers, and the most learned Rabbins. It is said her sepulchre is still extant near the city of Pompeia, in the land of Idumea.
man gathered all her ashes together, and laid them in a place perfectly clean. When therefore any persons were defiled by a dead body, they put a little of these ashes into spring water, with hyssop, and, dipping part of these ashes in it, they sprinkled them with it, both on the third day, and on the seventh, and after that they were clean. This he enjoined them to do also when the tribes should come into their own land.

7. Now when this purification, which their leader made upon the mourning for his sister, as it has been now described, was over, he caused the army to remove, and to march through the wilderness and through Arabia; and when he came to a place which the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called Moab, but has now the name of Jazan, at this place, which was encompassed with high mountains, Aaron went up one of them in the sight of the whole army, Moses having before told him that he was to die, for this place was over against them. He put on his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eleazar his son, to whom the high-priesthood belonged, because he was the elder brother; and died while the multitude looked upon him. He died in the same year wherein he lost his sister, having lived in all a hundred and thirty-three years. He died on the first day of that lunar month which is called by the Athenians Hecatonheirion, by the Macedonians Louis, but by the Hebrews Abia.

CHAPTER V.

HOW MOSES CONQUERED SIHON AND OG, KINGS OF THE AMORITES, AND DESTROYED THEIR WHOLE ARMY, AND THEN DIVIDED THEIR LAND BY LOT TO TWO TRIBES AND A HALF OF THE HEBREWS.

§ 1. The people mourned for Aaron thirty days, and when this mourning was over, Moses removed the army from that place, and came to the river Arnon, which, issuing out of the mountains of Arabia, and running through all that wilderness, falls into the lake Asphaltitis, and becomes the limit between the land of the Moabites and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruitful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of men, with the good things it produces. Moses therefore sent messengers to Sihon, the king of this country, desiring that he would grant his army a passage, upon what security he should please to require; he promised that he should be in no way injured, neither as to that country which Sihon governed, nor as to its inhabitants; and that he would buy his provisions at such a price as should be to his advantage, even though he should desire to sell them their very water. But Sihon refused his offer, and put his army into battle array, and was preparing every thing in order to hinder their passing over Arnon.

2. When Moses saw that the Amorite king was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult; and, determining to wound the Hebrews from their indolent temper, and prevent the disorders which arose thence, which had been the occasion of their former sedition (nor indeed were they now thoroughly easy in their minds), he inquired of God, whether he would give him leave to fight, which, when he had done, and God also promised him the victory, he was himself very courageous, and ready to proceed to fighting. Accordingly, he encouraged the soldiers; and he desired of them that they would take the pleasure of fighting, now God gave them leave so to do. They then upon the receipt of this permission, which they so much longed for, put on their whole armour, and set about the work without delay. But the Amorite king was not now like to himself, when the Hebrews were ready to attack him; but both he himself was affrighted at the Hebrews, and his army, which before had showed themselves to be of good courage, were then found to be timorous; so they could not sustain the first onset, nor bear up against the Hebrews, but fled away, as thinking this would afford them a more likely way for their escape than fighting; for they depended upon their cities, which were strong, from which yet they reaped no advantage when they were forced to fly to them; for as soon as the Hebrews saw them giving ground, they immediately pursued them close; and when they had broken their ranks, they greatly terrified them, and some of them broke off from the rest, and ran away to other Hebrews; so that the Hebrews pursued them briskly, and obstinately persevered in the labours they had already undergone; and being very skilful in slinging, and very dexterous in throwing of darts, or any thing else of that kind; and also having nothing but light armour, which made them quick in the pursuit, they overtook their enemies; and for those that were most remote, and could not be overtaken, they reached them by their slings and their bows, so that many were slain; and those that escaped the slaughter, were either wounded, or else were so disheartened with the sight than with any of those that fought against them, for it was the summer season; and when the greatest number of them were brought down to the river out of a desire to drink, as also when others fled away by troops, the Hebrews came round them, and shot at them; so that, what with darts and what with arrows, they made a slaughter of them all. Sihon their king was also slain. So the Hebrews spoiled the dead bodies, and took their spoil. The land also which they took was full of abundance of cattle, and the army went all over it without fear, and fed their cattle upon it; and they took the enemies' prisoners, for they could no way put a stop to them, since all the fighting men were destroyed. Such was the destruction which overtook the Amorites, who were neither sagacious in counsel, nor courageous in action. Hereupon the Hebrews took possession of their land, which is a country situate between three rivers, and naturally resembling an island, the river Arnon being its southern, and the river Jabbok determining its northern side, which, running into Jordan, loses its own name, and takes the other; while Jordan itself runs along by it, on its western coast.

3. When matters were come to this state, Og, the king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, fell upon the Israelites. He brought an army with him, and came in haste to the assistance of his friend Sihon; but though he found him already slain, yet he resolve still to come and fight the Hebrews, supposing he should be too hard for them, and being desirous to try their valour; but failing of his hope, he was both himself slain in the battle, and all his army was destroyed. So Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and over-ran the kingdom of Og. He
overthrew their cities, and slew all their inhabitants, who yet exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the continent, on account of the goodness of the soil, and the great quantity of their wealth. Now Og had very few equals, either in the largeness of his body or handsomeness of his appearance. He was also a man of great activity in the use of his hands, so that his actions were not unequal to the vast largeness and handsome appearance of his body; and men could easily guess at his strength and magnitude when they took his bed at Rabbath, the royal city of the Amorites; its structure was of iron, its breadth four cubits, and its length a cubit more than double thereto. However, his fall did not only improve the circumstances of the Hebrews for the present, but by his death he was the occasion of further good success to them; for they presently took those sixty cities which were encompassed with excellent walls, and had been subject to him; and all got both in general and in particular a great prey.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING BALAAM THE PROPHET, AND WHAT KIND OF MAN HE WAS.

§ 1. Now Moses, when he had brought his army to Jordan, pitched his camp in the great plain over against Jericho. This city is a very happy situation, and very fit for producing palm-trees and balsam; and now the Israelites began to be very proud of themselves, and very eager for fighting. Moses then, after he had offered for a few days sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and feasted the people, sent a party of armed men to lay waste the country of the Midianites, and to take their cities. Now the occasion which he took for making war upon them was this that follows:

2. When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who had from his ancestors a friendship and league with the Midianites, saw how great the Israelites were grown, he was much afraid on account of his own and his kingdom's danger; for he was not acquainted with this, that the Hebrews would not meddle with any other country, but were to be contented with the possession of the land of Canaan, God having forbidden them to go any farther. So he, with more haste than wisdom, resolved to make an attempt upon them by words: but he did not judge it prudent to fight against them, after they had such prosperous successes, and even became out of ill successes more happy than before; but he thought to hinder them, if he could, from growing greater, and so he resolved to send ambassadors to the Midianites about them. Now these Midianites, knowing there was one Balaam, who lived by Euphrates, and was the greatest of the prophets at that time, and one that was in friendship with them, sent some of their honourable princes along with the ambassadors of Balak, to entreat the prophet to come to them, that he might imprecate curses on the destruction of the Israelites.

So Balaam received the ambassadors, and treated them very kindly; and when he had supped, he inquired what was God's will, and what this matter was for which the Midianites entreated him to come to them. But when God opposed his going, he came to the ambassadors, and told them that he was himself very willing and desirous to comply with their request, but that God opposed it to his intents, even that God had raised him to great reputation on account of the truth of his predictions; for that this army, which they entreated him to come and curse, was in the favour of God; on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the Israelites; and when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassadors.

3. Now the Midianites, at the earnest request and fervent entreaties of Balak, sent other ambassadors to Balaam, who, desiring to gratify the men inquired again of God; but he was displeased at this [second] trial, and bid him by no means to contradict the ambassadors. Now Balaam did not imagine that God gave this injunction in order to deceive him, so he went along with the ambassadors; but when the divine angel met him in the way, when he was in a narrow passage, and had gone in with a wall on both sides, the ass on which Balaam rode, understood that it was a divine spirit that met him, and thrust Balaam and the ass into one of the walls, without regard to the stripes which Balaam, when he was hurt by the wall, gave her; but when the ass, upon the angel's continuing to distress her, and upon the stripes which were given her, fell down, by the will of God, she made use of the voice of a man, and complained of Balaam as acting unjustly to her; that whereas he had no fault to find with her in her former service to him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, as not understanding that she was hindered from serving him in what he was now going about, by the providence of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the voice of the ass, which was the first time that clearly appeared to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given his ass; and informed him that that the brute creature was not in fault, lest that he was himself come to obstruct his journey, as being contrary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was preparing to return back again: yet did God excite him to go on his intended journey, but added this injunction, that he should declare nothing, but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

4. When God had given him this charge, he came to Balak; and when the king had entertained him in a magnificent manner, he desired him to go to one of the mountains to take a view of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself also came to the mountain, and brought the prophet.

* What Josephus here remarks to well worth our remark in this place also, i.e. that the Israelites were never to meddle with the Moabites or Amorites, or any other people, but those belonging to the land of Canaan only; and that the Midianites of Sihon and Og beyond Jordan, as far as the desert and Euphrates, and the like, were to be discouraged from the composition of the Israelites, but that those countries given to them by God were their proper and peculiar portion among the nations, and that all who endeavoured to dispossess them might ever be justly denounced by them.

Note, that Josephus never supposes Balaam to be an abettor, on account of his intended punishments, or any other punishments, for he is evidently fatuous, and speaks as if he had not considered a fact which the adversary of Balaam himself had declared to him. But God's answer the second time, permitting him to go, was marked, and design'd expressly to assure him of the correctness of his own good designs, and to make him better keep himself from the punishment of former crimes. Josephus never speaks to nations, or observing such wicked men justly and providentially consulted. Perhaps God had better keep him, and not suffer him to do such harm to himself, as might go along with him upon any terms; whereas Balaam, not to be imposed on with such false statements, and to make him rather to have called them, than stand for their calling him no name, he should have been for his reward of destruction, his wages of all the blindness of Balaam's eyes, and the punishment of his destruction might be heaped upon him; which reward or wages the truly religious prophets of God never required, nor accepted, as our Josephus justly takes notice of it in his work.
along with him, with a royal attendance. This mountain lay over their heads, and was distant sixty furlongs from the camp. Now when he saw them, he desired the king to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams; to which desire the king did presently consent. He then slew the sacrifices, and offered them as burnt-offerings, that he might observe some signal of the flight of the Hebrews. Then said he, "Happy is this people, on whom God bestows the possession of unnumbered good things, and grants them his own providence to be their assistant and their guide; so that there is not any nation among mankind but you will be esteemed superior to them in virtue, and in the earnest prosecution of the best rules of life, and of such as are pure from wickedness, and will leave those rules to your excellent children, and this out of the regard that God bears to you, and the provision of such things for you as may render you happier than any other people under the sun. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you, and it shall ever be under the command of your children; and both all the earth, as well as the sea, shall be filled with your glory: and you shall be sufficiently numerous to supply the world in general, and every region of it in particular, with inhabitants out of your stock. However, O blessed army! wonder that you are become so many from one father: and truly, the land of Canaan can now hold you, as being yet compara
tively few; but know ye that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation for ever. The multitude of your pesterity also shall live as well in the islands as on the continent, and that more in number than are the stars of heaven. And when you are become so many, God will not relinquish the care of you, but will afford you an abundance of all good things in times of peace, with victory and dominion in times of war. May the children of your enemies have an inclination to fight against you, and may they be so hardy as to come to arm, and to assault you in battle, for they will not return with victory, nor will their return be acceptable to their children and wives. A degree of valour will be raised by the providence of God, who is able to diminish the affluence of some, and to supply the wants of others."

3. Thus did Balaam speak by inspiration, as not being in his own power, but moved to say what he did by the divine Spirit. But then Balak was displeased, and said he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he was to come, as he and his confederates had invited him, by the promise of great presents; for whereas he came to curse their enemies he should multiply upon them, and had declared that they were the happiest men. To which Balaam replied, "O Balak, if thou rightly considerest this whole matter, canst thou suppose that it is in our power to be silent, or to say any thing, when the Spirit of God seizes upon us— for he puts such words as he pleases in our mouths, and such discourses as we are not ourselves conscious of. I well remember by what entreaties both you and the Midianites so joyfully brought me thereto, and on that account I took this journey. It was my prayer, that I might not put any affront upon you, and do what ye desired of me; but God is more powerful than the purposes I had made to serve you; for those that take upon them, to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their own abilities, are entirely unable to do it, or to forbear to utter what God suggests to them, or to offer violence to his will; for when he prevents us, and overrules into us, nothing that we say is our own. I then did not intend to praise this army, nor to go over the several good things which God intended to do to their race; but since he was so favourable to them, and so ready to bestow upon them a happy life and eternal glory, I suggested the desire of those things to me: but now, because it is my desire to oblige thee thyself, as well as the Midianites, whose entreaties it is not decent for me to reject, go to, let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did before, that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to bind these men with curses. Which, when Balak had agreed to, God would not, even upon second sacrifices, consent to his cursing the Israelites. Then fell Balaam upon his face, and forecasted what calamities would befall the several kings of the nations, and the most eminent cities, some of which of old were not so much as inhabited; which events have come to pass among the several people concerned, both in the foregoing ages, and in this, till my own memory, both by sea and by land. From which completion of all these predictions that he made, one may easily guess that the rest will have their completion in time to come.

4. But Balak being very angry that the Israelites were not cursed, sent away Balaam without thinking him worthy of any honour. Whereupon, when he was just upon his journey, in order to pass the Euphrates, he sent for Balak, and for the princes of the Midianites, and spake thus to them:— O Balak, and you Midianites that are here present (for I am obliged even without the will of God to gratify you), it is true no entire destruction can seize upon the nation of the Hebrews, neither by war, nor by plague, nor by scarcity of the fruits of the earth, nor can any other unexpected accident be their entire ruin; for the providence of God is concerned to preserve them from such a misfortune; nor will it permit any such calamity to come upon them whereby they may all perish; but some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may still befall them; but after that they will flourish again, to the terror of those that brought those mischiefs upon them. So that if you have a mind to gain a victory over them for a short space of time, you will obtain it by following my directions:—Do you therefore set out the handsomest of such of your daughters as are most eminent for beauty, and proper to force and conquer the modesty of those that behold them, and these decked and trimmed to the highest degree you are able. Then do you send them to be near the Israelites' camp, and give them in charge, that when the young men of the Hebrews desire their company, they allow it them; and when they see that they are enamoured of them, let them take their leaves; and if they entertain them to stay, let them not give their consent till they have persuaded them to leave off their obedience to their own laws and the worship of that God who established them, and to worship the..."
gods of the Midianites and Moabites; for by this means God will be angry at them.** Accordingly, when Balaam had suggested this counsel to them, he went his way.

7. So when the Midianites had sent their daughters, to Balaam, he exhorted them, the Hebrew young men were allured by their beauty, and came to discourse with them, and besought them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny them their conversation. These daughters of the Midianites received their words gladly, and consented to it, and sat with them; but when they had brought them to be emansured of them, and their inclinations to them were grown ripe-ness, they began to think of departing from them: then it was that these men became greatly disconsolate at the women's departure, and they were urgent with them not to leave them, but begged they would continue there, and become their wives; and they promised them they should be owned as mistresses of all they had. This they said with an oath, and called God for the arbitrator of what they promised; and this with tears in their eyes, and all other such marks of concern, as might show how miserable they thought themselves without them, and so might move their compassion for them. So the women, as soon as they perceived the desire they had of their slaves, and had caught them with their conversation, began to speak to them.

8. "O you illustrious young men! we have houses of our own at home, and great plenty of good things there, together with the natural affectionate love of our parents and friends; nor is it out of our want of any such things that we came to discourse with you: nor did we admit of your invitation with design to prostitute the beauty of our bodies for gain; but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, that we might treat you with such honours as hospitality required: and now seeing you say that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled when you think we are departing, we are not averse to your entreaties; and if we may receive such assurance of your good-will as we think can alone be sufficient, we will be glad to lead our lives with you as your wives; but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us, and send us back to our parents, after an ignominious manner." And they desired that they would excuse them in their guiding against that danger. But the young men professed they would give them any assurance they should desire; nor did they at all contradict what they requested, so great was the passion they had for them. "If then," said they, "this be your resolution; since you make use of such customs and conduct of life as are entirely different from all other men,† insomuch that your kinds of food are peculiar to yourselves, and your kinds of drink not common to others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for your wives, that you do withal worship our gods; nor can there be any other demonstration of the kindness which you say you already have, and promise to have hereafter, than this, that you worship the same gods that we do. For any one reason, to complain, that now you are come into this country, you should worship the proper gods of the same country I especially while our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to nobody else but yourselves." So they said they must either come into such methods of divine worship as all others came into, or else they must look out for another world, wherein they may live by themselves, according to their own laws.

9. Now the young men were induced by the fondness they had for these women, to think they spake very well; so they gave themselves up to what they persuaded them, and transgressed their own laws; and supposing there were many gods, and resolving that they would sacrifice to them according to the laws of that country which ordained them, they both were delighted with their strange food, and went on to do every thing that the women would have them do, though in contradiction to their own laws; so far, indeed, that this transgression was already gone through the whole army of the young men, and they fell into a condition that was much worse than the former, and into danger of the entire abolition of their own institutions; for when once the youth had tasted of these strange customs, they went with insatiable inclinations into them; and even where some of the principal men were illustrious on account of the virtues of their fathers, they also were corrupted together with the rest.

10. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon, accompanied with Cozbi, a Midianitish woman, who was the daughter of Sur, a man of authority in that country; and being desired by her to disregard the laws of Moses, and to follow those she was used to, he complied with her; and this both by sacrificing after a manner different from his own, and by taking a stranger to wife. When things were thus, Moses was afraid that matters should grow worse, and called the people to a congregation, but then accused nobody by name, as unwilling to drive those into despair, who, by lying concealed, might come to repentance; but he said that they did not do what was either worthy of themselves, or of their fathers, by preferring pleasure to God, and to the living according to his will; that it was fit they should change their courses while their affairs were still in a good state; and think that to be true fortitude which offers not violence to their laws, but that which resists their lusts. And besides that, he said it was not a reasonable thing, when they had lived soberly in the wilderness, to act madly now when they were in prosperity; and that they ought not to lose, now they have abundance, what they had gained when they had little:—and so did he endeavour, by saying this to correct the young men, and to bring them to repentance of their wickedness.

11. But Zimri arose up after him, and said, "Yes, indeed, Moses, thou art at liberty to make use of such laws as thou art so fond of, and hast, by acquiescing thyself to them, made them firm; otherwise, if things had not been thus, thou hadst often been punished before now, and hadst known that the Hebrews are not easily put upon;
but thou shalt not have me one of thy followers in thy tyrannical commands, for thou dost nothing else hitherto, but, under pretence of laws, and of God, wickedly impose on us slavery, and gain dominion to thyself, while thou deprivest us of the sweetness of life, which consists in acting according to our own wills, and is the right of free men, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this man is harder upon the Hebrews than were the Egyptians themselves, as pretending to punish, according to his laws, every one's acting what is most agreeable to himself; but thou thyself better deservest to suffer punishment, who presumest to abolish what every one acknowledges to be what is good for him, and almost to make thy single opinion to have more force than that of all the rest: and what I now do, and think to be right, I shall not hereafter deny to be according to my own sentiments. I have married, as thou sayest rightly, a strange woman, and thou hearest what I do from myself as from one that is free; for truly I did not intend to conceal myself. I also own that I sacrificed to those gods to whom you did not think it fit to sacrifice; and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not like one that lives under tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man; nor shall any one find cause to rejoice who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself."

12. Now when Zimri had said these things, about what he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their peace, both out of fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring his insolence before the public any farther, or openly to contend with him; for he avoided that, lest many should inveigle him with his impudence into his language, and thereby disturb the multitude. Upon this the assembly was dissolved. However, the mischievous attempt had proceeded farther, if Zimri had not been first slain, which came to pass on the following occasion:—Phineas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries in the dignity of his father, (for he was the son of Eleazar the high-priest, and the grandson of [Aaron] Moses's brother), was greatly troubled at what was done by Zimri, he resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, on his unworthy behaviour should grow stronger by impunity, and in order to prevent this transgression from proceeding farther, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was of so great magnanimity, both in strength of mind and body, that when he undertook any very dangerous attempt, he did not leave it off till he overcame it, and got an entire victory. So he came into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin. Thus did he slew Cozbi, the wife of Zimri, which, all those young men that had a regard to virtue, and aimed to do a glorious action, imitated Phineas's boldness, and slew those that were found to be guilty of the same crime with Zimri. Accordingly, many of those that had transgressed, perished by the magnanimous valour of these young men, and the rest all perished by a plague, which distemper God himself inflicted upon them. So that all those their kindred, who, instead of hindering them from such wicked actions, as they ought to have done, had persuaded them to go on, were esteemed by God as partners in their wickedness, and died. Accordingly, there perished out of the army, no fewer than fourteen* [twenty-four] thousand at this time. 13. This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites, concerning which expedition we shall speak presently, when we have first related what we have omitted; for it is but just not to pass over our legislator's due encomium, on account of his conduct here, because, although this Balaam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curse the Hebrews, and when he was hindered from doing it by divine providence, did still suggest that advice to them, by making use of which, our enemies had well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews with their wiles, till some of them were devoutly concerned with their opinions; yet did he also do him great honour, by setting down his prophecies in writing. And while it was in his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, there being no one that could be a witness against him, and accuse him for so doing, he still gave his attestation to him, and did him the honour to make mention of him on this account. But let every one think of these matters as he pleases.

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**CHAPTER VII.**

**HOW THE HEBREWS Fought WITH THE MIDIANITES, AND OVERTHREW THEM.**

§ 1. Now Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the causes forementioned, in all twelve thousand, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed Phineas for their commander; of which Phineas we made mention a little before, as he that had guarded the laws of the Hebrews, and had inflicted punishment on Zimri when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites perceived beforehand how the Hebrews were coming, and would suddenly be upon them; so they assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited the enemy's coming. When they were come, and they had joined battle with them, an immense number of the Midianites fell; nor could they be numbered, they were so very many; and among them fell all their kings, five in number, viz., Evi, Zir, Reba, Hur, and Rekem, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is still now so called by the whole Arabian nation, Aqseem, from the name of the king that built it; but is by the Greeks called Petra. Now when the enemies were discomfited, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took a great prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they let the virgins alone, as Moses had commanded Phineas to do, who in addition to all, was bringing with him an army that had received no harm, and a great deal of prey; fifty-two thousand beeves, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses; for they were so wealthy, that they were very luxurious. There were also

* The mistake in all Josephus's copies, Greek and Latin, which have here fourteen thousand, instead of twenty-four thousand, is so apparent, that our very learned editors, Bernard and Hadron, have put the latter number directly in the text. I choose rather to put it in brackets.
gods of the Midianites and Moabites; for by this
means God will be angry at them." Accordingly,
when Balaam had suggested this counsel to them,
he went his way.

7. So when the Midianites had sent their daugh-
ters, as Balaam had exhorted them, the Hebrew
young men were allured by their beauty, and came
to discourse with them, and besought them not to
gudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to
deny them their conversation. These daughters of
the Midianites received their words gladly, and
continued love of our parents and friends; but they
had brought them to be enamoured of them, and
their inclinations to them were grown to ripe-
ness, they began to think of departing from them :
then it was that these men became greatly discon-
solate at the women's departure, and they were
urgent with them not to leave them, but begged
they would continue there, and become their wives;
and they promised they should be owned as
mistresses of all they had. This they said with an
oath, and called God for the arbitrator of what
they had promised; and continued in their covetous
and all other such marks of concern, as might show
how miserable they thought themselves without
them, and so might move their compassion for
them. So the women, as soon as they perceived
they had made them their slaves, and had caught
them with their conversation, began to speak thus
to them.

8. "O you illustrious young men! We have
houses of our own at home, and great plenty of
good things there, together with the natural affec-
tions of our parents and friends; nor are we out of
our way in any such things that we came to
discourse with you: nor did we admit of your in-
vitation with design to prostitute the beauty of our
bodies for gain; but taking you for brave and
worthy men, we agreed to your request, that we
might treat you with such honours as hospitality
required: and now seeing you say that you have
a great affection for us, and are troubled when you
think we are departing, we are not averse to your
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of your good-will as we think can alone be suffi-
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nious manner." And they desired that they would
excuse them in their guarding against that danger.
But the young men professed they would give them
any assurance they should desire; nor did they at
all contradict what they requested, so great was
the passion they had for them. "If then," said
they, "this be your resolution; since you make use
of us, and continue to live as our wives, it will be
different from all other men, insomuch that your
kinds of food are peculiar to yourselves, and your
kinds of drink not common to others, it will be

*This grand maxim, That God's people of Israel could never be hurt by deserting them to those who serve other gods, appears, and true, by the entire history of that people, both in the Bible and in Jewish
Scriptures. See also the passage in Judges v. 6-8.
1. What I have said puts into the mouths of these Midianites
men, who came to invite the Israelites to bow down, and, in their worship of the God of Israel, in opposition to their own gods, and the gods of the Midianites, who were the true gods of the Midianites, who were the true gods of the Midianites, and who have been given by Moses, in opposition to those imposture laws which were made under their false gods, to destroy their conversion; and gives an essential reason for the great concern that was ever shown, among the Israelites, in the worship of the true God; so being of no consequence to them.
2. Whether God's people should be governed by the holy laws of the true God, or by the imposture laws derived from Damos, under the Pagan
Indians.
CHAPTER VII.

ANTIOQUIES OF THE JEWS.

But thou shalt not have one of thy followers in thy tyrannical commands, for thou dost not have those also to hide, but, under pretence of laws, and of God, wickedly impose on us slavery, and gain dominion to thyself, while thou deprivest us of the sweetness of life, which consists in acting according to our own wills, and is the right of free men, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this man is harder upon the Hebrews than were the Egyptians themselves, as pretending to punish, according to his laws, every one's acting what is most agreeable to himself; but thou thyself better deservest to suffer punishment, who presumest to abolish what every one acknowledges to be what is good for him, and aimest to make thy single opinion to have more force than that of all the rest: and what I now do, and think to be right, I shall not hereafter deny to be according to my own sentiments. I have married, and have a daughter, a strange woman, and thou hearest what I do from myself as from one that is free; for truly I did not intend to conceal myself. I also own that I sacrificed to those gods to whom you did not think fit to sacrifice; and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not like one that lives under tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man; nor shall any one find excuse to rejoice who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself."

12. Now when Zimri had said these things, and he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their peace, both out of fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring his insolence before the public any farther, or openly to contend with him; for he avoided that, lest many should imitate the impudence of his language, and thereby disturb the multitude. Upon this the assembly was not displeased. However, the mischievous attempt had proceeded farther, if Zimri had not been first slain, which came to pass on the following occasion:—Phineas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries in the dignity of his father, (for he was the son of Eleazar the high-priest, and the grandson of [Aaron] Moses's brother), who was greatly troubled at what was done by Zimri, he resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, before his unworthy behaviour should grow stronger by impunity, and in order to prevent this transgression from proceeding farther, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was of so great magnanimity, both in strength of mind and body, that when he undertook any very dangerous attempt, he did not leave it off till he overcame it, and got an entire victory. So he came into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin, and with it he slew Cozbi also. Upon which, all those young men that had a regard to virtue, and aimed to do a glorious action, imitated Phineas's boldness, and slew those that were guilty of the same crime with Zimri. Accordingly, many of those that had transgressed, perished by the magnanimous valour of these young men, and the rest all perished by a plague, which distemper God himself inflicted upon them. So that all those their kindred, who, instead of hindering them from such wicked actions, as they ought to have done, had persuaded them to go on, were esteemed by God as partners in their wickedness, and died. Accordingly, there perished out of the army, no fewer than fourteen* [forty-four] thousand at this time.

13. This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites, concerning which expedition we shall speak presently, when we have first related what we have omitted; for it is but just not to pass over our legislator's due encomium, on account of his conduct here, because, although this Balaam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curse the Hebrews, and when he was hindered from doing it by divine providence, did still suggest that advice to them, by making use of which, our enemies had well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews with their wiles, till some of them were deeply infected with their opinions; yet did he also do him great honour, by setting down his prophecies in writing. And while it was in his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, there being no one that could be a witness against him, and accuse him for so doing, he still gave his attestation to him, and did him the honour to make mention of him on this account. But let every one think of these matters as he pleases.

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led captive about thirty-two thousand virgins. So Moses parted the prey into parts, and gave one fifth part to Eleazer and the two priests, and another fifth part to the Levites; and distributed the rest of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, as having obtained an abundance of good things by their valour, and there being no misfortunes that befell them, or hindered their enjoyment of that happiness.

2. But Moses was now grown old, and appointed Joshua for his successor, both to receive directions from God as a prophet, and for a commander of the army, if they should at any time stand in need of such a one; and this was done by the command of God, that to him the care of the public should be committed. Now Joshua had been instructed in all those kinds of learning which concerned the laws and God himself, and Moses had been his instructor.

3. At this time it was that the two tribes of Gad and Reuben, and the half tribe of Manasseh, abounded in a multitude of cattle, as well as in all other kinds of prosperity; whence they had a meeting, and in a body came and besought Moses to give them, as there peculiar portion, that land of the Amorites which they had taken by right of war, because it was fruitful, and good for feeding of cattle; but Moses, supposing that they were afraid of fighting with the Canaanites, and invented this provision for their cattle, as a handsome excuse for avoiding that in, be sent away several countries, and said that they had only decreed a decent excuse for that cowardice; and that they had a mind to live in luxury and ease, while all the rest were labouring with great pains to obtain the land they were desirous to have; and that they were not willing to march along, and undergo the remaining hard service, whereby they were, under the divine promise, to pass over Jordan, and overcome those enemies which God had shown them, and so obtain their land. But these tribes, when they saw that Moses was angry with them, and when they could not deny but he had a just cause to be displeased at their petition, made an apology for themselves; and said, that it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their laziness, that they made this request to him, but that they might leave the prey they had gotten in places of safety, and thereby might be more expeditious, and ready to undergo difficulties, and to fight battles. They added this also, that when they had built cities, wherein they might possess their children, and wives, and possessions, if he would bestow them upon them, they would go along with the rest of the army. Hereupon Moses was pleased with what they said; so he called for Eleazer, the high-priest, and Joshua, and the chief of the tribes, and permitted these tribes to possess the land of the Amorites; but upon this condition, that they should join with their kinsmen in the war until all things were settled. Upon which condition they took possession of the country, and built them strong cities, and put into them their children, and their wives, and whatever else they had, and the practice that might be an impediment to the labours of their future marches.

4. Moses also now built those ten cities which were to be of the number of the forty-eight [forty-eight] Levites; three of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntarily, and fled to them, and he assigned the same for their time for their burial, with that of the life of that high-priest under whom the slaughter and flight happened; after which death of the high-priest he permitted the sayer to return home. During the time of his exile, the relations of him that was slain may, by this law, kill the man-slayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city to which he fled, though that permission was not granted to any other person. See the cities which were set apart for this flight were these: Bezer, at the borders of Arabia; Rabbath, of the land of Gilead; and Golan, in the land of Bashan. There were to be also, by Moses's command, three other cities allotted for the habitation of these fugitives out of the cities of the Levites, but not till after they should be in possession of the land of Canaan.

5. At this time the chief men of the tribe of Manasseh came to Moses, and informed him that there was an eminent man of their tribe dead, whose name was Zelophehad, who left no male children, but left daughters; and asked him whether these daughters might inherit his land or not. He made this answer, That if they shall marry into their own tribe, they shall carry their estate along with them; but if they dispose of themselves in marriage into the tribe of another tribe, they shall leave their inheritance in their father's tribe. And then it was that Moses ordained, that every one's inheritance should continue in his own tribe.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FOLIETY SETTLED BY MOSES; AND HOW HE DISPENDED FROM AMONKH.

§ 1. When forty years were completed, within thirty days, Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan, where the dry Ailia now stands, a place full of palm-trees; and all the people being come together, he spake thus to them:

2. "O ye Israelites and fellow-soldiers, who have been partners with me in this long and many journey; since it is now the will of God, and course of old age, at a hundred and twenty, require it that I should depart out of this life; and since God has forbidden me to be a patron or assistant to you in what remains to be done beyond Jordan, as I thought you ought not to leave off my endeavours even now for your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of good things, and a memorial for myself, when you shall be in the fruition of great plenty and prosperity: come, therefore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be happy, and may leave an eternal prosperous possession thereof to your children after

"The slaughter of the Midianite women that had prostituted themselves to the uncircumcised, nor of those that had been guilty therein; the list of which were no fewer than thirty-two thousand virgins, twenty thousand of Bashan, and eight thousand of Gilgal, and sixty, and not by the particular command of God, nor highly remarkable, and show that, even in nations otherwise barbarous and unenlightened, the love of justice was sometimes particularly and providentially taken care of, and delivered from that destruction; which directly implies, that it was the will of God that the Canaanites should receive nothing of the land of Canaan, and so maintained their existence. Gen. xxv. 12; Josh. xvi. 11. Apok. d. 3. c. 1. ch. 3. p. 69. In the first of which, the reason of the delay of the punishment of the Amorites is given, because "their largeness was not the same as theirs, nor the women, nor the children, nor the future generations, nor the land. But the Amorites, imply that they were therefore to be destroyed, because they were unmerciful, and not otherwise. In the third, the reason is given why king Agag was not to be spared, viz., because of his former cruelty: "As thy sword hath made the Hebrew women childless, so shall the women of the Amorites become women by the Hebrews." In the last place, the apostles, or their successors, indicate this reason for the severity of the punishment of the Canaanites, that "men had formerly perverted both the positive law, and that of the ten commandments, in the memory of him for the burning of Sodom, the plagues of the Egyptians, and the slaughter of the inhabitants of Palestine, as signs of the severe and inevitable, under the punishments of horrid wickedness.
You, and then let me thus go out of the world; and I cannot but desire to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already done for you, and because, when some are about to leave the body, they speak with the sincerest freedom. Of children of Israel! there is but one source of happiness for all mankind, the favour of God;* for he alone is able to give good things to those that deserve them, and to deprive those of them that sin against him; towards whom, if you behave yourselves according to his will, and according to what I have understood his mind, do expect that you, will both be esteemed blessed, and will be admired by all men; and will never come into misfortunes, nor cease to be happy; you will then preserve the possession of the good things you already have, and will quickly obtain those that you are at present in want of,—only do you be obedient to those whom God would have you to follow,—nor do you prefer any other constitution of government before the laws now given you; neither do you disregard that way of divine worship which you now have; and change it for any other form; and if you do this, you will be the most courageous of all men, in undergoing the fatigues of war, and will not be easily conquered by any of your enemies; for while God is present with you to assist you, it is to be expected that you will be able to despire the opposition of all mankind; and great rewards of virtue are proposed for you, if you preserve that virtue through your whole lives. Virtue itself is indeed the principal and the first reward, and after that it bestows abundance of others; so that your exercise of virtue towards other men will make your own lives happy, and render you more glorious than foreigners can be, and procure you an undisputed reputation with posterity. These blessings you will be able to obtain, in case you hearken to and observe those laws which, by divine revelation, I have ordained for you; that is, in case you withal meditate upon the wisdom that is in them. I am going from you myself, rejoicing in the good things you enjoy; and I recommend you to the wise conduct of your law, to the becoming order of your polity, and to the virtues of your commanders, who will take care of what is for your advantage, and for God, who has been till now your leader, and by whose good-will I have myself been useful to you, will not put a period now to his providence over you, but, as long as you desire to have him your Protector in your pursuits after virtue, so long will you enjoy his care over you. Your high-priest also Eleazar, as well as Joshua, with the senate, and chief of your tribes, will go before you, and suggest the best advices to you; by following which advices you will increase your happiness; and as for you, give ear without reluctance, as sensible that all such as know well how to be governed, will also know how to govern, if they be promoted to that authority themselves; and do not you esteem liberty to consist in opposing such directions as your governors think fit to give you for your practice,—as at present indeed you place your liberty in nothing else but abusing your benefactors; which error if you can avoid for the time to come, your affairs will be in a better condition than they have hitherto been; nor do you ever indulge such a degree of passion in these matters as you have oftentimes done when you have been very angry at one another; for you know that I have been offended in danger of death from you than from our enemies. What I now put you in mind of is, not done in order to reproach you; for I do not think it proper, now I am going out of the world, to bring this to your remembrance, in order to leave you offended at me, since, at the time I underwent those hardships from you, I was not angry at you; but I do it in order to make you wiser hereafter, and to teach you that this will be for your security: I mean, that you never be injurious to those that reside over you, and that when you are become princes, there will be a great degree when you have passed over Jordan, and are in possession of the land of Canaan. Since, when you shall have once proceeded so far by your wealth, as to a contempt and disregard of virtue, you will also forfeit the favour of God; and when you have made him your enemy, you will be beaten in war, and will have the land which you possess taken away again from you by your enemies, and this with great reproaches upon your conduct. You will be scattered over the whole world, you will be entirely filled both sea and land; and when once you have had the experience of what I now say, you will repent and remember the laws you have broken, when it is too late. Whenece I would advise you, if you intend to preserve these laws, to leave none of your enemies alive when you have conquered them, but to look upon it as for your advantage to destroy them all, lest, if you permit them to live, you taste of their manners, and thereby corrupt your own proper institutions. I also do further exhort you, to overthrow their altars, and their groves, and whatsoever temples they have made, and to burn all such, their nation, and their very memory with fire; for by this means alone the safety of your own happy constitution can be firmly secured to you. And in order to prevent your ignorance of virtue, and the degeneracy of your nature into vice, I have also ordained you laws, by divine suggestion, and a form of government, which are so good, that, if you regularly observe them, you will be esteemed of all men the most happy. 3. When he had spoken thus, he gave them the laws and the constitution of government written in that book. Upon which the people fell into tears, and appeared already touched with the sense that they should have a great want of their conductor, because they remembered what a number of dangers he had passed through, and what care he had taken of their preservation: they desponded about what would come upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never have another governor like him; and feared that God would then take less care of them when Moses was gone, who used to intercede for them. I also read to them what they had said to him in the wilderness when they were angry; and were in grief on these accounts, insomuch that the whole body of the people fell into tears with such bitterness, that it was past the power of words to comfort them in their affliction. However, Moses gave them some consolation; and by calling them off the thought, how worthy he was of their weeping for him, he exhorted them to keep to that form of government he had given them; and then the congregation was dissolved at this time. 4. Accordingly, I shall now first describe this form of government which was agreeable to the dignity and virtue of Moses; and shall thereby in-
form those that read these Antiquities, what our original settlements were, and shall then proceed to the remaining histories. Now those settlements are all still in writing, as he left them; and we shall add nothing by way of information nor any thing new which Moses left us; only we shall so far innovate, as to digest the several kinds of laws into a regular system: for they were by him left in writing as they were accidentally scattered in their delivery, and as he upon inquiry had learned them of God. On which account I have thought it necessary to premise this observation beforehand, lest any of my own countrymen should blame me, as having been guilty of an offence herein. Now part of our constitution will include the laws that belong to our political state. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common conversation and intercourse one with another, I have reserved that for a discourse concerning our manner of life, and the occasions of those laws; which I propose to myself, with God's assistance, to write, after I have finished the work I am now upon.

5. When you have possessed yourselves of the land of Canaan, and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it, and when you have afterward determined to build cities, if you will do what is pleasing to God, you will have a secure state of happiness. Let there be then one city of the land of Canaan, and this situate in the most agreeable place for its goodness, and very eminent in itself, and let it be that which God shall choose for himself by prophetic revelation. Let there also be one temple therein, and one altar, not reared of hewn stones, but of such as you gather together at random; which stones, when they are whitened over with mortar, will have a handsome appearance, and be beautiful to the sight. Let the ascent to it be not by steps, but by an ascent of raised earth. And let there be neither an altar nor a temple in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one.

6. He that blasphemeth God, let him be stoned, and let him hang upon a tree all that day, and then let him be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner.

7. Let those that live as remote as the bounds of the land which the Hebrews shall possess, come to that city where the temple shall be, and this three times in a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and entreat him for those shall they want hereafter; and let them, by this means, maintain a friendly correspondence with one another by such meetings and feasting together —for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same institution of laws, not to be unaccompanied with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by thus conversing together, there being no seeing and talking with one another, and so renewing the memories of this union; for if they do not thus converse together continually, they will appear like mere strangers to one another.

8. Let there be taken out of your fruits a tenth, besides that which you have allotted to give to the priests and Levites. This you may indeed sell in the country, but it is to be used in those feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city: for it is you that may enjoy those fruits of the earth which God gives you to possess, so as may be left to the honour of the donor.

9. You are not to offer sacrifices out of the hire of a woman who is a harlot, for the Deity is as pleased with any thing that arises from such baseness of nature; of which sort none can be worse than this prodigy of the body. In like manner, no one may take the price of the covering of a kind, either of the one that is used in hunting, or in keeping of sheep, and thence sacrifice to God.

10. Let everyone come on, gratitude being which other cities esteem such that nor may any one steal their own belongs to strange temples; nor take away the gifts that are dedicated to any god.

11. Let no one of you wear a garment made of woolen and linen, for that is appointed to be for the priests alone.

12. When the multitude are assembled together unto the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the Feast of Tabernacles, let the high-priser stand upon a high desk, whence he may be heard, and let no one speak to him but from his great; and let neither the women nor the children be behind from hearing, nor the servants neither; for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls, and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot them out; for by this means they will not be guilty of sin, when they cannot plead ignorance of what the laws have enjoined them. The laws also will have a greater authority among them, as foretelling what they will suffer if they break them; and imprinted in their souls by this hearing what they command them to do, that so there may always be within their minds that intention of the laws which they have despised and broken, and have thereby been the causes of their own mischief. Let the children also learn the laws, as the first thing they are taught, which will be the best thing they can be taught, and will be the cause of their future felicity.

13. Let every one commendator before God the benefits which he bestowed upon them at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every year, both when the day begins and when the hour of alacrity comes on, to show that the nature a just thing, and serving not only by way of return for past, but also by way of invitation of future favours. They are also to inscribe the principal blessings they have received from God upon their doors, and show the same remembrance of them upon their arms; as also they are to bear on their forehead and arm those wander which declare the power of God, and his good-will towards them, that God's readiness to bless them may appear everywhere conspicuous about them.]

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1 The hire of public or secret harlots was given to Yeshua in Paræs, 26, 42. 26, 42.; p. 976; and against some such the preference of the heathen and idolators, in which the Jews have been so much addicted, stems from nature, and not from their policies, as some say, or from slavery, as others.

2 The Apocryphal Constitutions, 2, 13, chap. xvii. sect. 24, express the law of God, which is found in the Hebrews, in the words, "the gods," of magicians; which is a much more probable explanation of that of Egyptians, of healing gods, as here, and against Aesop, b. ii. sect. 32.

3 What book of the law was thus publicly read, see the note on John, b. xxi. chap. v. sect. 3, and 1, 22. 3, 5. 23, 52.

4 Whether these phylacteries, and other Jewish memorials of the holy commandments by Joseph, and by Moses besides the things on the borders of their garments, Numbers xxv. 3, were literally made by God, I much question. That they have been mentioned by themselves and Rabbinical Jews, is certain; however, the Kabbalists, who cover not the unwritten traditions of the elders, but keep close to the written are
14. Let there be seven men to judge in every city, and such as these have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness. Let every judge have two officers allotted him out of the Laws. Let those judges be chosen in the several cities be had in great honour; and let none be permitted to revile any others when these are present, nor to carry themselves in an insolent manner to them; it being natural that reverence towards those in high offices among men should procure men’s fear and reverence towards God. Let those that judge be permitted to determine according as they think to be right, unless any one can show that they have taken bribes, to the perversion of justice, or can allege any other accusation against them, if they have passed an unjust sentence; for it is not fit that causes should be openly determined out of regard to gain, or to the dignity of the suitors, but that the judges should esteem what is right before all other things, otherwise God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those, the dread of whose power has occasioned the unjust sentence; for justice is the power of God. He, therefore, that gratifies those in great dignity, supposes them more potent than God himself. But if these things are not sufficient, those judges may also determine the cases that come before them (which case is not unfrequent in human affairs,) let them send the causes to the holy city, and there let the high-priest, the prophet, and the sanhedrin determine as it shall seem good to them.

15. But let not a single witness be credited; but three, or two at the least, and those such whose testimony is confirmed by their good lives. But let not the testimony of women be admitted, on account of the levity and boldness of their sex; nor let servants be admitted to give testimony, on account of the ignobility of their soul; since it is probable that they may not speak truth, either out of hope of gain, or fear of punishment. But if any one be believed to have borne false witness, let him, when he is convicted, suffer all the very same punishments which he against whom he bore witness was found to have suffered.

16. If a murder be committed in any place, and he that did it be not found, nor is there any suspicion upon one as if he had hated the man, and so had killed him, let there be a very diligent inquiry made after the man, and rewards promised to any one who will discover him; but if still no information can be procured, let the magistrates and senate of those cities that lie near the place in which the murder was committed, assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies; then let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto purchase a heifer, and bring it to a valley, and to a place therein where there is no land ploughed or trees planted, and let them eat the sinews of the heifer; then the priests and Levites, and the with进城 and getting, think they were not literally to be understood; see Bernard and Ballard, have taken notice. Nor indeed do I remember that, either in the ancient books of the Old Testament, or in the Later Books, there are any signs of such a practice appearing among the Jews, though their real or mystical significa

17. Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, is the best constitution: and may you never have any inclination to any other form of government; and may you always love that form, and have the laws for your governors, and govern all your actions according to them; for you need no supreme governor but God. If you should arise a king, let him be one of your own nation; let him be always careful of justice and other virtues perpetually; let him submit to the laws, and esteem God’s commands to be his highest wisdom; but let him do nothing without the high-priest and the votes of the senators; let him not have a great number of wives, nor pursue after abundance of riches, nor a multitude of horses, whereby he may grow too proud to submit to the laws. And if he affect any such things, let him be restrained, lest he become so potent that his state be inconsistent with your welfare.

18. Let it be known to all states, that they have no right to any boundaries, neither our own, nor of those with whom we are at peace. Have a care you do not take those land-marks away which are, as it were, a divine and unshaken limitation of rights made by God himself, to last for ever; since this going beyond limits and gaining ground upon others, is the occasion of wars and seditions; for those that remove boundaries are not far off an attempt to subvert the laws.

19. He that plants a piece of land, the trees of which produce fruits before the fourth year, is not to bring thence any first-fruits to God, nor is he to make use of that fruit himself, for it is not produced in its proper season; for when nature has a force put upon her at an unseasonable time, the fruit is not proper for God, nor for the master’s use; but let the owner gather all that is grown on the fourth year, for then it is in its proper season; and let him that has gathered it carry it to the holy city, and spend that, together with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends, with the orphans, and the widows. But on the fifth year the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

20. You are not to sow with seed a piece of land which is planted with vines; for it is enough that it supply nourishment to that plant, and be not harassed by ploughing also. You are to plough your land with oxen, and not to oblige other animals to come under the same yoke with them, but to till your land with those beasts that are of the same kind with each other. The seeds are also to be pure, and without mixture, and not to be compounded of two or three sorts, since Nature does not rejoice in the union of things that are not in their own nature alike: nor are you to permit beasts of different kinds to gender together, for there is reason to fear that this unnatural abuse may extend from beasts of different kinds to men, though it takes its first rise from evil practices about such smaller things. Nor is any thing to be allowed, by imitation whereof any degree of subversion may creep into the constitution; nor do the laws neglect small matters, but provide that even those may be managed after an unblemishable manner.

21. Let not those that reap and gather in the corn
that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also, but let them rather leave some handfuls for those that are in want of the necessaries of life, that it may be a support and a supply to them, in order to their subsistence. In like manner when they gather their grapes, let them leave some smaller bunches for the poor, and let them pass over some of the fruits of the olive trees, when they gather them, and leave them to be partaken of by those that have none of their own; for the advantage arising from the exact collection of all, will not be so considerable, as will arise from the gratitude of the poor; and God will provide that the land shall more willingly produce what shall be for the nourishment of its fruits, in case you do not merely take care of your own advantage, but have regard to the support of others also: nor are you to muzzle the mouths of the oxen when they tread the ears of corn in the threshing-floor; for it is not just to restrain our fellow-labouring animals, and those that work in order to its production, of this fruit of their labours: nor are you to prohibit those that pass by at the time when your fruits are ripe to touch them, but to give them leave to fill themselves full of what you have; and this whether they be of your own country or strangers,—as being glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe; but let it not be esteemed lawful for them to carry away any: nor let those that gather the grapes, and carry them to the wine-presses, restrain those whom they meet from eating of them; for it is unjust, out of envy, to hinder those that desire it, to partake of the good things that come into the world according to the will of God, while the season is at the height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if some, out of bashfulness, are unwilling to touch these fruits, let them be encouraged to take of them (I mean, those that are Israelites) as if they were themselves the owners and lords, on account of the kindness they are between them: nay, let them desire men that come from other countries, to partake of these tokens of friendship which God has given in their proper season; for that is not to be deemed as idly spent, which any one out of kindness communicates to another, since God bestows plenty of good things on men, not only for themselves to reap the advantage, but also to give to others in a way of generosity; and he is desirous, by this means, to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of Israel, and how freely he communicates happiness to them, while they abundantly communicate out of their great superfluities to even these foreigners also. But for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be cut off from the vine and the fig-tree, and from all the good things that God has given, for his punishment, which is a most ignominious one for a free man, and this because he was such a slave as to dare to lay a blot upon his own dignity; for it is proper for you who have had the experience of the afflictions in Egypt, and of those in the wilderness, to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances; and while you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, to distribute of the same plenty, by the like sympathy, to such as stand in need of it.

23. Besides those two tithes, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals, you are to bring every third year a third tithe to be distributed to those that want it: to women also that are widows, and to children that are orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which is ripe first of all into the temple; and when they have offered those sacrifices which the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first-fruits to the priests. But when any one hath done this, and hath brought the tithe of all that he hath, besides those first-fruits that are for the Levites, and for the festivals; and when he is about to go home, let him stand before the holy house, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered him from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good land, and a large, and let them enjoy the fruit thereof; and when he hath openly testified that he hath fully paid the tithes [and other dues] according to the law of Moses, let him entreat God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him; and command him to give to all by paying the due thing which he hath already given them, and by adding what it is still in his power to bestow upon them.

23. Let the Hebrews marry at the age fit for it, and let no woman marry a harlot, whose matrimonial obligation, arising from the prostitution of her body, God will not receive; for by these means the dispositions of the children will be liberal and virtuous; I mean when they are not born of base parents, and of the lustful conjunctural of such as marry women that are not free. If any one has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterwards marry her so to be, let him bring his accusation and accuse her, and let him make use of such indications as will prove his accusation as he is furnished with; and let the father or the brother of the damsel, or some one that is after them nearest of kin to her, defend her. If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favour, that she had not been guilty, let her live with her husband that accused her; and let him not have any further power at all to put her away, unless she give him a great occasion of suspicion, and then, as can be no way contradicted: but for him that brings an accusation and calumniates his wife in an impious way, and then be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to his father's husband, but if the damsel be convicted, as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she

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* This penalty of "forty stripes" was mentioned, and sect. 23, was the same inflicted on "S". Paul himself by the Jews, 2 Cor. xiii. 24.
did not preserve her virginity till she were lawfully married; but if she were the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive. If any one has two wives, and if he greatly respect and be kind to one of them, either out of his affection to her, or for her beauty, or for some other reason, and for the other the other is of less esteem with him; and if the son of her that is beloved be the younger by birth or not born of the other wife, but endeavours to obtain the right of primogeniture from his father's kindness to his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance, for that double portion is what I have allotted him in the laws,—let not this be permitted; for it is unjust that he who is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to him, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty; the man, because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock; the woman, because she was persuaded to yield herself to be corrupted, either for pleasure or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman when she is alone, and forces her, where nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him only be put to death. Let him that hath corrupted a virgin not yet espoused marry her; but if the father of the damsel be not willing that she should be his wife, let him pay fifty shekels as the price of her prostitution. He that desires to be divorced from his wife for any cause whatsoever (and many such causes happen among men,) let him in writing give assurance that he will never use her as his wife any more; for by this means she may choose at liberty to marry another husband, although before this bill of divorce be given, she is not to be permitted so to do; but if she be misled by him also, or if, when he is dead, her first husband would marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him. If a woman's husband die, and leave her without children, let his brother marry her; and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance; for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fall, and the estate will continue among the kindred; and there will be for the solace of wives under their ailment, that they are to be married to the next relation of their former husbands; but if the brother will not marry her, let the woman come before the senate, and protest openly that this brother will not admit her for his wife, but will injure the memory of his deceased brother, while she is willing to continue in the family, and to bear him children; and when the senate have inquired of him for what reason it is that he is adverse to this marriage, whether he gives a bad or a good reason, the matter must come to this issue, That the woman shall lose her sandals of the brother, and shall spit in his face, and He that preserves this reproachful treatment from her, as having injured the memory of the deceased;—and then let him go away out of the senate, and bear this reproach upon him all his life long; and let her marry to whom she pleases, of such as seek her in marriage. But now, if any man take captive, either a virgin, or one that hath been married, and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to bring her to bed to him, or to live with her as his wife, before she hath her head shaven, and hath put on her mourning habit, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle, that by this means she may give vent to her sorrow for them, and after that may betake herself to feasting and marriage; for it is good for him that takes a woman, in order to have children by her, to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not merely to pursue his own pleasure, while he hath no regard to what is agreeable to her; but when thirty days are past, as the time of mourning, for so many are sufficient to prudent persons for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage; but in case, when he hath satisfied his lust, he be too prouder to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his power to make her a slave, but let her go away whither she pleases, and have that privilege of free woman.

24. As to those young men that despise their parents, and do not pay them honour, but offer them affronts, either because they are ashamed of them, or think themselves wiser than they,—in the first place let their parents admonish them in words (for they are by nature of authority sufficient for becoming their judges,) and let them say thus to them:—That they conjoined together, not for the sake of pleasure, nor for the augmentation of their riches, by joining both their stocks together, but that they might have children, to take care of them in their old age, and might by them have what they then should want;—and say farther to him, "That when thou wast born we took thee up with gladness, and gave God the greatest thanks for thee, and brought thee up with great care, and spared for nothing that appeared useful for thy preservation, and for thy instruction in what was most excellent; and now, since it is reasonable to forgive the sins of those that are young, let it suffice thee to have given so many indications of thy contempt of us;—reform thyself, and set not more wisely for the time to come; considering that God is displeased with those that are insolent towards their parents, because he is himself the Father of the whole race of mankind, and seems to bear part of that dishonour which falls upon those that have the same name, when they do not meet with due returns from their children; and on such the law inflicts inexorable punishment; of which punishment mayst thou never have the experience!" Now if the insolence of young men be thus cured, let them escape the reproach which their former crimes deserved; for by this means the lawyer will be pleased to have a happy, and parents happy, while they never behold either a daughter brought to punishment; but if it happen that these words and instructions, conveyed by them in order to reclaim the man, appear to be useless, then the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents, out of the city, with a multitude following him, and there let him be stoned; and when he has confirmed there for one whole day, that all the people may see him, let him be buried in the night.

* These words of Josephus are very like those of the Plutarch to our Plutarch upon this very subject. Matt. xxx. 4. "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?"
and thus it is that we bury all whom the laws condemn to die, upon any account whatsoever. Let our enemies that fall in battle be also buried; nor let any one dead body lie above the ground, or suffer a punishment beyond what justice requires.

23. Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury, neither usury of what is eaten or what is drunk; for it is not just to make advantage of the misfortunes of one of thy own countrymen: but when thou hast been assistant to his necessities, think it thy gain, if thou obtainest their gratitude to thee; and withal that reward which will come to thee from God, for thy humanity towards him.

26. Those who have borrowed either silver or any sorts of fruits, whether dry or wet, (I mean this when the Jewish affairs shall, by the blessing of God, be to their own mind,) let the borrowers bring them again, and restore them with pleasure to those who lent them; laying them up, as it were, in their own treasures, and justly expecting to receive them thence, if they shall want them again; but if they be without shame, and do not restore it, let not the lender go to the borrower’s house, and take a pledge himself, before judgment be given concerning it: but let him require the pledge, and let the debtor bring it of himself, without the least opposition to him, that comes upon him under the protection of the law; and if he that gave by a beast that is in the creditor retain it till what he lent be paid him again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it return it before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor may have it for a covering in his sleep, God himself naturally showing mercy to the poor. It is also not lawful to take a mill-stone, or any utensil thereto belonging, for a pledge, that the debtors may not be deprived of instruments to get their food withal, and lest they be undone by their necessity.

28. If any one be sold to one of his own nation, let him serve him six years, and on the seventh let him go free. But if he have a son by a woman-servant in his purchaser’s house, and if, on account of his good-will to his master, and his natural affection to his wife and children, he will be his servant still, let him be set free only at the coming of the year of jubilee, which is the fiftieth year, and let him then take away with him his children and wife, and let them be free also.

29. If any one find gold or silver on the road, let him inquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, and then restore it to him again, as not thinking it right to make his own profit by the loss of another. And the same rule is to be observed in cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place. If the owner be not presently discovered, let him that is the finder keep it with himself, and appeal to God that he has not purloined what belongs to another.

30. It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is in distress, when in a storm it is fallen down in the mire, but to endeavour to preserve it, as having a sympathy with it in its pain.

31. It is also a duty to shew the roads to those who do not know them, and not to esteem it a matter for sport, when we hinder others’ safety by setting them in a wrong way.

32. In like manner, let no one revile a poor blind or dumb.

33. If men strive together, and there be no instrument of iron, let him that is smitten be avenged immediately, by inflicting the same punishment on him that smote him: but if when he is carried home he lie sick many days, and then die, let him that smote him escape punishment; but if he that is smitten escape death, and yet be at great expense for his cure, the smiter shall pay for all that has been expended during the time of his sickness, and for all that he has paid the physician. He that kicks a woman with child, so that the woman miscarries, let him pay a fine in money, as the judge shall determine, as having diminished the multitude by the destruction of what was in her womb; and let money also be given to the woman’s husband by him that kicked her; but if she die of the stroke, let him also be put to death, the law judging it equitable that life should go for life.

34. Let no one of the Israelites keep any pest, that may slay another man: but if he be caught with it, let him be put to death, and suffer the very same mischief that he would have brought upon himself had he prepared the poison.

35. He that maimeth any one, let him undertake the like himself, and be deprived of the same number of which he hath deprived the other, unless he that is maimed will accept of money instead of the fingers, for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he hath suffered, and permits him to estimate it, unless he will be more severe.

36. Let him that is the owner of an ox which pusheth with his horn, kill him: but if he pusheth and gores any one in the threshing-floor, let him be put to death by stoning, and let him not be thought fit for food: but if his owner be convicted as having known what his nature was, and hath not kept him up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox’s having killed a man. But if this have not killed a man-servant, or a man-servant, let him be stoned; and let the owner of the ox seventy shekels to the master of him that was slain: but if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that smote the other and that which was killed, be sold, and let the owners of them divide their price between them.

37. Let those that dig a well or a pit, be careful to lay planks over them, and so keep them shut up, not in order to hinder any person from drawing water, but that there may be no danger of falling into them.
but if any one's beast fall into such a well or pit thus digged and not shut up, and perish, let the owner pay its price to the owner of the beast. Let there be a battlement round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from rolling them, and be killed, whether he be cozened. 38. Let him that has received any thing in trust for another, take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing; and let no one invent any contrivance, whereby to deprive him that hath intrusted it with him of the same, and this whether he be a man or a woman; nor, not although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body; for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should, in all cases, oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always act so as may procure him commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can be concealed; but if he in whom the trust was deposited, without any deceit of his own, lose what he was intrusted with, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God that nothing hath been lost willingly, or with a wicked intention, and that he hath not made use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame; but if he hath made use of the least part of what was committed to him, he should be lost, and be condemned to repay all that he had received. After the same manner as in these trusts, it is to be, if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labour for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages; as being sensible that God has allotted these wages to him instead of land and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the labourer of the immediate use of what he has so laboured for.

39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather to vouchsafe them commiseration, because they were born of wicked parents, than hatred, because they were born of bad ones: nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, while young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from what they have been instructed in, and this by their proud refusal of such instruction.

40. Let those that have made themselves emnuchas he had in deestation; and do you avoid any conversation with them who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of that fruit of generation which God has given to men for the increase of their kind: let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they beforehand have lost what should procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have withal transfused that effeminacy to their body also.  

41. Let this be the constitution of your political laws in time of peace, and God will be so merciful as to preserve this excellent settlement free from disturbance: and may that time never come which may innovate any thing, and change it for the contrary. But since it must needs happen that mankind fall into troubles and dangers, either undesignedly or intentionally, come let us make a few constitutions concerning them, that so being approved beforehand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when you want them, and may not then be obliged to go to seek what is to be done, and so be unprovided, and fall into dangerous circumstances. May you be a laborious people, and exercise your souls in virtuous actions and thereby posses and inherit the land without wars; while neither any foreigners make war upon it, and so afflict you, nor any internal sedition seize upon it, whereby you may do things that are contrary to your fathers, and so lose the laws which they have established: and may you continue in the observation of those laws which God hath approved of, and hath delivered to you. Let all sort of warlike operations, whether they befall you now in your own time, or hereafter in the times of your posterity, be done out of your own borders; but when you are about to go to war, send ambassadors and heralds to those who are your voluntary enemies, for it is a right thing to make use of words to them before you come to your weapons of war; and assure them thereby, that although you have a numerous army, with horses and weapons, and, above these, a God merciful to you, and ready to assist you, you do however desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which will indeed be our gain, but what they will have no reason to wish we should take to ourselves; and if they hearken to you, it will be proper for you to keep peace with them; but if they trust in their own strength as superior to yours, and will not do you justice, lead your army against them, making use of God as your supreme commander, but ordaining for a lieutenant under him, one that is of the greatest courage among you; for these different commanders, besides their being an obstacle to actions that are to be done on the sudden, are a disadvantage to those that make use of them. Lead an army pure, and of chosen men, composed of all such as have extraordinary strength of body and hardness of soul; but do you send away the timorous part, lest they run away in the time of action, and so afford an advantage to your enemies. Do you also give leave to those that have lately built them houses, and have not yet lived in them a year's time; and to those that have planted them vineyards, and have not yet been pestered by them, to continue in their own country; as well as those also who have betrothed, or lately married them wives, lest they have such an affection for these things that they be too sparing of their lives, and, by reserving themselves for these enjoyments, they become voluntary cowards, on account of their wives.

42. When you have pitched your camp, take care that you do nothing that is cruel; and when you are engaged in a siege, and want timber for the building of walls and engines, do not you render the land naked by cutting down trees that bear fruit, but spare them, as considering that they were made for the benefit of men; and that if they could speak they would have a just plea against you, because, though they are not occasions of the war, they are unjustly treated, and suffer in it; and would, if they were able, remove themselves into another land. When you have beaten your enemies in battle, slay those that have fought against you; but preserve the others alive, that they may...
tribute, excepting the nation of the Canaanites; for as to those people, you must entirely destroy them. 43. Take care, especially in your battles, that no woman use the habit of a man, nor man the garment of a woman.

44. This was the form of political government which was left us by Moses. Moreover, he had already delivered laws in writing,* in the fortieth year after they came out of Egypt, concerning which we will discourse in another book. But now on the following days (for he called them to assemble continually) he delivered blessings to them, and denounced upon those that should not live according to the laws, but should set it up to themselves that were determined for them to observe. After this, he read to them a poetic song, which was composed in hexameter verse; and left it to them in the holy book: it contained a prediction of what was to come to pass afterward; agreeably whereof all things have happened all along, and do still happen to us; and wherein he has not at all deviated from the truth. Accordingly, he delivered these books to the priests with the ark: into which he also put the Ten Commandments, written on two tables. He delivered to them the tabernacle also; and established the people, that when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injuries of the Amalekites, but make war against them, and inflict punishment upon them for what mischief they did them when they were in the wilderness; and that, when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had destroyed the whole multitude of its inhabitants, as they ought to do, they should erect an altar that should witness against them, not far from the Shechem, between the two mountains; that of Gerizim, situate on the right hand, and that called Ebal, on the left; and that the army should be so divided, that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites and the priests. And that first, those that were upon mount Gerizim should pray for the best blessings upon those who were diligent about the worship of God, and the observation of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses had said to them; while the other wished them all manner of happiness also; and when the last put up the like prayers, the former praised them. After this, curses were denounced upon those that should transgress those laws, they answering one another alternately, by way of confirmation of what had been said. Moses also wrote their blessings and their curses, that they might learn them so thoroughly, that they might never be forgotten by length of time. And when he was ready to die, he wrote these blessings and curses upon the altar, on each side of it; wherein he raised up the people seated, and then sacrificed and offered burnt-offerings; though after that day they never offered upon it any other sacrifice, for it was not lawful so to do. These are the constitutions of Moses; and the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

45. On the next day, Moses called the people together, with the women and children, to a congregation, so as the very slaves were present also, that they might engage themselves to the observation of these laws by oath; and that, daily considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either for favour of their kindred, or out of fear of any one, or indeed for any motive whatsoever, think any thing ought to be preferred to these laws, and we might transgress them; that in case any one of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their constitution of government, they should take vengeance upon them, both all in general, and each person in particular; and when they had conquered them, should overturn their city to the very foundations, and, if possible, should not leave the least footsteps of such madness; for that if they should turn aside, they might still demonstrate that what was done was contrary to their wills. So the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

46. Moses taught them also by what means their sacrifices might be the most acceptable to God; and how they should go forth to war, making use of the stones (in the high-priest's breast-plate) for their direction,# as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was present. And when Moses had recapitulated whatsoever he had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars and in peace, and had composed them a body of laws, and procured them an excellent form of government, he foretold, as God had declared to him, "That if they transgressed that institution for the worship of God, they should experience the following miseries:—Their land should be full of wolves of war from their enemies, and their cities should be overthrown, and their temple should be burnt; that they should be sold for slaves, to such men as should have the power to find them in their afflictions; that they would then repent, when that repentance should be no way profit them under their sufferings. Yet," said he, "will that God who founded your nation, restore your cities to your citizens, with their temple also; and you shall lose these advantages, not once only, but often."
him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all those he hath already bestowed upon us, or which, if he continue favourable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly a human legislator is a terrible enemy when his laws are ascribed to no purpose. And may you never experience the displeasure of God which will be the consequence of the neglect of these his laws, which he, who is your Creator, hath given you!"  

48. When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, and had foretold what would befall to every one of their tribes* afterward, with the addition of a blessing to them, the multitude fell into tears, insomuch that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern they had when he was about to die. The children also lamented still more, as notable to contain their grief; and thereby declared, that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue and mighty deeds; and truly there seemed to be a strife betwixt the young and the old, who should most grieve for him. The old grieved, because they knew what a careful protector they were to be deprived of, and so lamented their future state; but the young grieved, not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may make a guess at the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was always persuaded that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since the undergoing it was agreeable to the will of God and the law of nature, yet what the people did so overbear him, that he wept himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him weeping; but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bade them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that were near to him that they would not render his departure so lamentable. Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favour, to let him depart, according as he himself desired; so they restrained themselves, though weeping still towards one another. All those who accompanied him were the senate, and Eleazar the high-priest, and Joshua their commander. Now as soon as they were come to the mountain called Abaram (which is a very high mountain, situate over against Jericho, and one that affords, to such as are upon it, a prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan), he dismissed the senate; and as he was going to embrace Eleazar and Joshua, and was still discoursing with them, a cloud stood over him in the sudden, and he disappeared in a certain valley, although he wrote in the holy books that he died, which was done out of fear, lest they should venture to say that, because of his extraordinary virtue, he went to God.  

49. Now Moses lived in all one hundred and twenty years; a third part of which time, abating one month, he was the people's ruler; and he died on the last month of the year, which is called by the Macedonians Dystrus, but by us Adar, on the first day of the month. He was one that exceeded all men that ever were in understanding, and made the best use of what that understanding suggested to him. He had a very graceful way of speaking and addressing himself to the multitude: and as to his other qualifications, he had such a full command of his passions, as if he had hardly any such in his soul, and only knew them by their names, as rather perceiving them in other men than in himself. He was also such a general of an army as is seldom seen, as well as such a prophet as was never known, and this to such a degree, that whatsoever he pronounced, you would think you heard the voice of God himself. So the people mourned for him thirty days; nor did any grief so deeply affect the Hebrews as did this upon the death of Moses; nor were those that had experienced his conduct the only persons that desired him, but those also that perused the laws he left behind him had a strong desire after him, and by them gathered the extraordinary virtue he was master of. And this shall suffice for the declaration of the manner of the death of Moses.

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* Since Josephus assures us here, as is most naturally to be supposed, and as the Septuagint gives the text (Deut. xxxiv. 6), that Moses composed occasionally of the tribes of Israel, it is evident that Simson was not contained in his copy, as it unhappily now is, both in our Hebrew and Samaritan copies.
BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF MOSES TO THE DEATH OF ELI.

CHAPTER I.

HOW JOSHUA, THE COMMANDER OF THE HEBREWS, MADE WAR WITH THE CANAANITES, AND OVERCAME THEM, AND DESTROYED THEM, AND DIVIDED THEIR LAND BY LOT TO THE TRIBES OF ISRAEL.

§ 1. When Moses was taken away from among men, in the manner already described, and when all the solemnities belonging to the mourning for him were finished, and the sorrow for him was over, Joshua commanded the multitude to get themselves ready for an expedition. He also sent spies to Jericho, to discover what forces they had, and what were their intentions; but he put his camp in order, as intending soon to pass over Jordan at a proper season. And calling to him the rulers of the tribe of Reuben, and the governors of the tribe of Gad, and [497] [Messobh, for half of this tribe had been permitted to take their habitation in the country of the Amorites, which was the seventh part of the land of Canaan,] he put them in mind what they had promised Moses; and he exhorted them that, for the sake of the care that Moses had taken of them, who had never been weary of taking pains for them, no not when he was dying, and for the sake of the public welfare, they would prepare themselves, and readily perform what they had promised; so he took fifty thousand of them who followed him, and he marched from Abla to Jordan, sixty furlongs.

2. Now when he had pitched his camp, the spies came to him immediately, well acquainted with the whole state of the Canaanites; for at first, before they were all discovered, they took a full view of the city of Jericho without disturbance, and saw which parts of the walls were strong, and which parts were otherwise, and indeed insecure, and which of the gates were so weak as might afford an entrance to their army. Now those that met them took no notice of them when they saw them, and supposed they were only strangers, who used to be very curious in observing every thing in the city, and did not take them for enemies; but at even they retired to a certain inn that was near to the wall, whither they went to eat their supper; which

* The Amorites were one of the seven nations of Canaan. Hence Roland is willing to suppose that Josephus did not here mean that their land beyond Jordan was a seventh part of the whole of Canaan, but meant the Amorites as a seventh nation. His reason is, that Josephus, as well as our Bible, generally distinguishes the land beyond Jordan from the land of Canaan; nor can it be denied, that in strictness they were different: yet after two tribes and a half of the twelve tribes came to inhabit it, it might in a general way altogether be well included under the land of Canaan, or Palestine, or Jordan; of which we have a clear example here before us in Josephus, whose words evidently imply, that taking the whole land of Canaan, or that inhabited by the twelve tribes together, and parting it into seven parts, the part beyond Jordan was in quantity of ground comprising one part of the whole. And this well agrees to Josephus's own map of that country, although this land beyond Jordan was so peculiarly fruitful, and good for pasture, as the new tribes and a half took notice (Num. xix. 14, 15), that it maintained about a fifth part of the whole people.
taken, she should put her goods, and all her family, by way of security, in her inn, and to hang out scarlet threads before her doors [or windows], that the commander of the Hebrews might know her house, and take care to do her no harm; for, said they, we will inform him of this matter, because of the concern thou hast had to preserve us; but if any one of thy family fall in the battle, do not thou blame us; and we beseech that God, by whom we have sworn, not then to be displeased with us, as though we had broken our oaths. So when they had made this agreement, they went away, letting themselves down by rope from the wall, and escaped, and came and told their own people whatever they had done in their journey to this city. Joshua also told Eleazar the high-priest, and the senate, what the spies had sworn to Rahab; who confirmed what had been sworn.

3. Now while Joshua, the commander, was in fear about their passing over Jordan, for the river ran with a strong current, and could not be passed over in bridges, for there never had been bridges laid over it by finding, and while he suspected, that if he should attempt to make a bridge, that their enemies would not afford him time to perfect it, and for ferries-boats they had none,—God promised so to dispose of the river, that they might pass over it, and that by taking away the main part of its waters. So Joshua, after two days, caused the army, and the whole multitude to pass over in the manner following:—The priests went first of all, having the ark with them; and then the Levites brought the Ark of the Covenant and the vessels which belonged to the Ark, after which the entire multitude followed, according to their tribes, having their children and their wives in the midst of them, as being afraid for them, lest they should be borne away by the stream. But as soon as the priests had entered the river first, it appeared forbadable, the depth of the water being restrained, and the sand appearing at the bottom, because the current was neither so strong nor so swift as to carry it away by its force; so they all passed over the river without fear, finding it to be in the very same state as God had foretold he would put it in; but the priests stood still in the midst of the river till the multitude should be passed over, and should get to the shore in safety; and when all were gone over, the priests came out also, and permitted the current to run freely as it used to do before. Accordingly the river, as soon as the Hebrews were come out of it, arose again presently, and came to its own proper magnitude as before.

4. So the Hebrews went on farther fifty furlongs, and pitched their camp at the distance of ten furlongs from Jericho: but Joshua built an altar of these stones which all the heads of the tribes, at the command of the prophets, had taken out of the deep, to be afterwards a memorial of the division of the stream of this river, and upon it offered sacrifice to God; and in that place celebrated the passover, and had great plenty of all the things which they wanted hitherto; for they reaped the corn of the Canaanites, which was now ripe, and took other things as prey; for then it was that their former food, which was rations, and of which they had eaten forty years, failed them.

5. Now while the Israelites did this, and the Canaanites did not attack them, but kept themselves quiet within their own walls, Joshua resolved to besiege them; so 'on the first day of the feast of the passover,' the priests carried the ark round about, with some part of the armed men to be a guard to it. These priests went forward, blowing their seven trumpets, and exhorted the army to be of good courage, and went round about the city, with the senate following them; and when the priests had only blown with the trumpets, for they did nothing more at all, they returned to the camp; and when they had done this for six days, on the seventh Joshua gathered the armed men, and all people together, and told them these good tidings, that the city should now be taken, since God would give it on that day, to the falling down of the walls, and this of their own accord, without their labour. However, he charged them to kill every one they should take, and not to abstain from the slaughter of their enemies, either for weariness or for pity, and not to fall on the spoil, and be thereby diverted from pursuing their enemies as they ran away; but to destroy all the animals, and to take nothing for their peculiar advantage. He commanded them also to bring together whatsoever was first born as a present unto God out of this glorious exploit, as having gotten them from the city they first took; only that they should save Rahab and her kindred alive, because of the oath which the spies had sworn to her.

6. When he had said this, and had set his army in order, he brought it against the city: so they went round the city again, the ark going before them, and the priests encouraging the people to be zealous in the work; and when they had gone round it seven times, and had stood still a little, the wall fell down flat, as the earth, and the city was filled with dead bodies, and not one person escaped. They also burnt the whole city, and the country about it; but they saved alive Rahab, with her family, who had fled to her inn; and when she was brought to him, Joshua owned to her that he owed her thanks for her preservation of the spies: so he said he would not appear to be behind her in her benefaction to her; whereupon he gave her certain lands immediately, and had her in great esteem ever afterwards.

7. And if any part of the city escaped the fire, he overthrew it from the foundation; and he denounced a curse against its inhabitants, if any should desire to rebuild it: how, upon his laying the foundation of the walls he should be deprived of his eldest son; and upon finishing it he should lose his youngest son. But what happened hereupon, we shall speak hereafter.

* Upon occasion of this doing of Jericho in destruction, and the exemplary punishment of Asaher, who broke that commandment, and of the punishment of the future breaker of it, Hiel (1 Kings xviii. 24), as also of the punishment of Saul, for breaking the like charge or commandment, against the Amalekites (1 Sam. xvi. 18), we may observe what was the true meaning of that law (Lec. xcvii. 8). "He that is consecrated, which shall be devoted of them, shall be destroyed; but shall surely be put to death." That is, whatsoever a part of the people or nations possessed, which were of their wickedness, solemnly devoted to destruction, according to the divine command, as were generally the seven wicked nations of Canaan, and those sinners the Amalekites (1 Sam. xvi. 18), it was utterly unlawful to permit those eminences to be reformed, but they were to be utterly destroyed. See also Num. xxxi. 2.
9. Now there was an immense quantity of silver and gold, and besides those of brass also, that was heaped together out of the city when it was taken, no one transgressing the decree, nor purloining for their own peculiar advantage; which spoils Joshua delivered to the priests, to be laid up among their treasures. And thus did Jericho perish.

10. And it came to pass, that of the sons of [off Chari- mi, the son of] Zebadiah, of the tribe of Judah, who, finding a royal garment woven entirely of gold, and a piece of gold that weighed two hundred shekels; and thinking it a very hard case, that what spoils he, by running some hazard, had found, he must give away, and offer it to God, who stood in no need of it, while he that wanted it must go without it,—made a deep ditch in his own tent, and laid them up therein, as supposing he should not only be concealed from his fellow-soldiers, but from God himself also.

11. Now the place where Joshua pitched his camp was called Gilgal, which denotes liberty; for since now they had passed over Jordan, they looked on themselves as free from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians, and in the wilderness.

12. Now, a few days after the calamity that befell Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take Ai, a city situate above Jericho; but, upon the approach of the people of Ai, all them the priests drove back, and lost thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, it made them very sad, and exceedingly disconsolate, not so much because of the relation the men that were destroyed bare to them, though those that were destroyed were all good men, and deserved their esteem, as by the despair it occasioned; for while they believed that they were already, in effect, in possession of the land, and should bring back the army out of the battles without loss, as God had promised, bedreft, alas they now unexpected they enemies bold with success; so they put sackcloth on their garments, and continued in tears and lamentation all the day, without the least inquiry after food, but laid what had happened greatly to heart.

13. When Joshua saw the army so much afflicted, and possessed with forebodings of evil as to their whole expedition, he used freedom with God, and said, We are not come thus far out of any rashness of our own, as though we thought ourselves able to subdue this land with our own weapons, but at the instigation of Moses thy servant for this purpose, because thou hast promised us, by many signs, that thou wouldst give us this land for a possession, and that thou wouldst make our army always superior in war to our enemies, and accordingly some success has already attended upon us agreeably to thy promises; but because we have now unexpectedly been foiled, and have lost some men out of our army, we are grieved at it, as fearing what thou has promised us; and what Moses foretold us, cannot be depended on by us; and our future expectation troubles us the more, because we have met with such a disaster in this our first attempt; but do thou, O Lord, free us from these suspicions, for thou art able to find a core for these disorders, by giving us victory, which both take away the grief we are in at present, and prevent our taking to what is to come.

14. These intercessions Joshua put up to God, as he lay prostrate on his face: whereupon God answered him, That he should rise up, and purify his host from the pollution that had got into that things consecrated to me have been impen- dently stolen from me; and that this has been the occasion why this defeat had happened to them; and that when they should seek out and punish the offender, he would ever take care they should have the victory over their enemies. The Joshua told the people: and calling for Eleazar, the high-priest, and the men in authority, he said, lots, tribe by tribe; and when the lot showed that this wicked action was done by one of the tribe of Judah, he then again proposed the lot to the several families thereof belonging; so the truth of the wicked action was found to belong to the family of Zaccur; and when the inquiry was made by them, they took Achar, who, upon God's charging him to a terrible extremity, could not deny the fact: so he confessed the theft, and produced what he had taken in the midst of them, whereupon he was immediately put to death; and attained no more than to be buried in the night in a disgraceful manner, and such as was suitable to a condemned malefactor.

15. When Joshua had thus purified the land, he led them against Ai; and having by night laid an ambush round about the city, he attacked the enemies as soon as it was day; but as they were advanced boldly against the Israelites, because of their former victory, he made them believe he retired, and by that means drew them a great way from the city, they still supposing that they were pursuing their enemies, and despised them, as though the case had been the same with that in the former battle; after which Joshua ordered his forces to turn about, and placed them against their front: he then made the signals agreed upon, and they lay in ambush, and so excited them to fight: as they ran suddenly into the city, the inhabitants being upon the walls, may, others of them being in perplexity, and coming to see those that were without the gates. Accordingly, these men took the city, and slew all that they met with; but Joshua forced those that came against him to come to a close fight, and discomfited them, and made them run away; and when they were driven to leave the city, and thought it had not been taken, as soon as they saw it was taken, and perceived it was burnt, with their wives and children, they wandered about the fields in a scattered condition, and were no way able to defend themselves, and what had now remained of them, he took possession of. Now when this calamity was come upon the men of Ai, there were a great number of children, and women, and servants, and an immense quantity of other furniture. Hebrews also took herds of cattle, and a great deal of money, for this was a rich country. So when Joshua came to Gilgal, he divided all these spoils among the soldiers.

16. But the Gibonites, who inhabited very near to Jerusalem, when they saw what miseries had
happened to the inhabitants of Jericho, and to those of Ai, and suspected that the like sore calamity would come as far as themselves, they did not think fit to ask for mercy of Joshua for the sake of their lives, but they should find little mercy from him, who made war that he might entirely destroy the nation of the Canaanites; but they invited the people of Cepheus and Kiriath-searim, who were their neighbours, to join in league with them; and told them, that neither could they themselves avoid the danger they were all in, if the Israelites should prevent them, and seize upon them; so when they had persuaded them, they resolved to endeavour to escape the forces of the Israelites. Accordingly, upon their agreement to what they proposed, they sent a message to Joshua to make a league of friendship with him, and those such of the citizens as were best approved of, and most capable of doing what was most advantageous to the multitude. Now these ambassadors thought it dangerous to confess themselves to be Canaanites, but thought they might, by this contrivance, avoid the danger; namely, by saying that they bare no relation to the Canaanites at all, but dwelt at a very great distance from them; and they said further, that they came a long way, on account of the reputation he had gained for his virtue and felicity. The truth of what they said, they showed him the habit they were in, for that their clothes were new when they came out, but were greatly worn by the length of time they had been on their journey; for indeed they took torn garments, on purpose that they might make him believe so. So they stood in the midst of the people, and said that they were sent by the people of Gibea, and of the circumjacent cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, to make such a league of friendship with them, and this on such conditions as were customary among their forefathers: for when they understood that, by the favour of God, and his gift to them, they were to have the possession of the land of Canaan bestowed upon them, they said that they were very glad to hear it, and desired to be admitted into the number of their citizens. Thus did these ambassadors speak; and showing them the marks of their long journey, they entreated the Hebrews to make a league of friendship with them. Accordingly Joshua, believing what they said, that they were not Canaanites, but that the nation of the Canaanites entered into friendship with them; and Eleazar the high-priest, with the senate, swore to them that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would attempt nothing that should be unfair against them, the multitude also assenting to the oaths that were made to them. So these men having obtained what they desired, by deceiving the Israelites, went home: but when Joshua led his army to the country at the bottom of the mountains of this part of Canaan, he understood that the Gibeonites dwelt not far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the stock of the Canaanites; so he sent for their governors, and reproached them with their cheat they had put upon them, but they alleged, on their own behalf, that they had no other way to save themselves but that, and were therefore forced to have recourse to it. So he called for Eleazar the high-priest, and for the senate, who thought it right to make them public servants, that they might not break the oath they had made to them; and they ordained them to be as the rest of the nation of the Canaanites, and the method by which these men found safety and security under the calamity that was ready to overtake them.

17. But the king of Jerusalem took it to heart that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua; so he called upon the king of the neighbouring nations to join together, and make war against them. Now when the Gibeonites saw these kings, which were four, besides the king of Jerusalem, and perceived that they had pitched their camp at a certain fountain not far from their city, and were getting ready for the siege of it, they called upon Joshua to assist them; for such was their case, as to expect to be destroyed by these Canaanites, but to suppose they should be saved by those that came for the destruction of the Canaanites, because of the league of friendship that was between them. They then made haste with his whole army to assist them, and marching day and night, in the morning he fell upon the enemies as they were going up to the siege; and when he had discomfited them he followed them, and pursued them down the descent of the hills. The place is called Beth-horon; where he also understood that God assisted him, which he declared by thunder and thunderbolts, as also by the falling of hail larger than usual. Moreover, it happened that the day was lengthened, that the night might come on too soon, and that the Gibeonites might thus get the zeal of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies; insomuch, that Joshua took the kings, who were hidden in a certain cave at Makkedah, and put them to death. Now, the day was lengthened at this time, and was longer than ordinary, is expressed in the books laid up in the temple.

18. These kings which made war with, and were ready to fight the Gibeonites, being thus overthrown, Joshua returned again to the mountainous parts of Canaan; and when he had made a great slaughter among the people that were on the way, he came to the camp at Gilgal. And now there went a great fame abroad among the neighbouring people, of the courage of the Hebrews; and those that heard what a number of men were destroyed, were greatly afielded at it: so the kings that lived about mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and those Canaanites that dwelt in the plain country, with auxiliaries out of the land of the Philistines, pitched their camp at Beeroth, a city of the Upper Galilee, not far from Cades, which is itself also a place in the Upper Galilee. Now the number of the horses was three hundred thousand armed footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand chariots; so that the multitude of the enemies affrighted both Joshua himself and the Israelites; and they, instead of being full of hopes of good success, were superstitiously timorous, with the great terror with which they were stricken. Whereupon God upbraided them with the fear they were in, and asked them, whether they desired a greater help than he could afford them; and promised them that they should overcome their enemies; and withal charged them

* Whether this lengthening of the day, by the standing still of the sun and moon, were physical and real, by the miraculous stopping of the diurnal motions of the earth for about half a revolution, or whether only apparent, by aerial phosphors imitating the sun and moon as stationary objects, as might have been the case, and this prodigy so much sun affording sufficient light for Joshua's purpose and complete performance of his work (which aerial phosphors imitate stars, as also the stars and luminaries of heaven): astronomers and philosophers, with others, are divided in this point. In the mean time, the fact itself was mentioned in the book of Joshua, chap. xix, 13, and confirmed by Joshua (ver. 20), and Joshua (ver. 21), and by the son of Sirach (Ecclus. v. 10, 11), and by the sons of the Hebrews. In the days of Solomon, ver. 12, it is also a part of the luminaries, with relation to their light, to this the sun and moon: in the days of Joshua and Hebrews, "They have not wandered, but have shown signs and wonders in the days of Joshua and Hebrews," (Josh. xviii. 20, 21) .
to make their enemies' horses useless, and to burn their chariots. So Joshua became full of courage upon these promises of God, and went out suddenly against the enemies; and after five days' march he came upon them, and joined battle with them, and there was a terrible fight, and such a number were slain as could not be believed by those that heard it. He also went on in the pursuit a great way, and destroyed the entire army of the enemies, few only escaped. All the kings fell in the battle insomuch, that when there wanted men to be killed, Joshua slew their horses, and burnt their chariots, and passed all over their country without opposition, no one daring to meet him in battle; but he still went on, taking their cities by siege, and again killing whatever he took.

19. The fifth year was now past, and there was not one of the Canaanites remained any longer, excepting some that had retired to places of great strength. So Joshua removed his camp to the mountainous country, and placed the tabernacle in the city of Shiloh, for that seemed a fit place for it, because of the beauty of its situation, until such time as their affairs would permit them to build a temple; and from thence he went to Shechem, together with all the people, and raised an altar where Moses had beforehand directed; then did he divide the army, and placed one half of them on mount Gerizim, and the other half on mount Ebal, on which mountain the altar was; he also placed there the tribe of Levi, and the priests. And when they had sacrificed, and denounced the blessings and the curses, and had left them engraven upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh.

20. And now Joshua was old, and saw that the cities of the Canaanites were not easily to be taken, not only because they were situated in such strong places, but because of the strength of the walls themselves, which being built round about, the natural strength of the places on which the cities stood, seemed capable of repelling their enemies from besieging them, and of making those enemies despair of taking them. But now the Canaanites had learned that the Israelites came out of Egypt in order to destroy them, they were busy all that time in making their cities strong. So he gathered the people together to a congregation at Shiloh; and when they, with great zeal and haste, were come thither, he observed to them what prosperous successes they had already had, and what glorious things had been done, and those such as were worthy of that God who enabled them to do those things, and worthy of the virtue of those laws which they followed. He took notice also, that thirty-one of the kings that ventured to give them battle were overcome, and every army, how great soever it was, that confided in their own power, and fought with them, was utterly destroyed; so that not so much as any of their posterity remained; and as for the cities, since some of them were taken, but the others must be taken in length of time, by long sieges, both on account of the strength of the walls, and of the confidence the inhabitants had in them, they thought it reasonable that those tribes that came along with them from beyond Jordan, and had partaken of the dangers they had undergone, being their own kindred, should now be dismissed and sent home, and should have thanks for the pains they had taken together with them.

As also, he thought it reasonable that they should send one man out of every tribe, and he such as had the testimony of extraordinary virtue, who should measure the land faithfully, and without any fallacy or deceit should inform them of its real magnitude.

21. Now Joshua, when he had thus spoken to them, found that the multitude approved of his proposal. So he sent men to measure the country, and sent with them some geographers, who could not easily fail of knowing the truth, on account of their skill in that art. He also gave them a charge to estimate the measure of that part of the land that was most fruitful, and what was not so good; for such is the nature of the land of Canaan, that one may see large plains, and such as are exceeding fit to produce fruit, which yet, if they were compared to other parts of the country, might be reckoned exceedingly fruitful; yet if it be compared with the fields about Jericho, it would be seen to be of no account at all; and although it so falls out that these people have but a little of this sort of land, and that it is, for the main, mountainous also, yet does it not come behind other parts, on account of its exceeding goodness and beauty; for which reason Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by estimation of its goodness, rather than by the largeness of its measure, it often happens that one acre of some sort of land is equal to a thousand other acres. Now the men that were sent, which were in number ten, travelled all about, and made an estimation of the land, and in the seventh month came to him to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle.

22. So Joshua took both Eleazar and the sons, and with them the heads of the tribes, and distributed the land to the nine tribes, and to the half-tribe of Manasseh, appointing the dimensions as according to the largeness of each tribe. When he had cast lots, Judah had assigned him by lot the upper part of Judah, reaching as far as Jerusalem, and its plain, as far as the Lake of Sodom. Now in the lot of this tribe there were the cities of Askelon and Gaza. The lot of Simeon, which was the second, included that part of Idumea which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia. As to the Benjaminites, their lot fell so, that its length reached from the river Jordan to the sea; but in breadth it was bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel; and this was the narrowest of all, by reason of the goodness of the land; for it included Jericho and the city of Jerusalem. The tribe of Ephraim had by lot the land that extended from the river Jordan to Gezer; but in breadth as far as from Bethel, but it ended at the Great Plain. The half-tribe of Manasseh had the land from Jordan to the city Dor; but its breadth was at Bethshan, which is now called Scythopolis; and after these was Issachar, which had its limits in length, Mount Tabor and the river, but its limit in breadth was Mount Tabor. The tribe of Zebulon's lot included the land which lay as far as the Lake of Genesareth, and which belonged to Carnaath and the sea. The tribe of Asher had that part which was called the Valley, for such it was, and all that part which lay over-against Sidon. The city Arie belonged to their share, which is also named Actius.
out of that mountain; that is, out of that part of it whose limits belong to the neighbouring city of Acre. The Danites’ lot included all that part of the valley which respects the sun-setting, and were bounded by Azotus and Dora; as also they had all Jannah and Gath, from Ekron to that mountain where the tribe of Judah begins.

23. After this manner did Joshua divide the six tribes according to the name of the Sons of Canaan, with their lands, to be possessed by the nine tribes and a half; for Moses had prevented him, and had already distributed the land of the Amorites, which itself was so called also from one of the sons of Canaan, to the two tribes and a half, as we have shown already. But the parts about Sidon, as also those that belonged to the Arkites, and the Amathites, and the Aradians, were not yet regularly disposed of.

24. But now was Joshua hindered by his age from executing what he intended to do (as did those that succeeded him in the government, take little care of what was for the advantage of the public): so he gave it in charge to every tribe to leave no remainder of the race of the Canaanites in the land that had been divided to them by lot; that Moses had assured them beforehand, and they might rest fully satisfied about it, that their own security and their observation of their own laws depended wholly upon it. Moreover, he enjoined them to give thirty-eight cities to the Levites, for they had already received ten in the country of the Amorites; and three of these he assigned to those that fled from the man-slayers, who were to inhabit there; for he was very solicitous that nothing should be neglected which Moses had ordained. These were of the tribe of Judah, Hebron; of that of Ephraim, Shechem; and of that of Naphthali, Cadesh, which is a place of the Upper Galilee. He also distributed among them the rest of the prey not yet distributed, which was very great; whereby they had an abundance of great riches, both all in general, and every one in particular; and this of gold and of vessels, and of all other furniture, besides a multitude of cattle, whose number could not be told.

25. After this was over, he gathered the army together to a congregation, and spake thus to those tribes that had their settlement in the land of the Amorites, beyond Jordan,—for fifty thousand of them had armed themselves, and had gone to the war along with them:—"Since that God, who is the Father and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has now given of this land for a possession, and promised to preserve us in the enjoyment of it as our own for ever; and since you have with alacrity offered yourselves to assist us when we wanted that assistance on all occasions, according to his command, it is but just, now all our difficulties are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should, tresspass on your alacrity to help us no longer; that is, if we should again stand in need of it, we may readily have it on any future emergency, and not tire you so much now as make you loathe the thought of it in your mind. We were to return you our thanks for the dangers you have undergone with us, and we do it not at this time only, but we shall always be thus disposed; and be so good as to remember our friends, and to preserve in mind what advantages we have had from them; and how you have put off the enjoyments of your own happiness for our sakes, and have laboured for what we have now, by the good-will of God obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity till you had afforded us that assistance. However, you have, by joining your labour with ours, gotten great plenty of riches, and will carry home with you much prey, with gold and silver, and, what is more than all these, our good-will towards you, and a mind willingly disposed to make a requital of your kindness to us, in whatever case you shall desire it, for you have not omitted any thing which Moses beforehand required of you, nor have you despised him because he was dead and gone from you, so that there is nothing to diminish that gratitude which we owe to you. We therefore dismiss you joyful to your own inheritances; and we entreat you to suppose, that there is no limit to be set to the intimate relation that is between us; and that you will not imagine, because this river is interposed between us, that you are of a different race from us, and not Hebrews; for we are all the posterity of Abraham, both we that inhabit here, and you that inhabit there; and it is the same God that brought our forefathers and yours into the world, whose worship and form of government we are to take care of, which he has ordained, and are most carefully to observe; because, while you continue in those laws, God will also show himself merciful and assisting to you; but if you imitate the other nations, and forsake those laws, he will reject your nation."

When Joshua had spake thus, and saluted them all, both those in authority one by one, and the whole multitude in common, he himself said where he was; but the people conducted those tribes on their journey, and that not without tears in their eyes; and indeed they hardly knew how to part one from the other.

26. Now when the tribe of Reuben, and that of Gad, and as many of the Manassites as followed them, were passed over the river, they built an altar on the banks of Jordan, as a monument to posterity, and as a sign of the relation of those that should inhabit on the other side. But when those on the other side heard that those who had been dismissed had built an altar, but did not hear with what intention they built it, but supposed it to be by way of innovation, and for the introduction of strange gods, they did not incline to disbelieve it; but thinking this defamatory report, as if it were built for divine worship, was credible, they appeared in arms, as though they would avenge themselves on those that built the altar; and they were about to pass over the river, and to punish them for their subversion of the laws of their country; for they did not think it fit to regard them on account of their kindred, or the dignity of those that had given the occasion, but to regard the will of God, and the manner wherein he desired to be worshipped; so these men put themselves in array for war. But Joshua, and Eleazar the high-priest, and the senate, restrained them; and persuaded them first to make trial by words of their intention, and afterwards, if they found that they were in league with the enemy, then only to proceed to make war upon them. Accordingly, they sent as ambassadors to them Phineas the son of Eleazar, and ten more persons that were in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was in their mind when, upon passing over the river, they had built an altar upon its banks; and as soon as these ambassadors were passed over, and were come to them, and a congregation was assembled, Phineas stood up and said, That the offence they had been guilty of was of too
heinous a nature to be punished by words alone, or by them only to be amended for the future, yet that they did not so look at the heinousness of their transgression as to have recourse to arms, much less to battle for their punishment immediately; but that, on account of their kindred, and the probability there was that they might be reclaimed, they took this method of sending an embassy to them:

"That when we have learned the true reasons by which you have been moved to build this altar, we may neither seem to have been too rash in assaulting you by our weapons of war, if it prove that you made the altar for justifiable reasons, and may then justly punish you if the accusation prove true; for we can hardly pretend that you, who have been quizzed with the will of God, and have been bearers of those laws which he himself hath given us, now you are separated from us, and gone to that patrimony of yours, which you, through the grace of God, and that providence which he exercises over you, have obtained by lot, can forget him, and can leave that ark and that altar which is peculiar to us, and can introduce strange gods and imitate the wicked practices of the Canaanites. Now this will appear to have been a small crime if you required them to take notice of the intentions of God, which had been so gracious towards them; and told them that the Deity would continue their friend by suit of his power, but not by their piety; and that it was proper for him, now that he was about to depart out of this life, to leave such an admonition to them; and be that they would keep in memory this his exhortation to them.

29. So Joshua, when he had thus discourse with them, died, having lived a hundred and ten years; forty of which he lived with Moses, in order to learn what might be for his advantage afterwards. He also became their commander after his death for twenty-five years. He was a man that was wise, of great wisdom and eloquence; to declare his intentions to the people, and very eminent in all. He was of great courage and magnanimity in action and in dangers, and very sagacious in procuring the peace of the people, and of great virtue at all proper seasons. He was buried in the city of Timnah of the tribe of Ephraim. About the same time Eleazar the high-priest, leaving the high-priesthood to his son Phinehas. His monument also, and sepulchre, are in the city of Bethel.
gave as a free gift to Caleb, according to the injunctions of Moses. This Caleb was one of the spies which Moses sent into the land of Canaan. They also gave land for habitation to the posterity of Jethro, the Midianite, who was the father-in-law to Moses; for they had left their own country, and followed him, and accompanied them in the wilderness.

4. Now the tribes of Judah and Simeon took the cities which were in the mountainous part of Canaan, as also Askelon and Ashdod, of those that lay near the sea; but Gaza and Ekron escaped them, for they, lying in a flat country, and having a great number of chariots, sorely galled those that attacked them: so these tribes, when they were grown very rich by this war, retired to their own cities, and laid aside their weapons of war.

5. But the Benjaminites, to whom belonged Jerusalem, permitted its inhabitants to pay tribute. So they all left off, the one to kill, and the other to expose themselves to danger, and had time to cultivate the ground. The rest of the tribes imitated that of Benjamin, and did the same; and, contenting themselves with the tributes that were paid them, permitted the Canaanites to live in peace.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim, when they besieged Bethel, made no advance, nor performed any thing worthy of the time they spent, and of the pains they took about that siege; yet did they persist in it, still sitting down before that city, which they endured greater trouble thereby; but, after some time, they caught one of the citizens that came to them to get necessities, and they gave him some assurances, that, if he would deliver up the city to them, they would preserve him and his kindred; so he swore that, upon those terms, he would put the city into their hands. Accordingly, he that thus betrayed the city was preserved with his family; and the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and retained the city for themselves.

7. After this, they assiduously garrisoned every one of them, and made them so strong as to fear their enemies; but applied themselves to the cultivation of the land, which produced them great plenty and riches, they neglected the regular disposition of their settlements, and indulged themselves in luxury and pleasures; nor were they any longer careful to hear the laws that belonged to their political government: whereupon God was provoked to anger, and put them in mind, first, how, contrary to his directions, they had spared the Canaanites: and, after that, how these Canaanites, as opportunity served, used them very barbarously. But the Israelites, though they were in heaviness at these admonitions from God, yet were they still very unwilling to go to war; and since they got large tributes from the Canaanites, and were indisposed for taking pains by their luxury, they suffered their aristocracy to be corrupted also, and did not ordain themselves a senate, nor any other such magistrates as their laws had formerly required, but they were very much given to cultivating their fields, and rearing great wealth; which great indulgence of theirs brought a terrible sedition upon them, and they proceeded so far as to fight one against another, from the following occasion:

There was a Levite, a man of a vulgar

* Josephus's early date of this history, before the beginning of 727 B.C., or when there was a king in Israel (Judges xv. 1), is strongly confirmed by the large number of Benjamites, both in the days of Saul and Jehoshaphat (I Chronicles vi. 8), who, as the reccords show, had increased to six hundred men; nor can those numbers be at all supposed to have grown up so soon after the days of Saul.
mily, that belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and dwelt therein: this man married a wife from Bethlehem, which is a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Now he was very fond of his wife, and overcome with her beauty; but he was unhappy in this, that he did not meet with the like return of affection from her, for she was averse to him, which did more inflame his passion for her, so that they quarrelled one with another perpetually; and at last the woman was so disgusted at these quarrels, that she left her husband, and went to her parents in the fourth month. The husband being very uneasy at her departure, and that out of his fondness for her, and out of his vexation and law, and made up their quarrels, and was reconciled to her, and lived with them there four days, as being kindly treated by her parents. On the fifth day he resolved to go home, and went away in the evening; for his wife’s parents were loth to part with their daughter, and delayed the time till the day was gone. Now they had one servant that followed them, and an ass on which the woman rode; and when they were near Jerusalem, having gone already thirty days, they took up the ass, and brought it to their house, and having gone up their lodgings somewhere, lest some misfortune should befal them if they travelled in the night, especially since they were not far off enemies, that season often giving reason for suspicion of dangers from even such as are friends; but the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to take up his lodging among strangers, for the city belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs farther, and so to take their lodging in some Caractite city. Accordingly, he obtained his purpose, and brought them to the tribe of Benjamin, when it was just dark; and while no one that lived in the market-place invited him to lodge with him, there came an old man out of the field, one that was indeed of the tribe of Ephraim, but resided in Gibeah, and met him, and asked him who he was, and for what reason he came thither so late, and why he was looking out for provisions for supper when it was dark! To which he replied, that he was a Levite, and was bringing his wife, his parents, and was going home; but he told him his habitation was in the tribe of Ephraim: so the old man, as well because of their kindred as because they lived in the same tribe, and also because they had thus accidentally met together, took him in to lodge with him. Now certain young men of the inhabitants of Gibeah, having seen the woman in the market-place, and admiring her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, as contending the weakness and frowning of the old man’s family: and when the old man desired them to go away, and not to offer any violence or abuse there, they desired him to yield them up the strange woman, and then he should have no harm done to him: and when the old man alleged that the Levite was of his kindred, and that they would be guilty of horrid wickedness if they suffered themselves to be overcome by their pleasures, and so offend against their laws, they despised his righteous admonition, and laughed him to scorn. They also threatened to kill him if he became an obstacle to their iniquities; whereupon, when he found himself in great distress, and yet was not willing to overlook his guests, and see them abused, he produced his own daughter to them; and told them that it was a smaller breach of the law to satisfy their lust upon her, than to abuse his guests, supposing that in himself should by this means prevent any injury to be done to those guests. When they were placed of their earnestness for the strange woman, insisted absolutely on their desires to have her, he entreated them not to perpetrate any such an injustice; but they proceeded to take her away by force, and indulging still more the violence of their inclinations, they took the woman away from her house, and when they had satisfied their lust upon her the whole night, they let her go and break. So she came to the place where she had been entombed, under great affliction that had happened; and on the fourth day after her father and mother saw upon occasion of what she had suffered, and durst not look her husband in the face for shame, for she concluded that he would never forgive her for what she had done; so she fell down, and gave up the ghost; but her husband supposed that his wife was only fast asleep, and, thinking nothing of a more melancholy nature had happened, endeavored to raise her up, resolving to speak comfortably to her, as she did not voluntarily expose herself, and as she was just, but he needed them to go up their lodgings somewhere, lest some misfortune should befal them if they travelled in the night, especially since they were not far off enemies, that season often giving reason for suspicion of dangers from even such as are friends; but the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to take up his lodging among strangers, for the city belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs farther, and so to take their lodging in some Caractite city. 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only had the suffering of the Levite’s wife to avenge, but the slaughter of their own soldiers.

12. However, they afterward were sorry for the calamity they had brought upon the Benjamites, and appointed a fast on that account, although they supposed those men had suffered justly for their offence against the laws; so they recalled by their ambassadors those six hundred which had escaped. These had seated themselves on a certain rock called Rimmon, which was in the wilderness. So the ambassadors lamented not only the disaster that had befallen the Benjamites, but themselves also, by this destruction of their kindred; and persuaded them to take it patiently, and to come and unite with them, and not, so far as in them lay, to give them sufferance to the utter destruction of the tribe of Benjamin; and said to them, “We give you leave to take the whole land of Benjamin as yourselves, and as much prey as you are able to carry away with you.” So these men with sorrow confessed, that what had been done was according to the decree of God, and had happened for their own wickedness; and assented to those that invited them, and came down to their own tribe. The Israelites also gave them the four hundred virgins of Jabesh Gilead for wives; but as to the remaining two hundred, they deliberated about it how they might compass wiser means for them, and that perhaps they might have children by them; and whereas they had, before the war began, taken an oath, that no one would give his daughter to wife to a Benjamite, some advised them to have no regard to what they had sworn, because the oath had not been taken advisedly, and that must be done; and thought that they should do nothing against God, if they were able to save a whole tribe which was in danger of perishing; and that too was a sad and dangerous thing, for when it is done out of necessity, but when it is done with a wicked intention. But when the senate were agreed at the very name of perjury, a certain person told them that he could show them a way whereby they might procure the Benjamites wives enough, and yet keep their oath. They asked him what his proposal was. He said, “That three times in a year, when we meet in Shiloh, our wives and our daughters accompany us: let then the Benjamites be allowed to steal away, and marry such women as they can catch, while we will neither incite them nor forbid them; and when their parents take it ill, and desire us to inflict punishment upon them, we will tell them, that they were themselves the cause of what had happened, by neglecting to guard their daughters, and that they ought not to be over angry at the Benjamites, since that anger was permitted to rise too high already.” So the Israelites were persuaded to follow this advice, and decreed, That the Benjamites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival was coming on, these two hundred Benjamites lay in ambush before the city, by two and three together, and waited for the coming of the virgins to the vineyards and other places where they could lie concealed. Evidently the virgins came along playing, and the Benjamites broke out and carried off the young women to their own city, before the men of Benjamin could capture them.
danger of entirely perishing, saved in the manner fore-mentioned, by the wisdom of the Israelites; and accordingly it presently flourished, and soon increased to be a multitude, and came to enjoy all other degrees of happiness. And such was the conclusion of this war.

CHAPTER III.
HOW THE ISRAELITES AFTER THIS MISFORTUNE, GREW WICKED, AND SERVED THE ASSYRIANS; AND HOW GOD DELIVERED THEM BY OTHNIEL, WHO RULED OVER THEM FORTY YEARS.

§ 1. Now it happened that the tribe of Dan suffered in like manner with the tribe of Benjamin; and it came to do so on the occasion following:—When the Israelites had already left off the exercise of their arms for war, and were intent upon their husbandry, the Canaanites despised them, and brought together an army, not because they expected to suffer by them, but because they had a mind to have a sure prospect of treating the Hebrews ill when they pleased, and might thereby for the time to come dwell in their own cities the more securely; they prepared therefore their chariots, and gathered their soldiery together, their cities also combined together, and drew over to them Askelon and Ekron, which were within the tribe of Judah, and many more of those that lay in the plain. They also forced the Danites to fly into the mountainous country, and left them not all the security of the plain country to set foot on. Since then these Danites were not able to fight them, and had not land enough to sustain them, they sent five of their men into the midst of the country, to see for a land to which they might remove their habitation. So these men went as far as the neighbourhood of mount Libanus, and the fountains of the Lesser Jordan, at the great plain of Sidon, a day's journey from the city; and when they had taken a view of the land, and found it to be good and exceeding fruitful, they acquainted their tribe with it, whereupon they made an engagement with the army, and built there the city Dan, of the same name with the son of Jacob, and of the same name with their own tribe.

2. The Israelites grew so insolent, and unready of taking pains, that misfortunes came heavier upon them, which also proceeded in part from their contempt of the divine worship; for when they had once fallen off from the regularity of their political government, they indulged themselves farther in living according to their own pleasure, and according to their own will, till they were fully of the evil doings that were common among the Canaanites. God therefore was angry with them, and they lost that their happy state which they had obtained by innumerable labours, by their luxury; for when Chusas, king of the Assyrians, had made war against them, they lost many of their soldiers in the battle, and when they were besieged, they were taken by force; nay, there were some, who, out of fear, voluntarily submitted to him, and though the tribute laid upon them was more than they could bear, yet did they pay it, and underwent all oppression for eight years; after which time they were freed from them in the following manner:

3. There was one whose name was Othniel, the son of Kenaz, of the tribe of Judah, an active man and of great courage. He had an admonition from God, not to overlook the Israelites in such a distress as they were now in, but to endeavour boldly to gain them their liberty; so when he had secured some to assist him in this dangerous undertaking (and few they were, who, either out of shame at their present circumstances, or out of a desire of changing them, could be prevailed on to assist him), he first of all destroyed that garrison which Chusas had set over them; but when it was perceived that he had not failed in his first attempt, more of the people came to his assistance; so they joined battle with the Assyrians, and drove them entirely before them, and compelled them to pass over Euphrates. Hereupon Othniel, who had given such proofs of his valour, received from the multitude authority to judge the people: and when he had ruled over them forty years, he died.

CHAPTER IV.
HOW OUR PEOPLE SERVED THE MOABITES THIRTEEN YEARS, AND WERE THEN DELIVERED FROM SLAVERY BY ONE EHUD, WHO RETAINED THE DOMINION FORTY YEARS.

§ 1. When Othniel was dead, the affairs of the Israelites fell again into disorder; and while they neither paid to God the honour due to him, nor were obedient to the laws, their afflictions increased till Eglon, king of the Moabites, did so greatly despise them on account of the disorders of their political government, that he made war upon them, and overcame them in several battles, and made the most courageous to submit, and entirely subdued their army, and ordered them to pay him tribute. And when he had built him a royal palace at Jericho, he omitted no method whereby he might distress them; and indeed he reduced them to poverty for eighteen years. But when God had once taken pity of the Israelites, on account of their afflictions, and was prevailed on by their supplications put up to him, he freed them from the hard usage they had met with under the Moabite. This liberty he procured for them in the following manner:

2. There was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Ehud, the son of Gez, a man of very great courage in bold undertakings, and of a very strong body, fit for hard labour, best skilled in using his left hand, in which he was whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with Eglon, and that by means of presents, with which he obtained his favour, and insinuated himself into his good opinion; whereby he was also beloved of those that were about the king. Now, when on a time, he was brought presents to the king, and had two servants with him, he put a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him: it was then summer time, and it was middle of the day, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the hot
and because they were gone to dinner. So the young man, when he had offered his presents to the king, who then resided in a small parlour that stood conveniently to avoid the heat, fell into discourse with him, for they were now alone, the king having bid his servants that attended him, to go their ways, because he had a mind to talk with Ehud. He was now sitting on his throne; and fear seized upon Ehud lest he should miss his stroke, and not give him a deadly wound; so he raised himself up, and said he had a dream to impart to him by the command of God; upon which the king leaped out of his throne for joy of the dream; so Ehud smote him to the heart, and, leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. Now the king's servants were very still, as supposing that the king had composed himself to sleep.

3. Hereupon Ehud informed the people of Jericho privately of what he had done, and exhorted them to recover their liberty; who heard him gladly, and went to the king, and some of the noblemen and scribes over the country, that should sound trumpets of rams' horns; for it was our custom to call the people together by them. Now the attendants of Esau were ignorant of what misfortune had befallen him for a great while; but, towards the evening, fearing some uncommon accident had happened, they entered into his parlour, and when they found him dead, they were in great disorder, and knew not what to do; and before the guards could get together, the multitude of the Israelites came upon them, so that some of them were slain immediately, and some of them were put to flight, and ran away toward the country of Moab, in order to save themselves. Their number was above ten thousand. The Israelites seized upon the ford of Jordan, and pursued them, and slew them, and many of them they killed at the ford, nor did one of them escape out of their hands; and by this means it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from slavery under the Moabites. Ehud was also on this account dignified with the government over all the multitude of the people; and after he had held the government eighteen years. He was a man worthy of commendation, even besides what he deserved for the formentioned act of his. After him Shamgar, the son of Anath, was elected for his governor, but died in the first year of his government.

CHAPTER V.

HOW THE CANAANITES BROUGHT THE ISRAELITES UNDER SLAVERY FOR TWENTY YEARS; AFTER WHICH THEY WERE DELIVERED BY BARAK AND DEBORAH, WHO Ruled OVER THEM FOR FORTY YEARS.

§ 1. And now it was that the Israelites, taking no warning by the former misfortunes to amend their manners, and neither worshipped God nor submitting to the laws, were brought under slavery

by Jabin the king of the Canaanites, and that before they had a short breathing time after the slavery under the Moabites; for this Jabin came out of Hazor, a city that was situate over the lake Semechites, and had in pay three hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, with no fewer than three thousand chariots. Sisera was the commander of all his army, and was the principal person in the king's favour. He so sorely bent the Israelites when they fought with him, that he ordered them to pay tribute.

2. So they continued to undergo that hardship for twenty years, as not good enough of themselves to grow wise by their misfortunes. God was willing also hereby the more to subdue their obstinacy and ingratitude towards himself; so when at length they became penitent, and were so wise as to learn that their calamities arose from their contempt of the laws, they besought Deborah, a certain prophetess among them (which name in the Hebrew tongue signifies Bequeller, or One that speaks for another), to declare to them what she could, and not to overlook them, now they were ruined by the Canaanites. So God granted them deliverance, and chose them a general, Barak, one that was of the tribe of Naphtali. Now Barak, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies Lightning. So they collected ten thousand men, and pitched their camp at Mount Tabor, where, at the king's command, Sisera met them, and pitched his camp not far from the enemy; whereasupon the Israelites, and Barak himself, were so affrighted at the multitude of those enemies, that they were resolved to march off, had not Deborah retained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy that day very justly, for that they should conquer them, and God would be their assistance.

4. So the battle began; and when they were come to close fight, there came down from heaven a great storm, with a vast quantity of rain and hail, and the wind blew the rain in the face of the Canaanites, and so darkened their eyes, that their arrows and slings were of no advantage to them, nor would the coldness of the air permit the soldiers to make use of their swords; while this storm did not so much incommodate the Israelites, because it came in their backs. They also took such courage, upon the apprehension that God was assisting them, that they fell upon the very midst of their enemies, and slew a great number of them; so that some of them fell by the Israelites, some fell by their own horses, which were put into disorder, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. At last Sisera, as soon as he saw himself beaten, fled away, and came to a woman whose name was Jael, a Kenite, who received him, when he desired to be concealed; and when he asked for somewhat to drink, she gave him sour milk, of which he drank so unmeasurably that he fell asleep; but when he was asleep, Joel took an iron nail, and with a hammer drove it through his temples into the floor; and when Barak came a little afterward, she showed Sisera nailed to the ground; and thus was this victory gained.
CHAPTER VI.

HOW THE MIDIANITES AND OTHER NATIONS FOUGHT AGAINST THE ISRAELITES, AND BEAT THEM, AND AFFLICTED THEIR COUNTRY FOR SEVEN YEARS. HOW THEY WERE DELIVERED BY GIDEON, WHO RULED OVER THE MULTITUDE FOR FORTY YEARS.

1. Now when Barak and Deborah were dead, whose deaths happened about the same time, afterwards the Midianites called the Amalekites and Arabians to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and were too hard for those that fought against them; and when they had burnt the fruits of the earth, they carried off the prey. Now when they had done this for three years, the multitude of the Israelites retired to the mountains, and forsook the plain country. They also made themselves hollows under ground, and caverns, and preserved therein whatever had escaped their enemies; for the Midianites made expeditions in harvest-time, but permitted them to plough the land in winter, that so, when the others had taken the pains, they might have fruits for them to carry away. Indeed, there ensued a famine and a scarcity of food; upon which they betook themselves to their supplications to God, and besought him to save them.

2. Gideon also, the son of Joash, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his sheaves of corn privately, and threshed them at the wine-press; for he was too fearful of their enemies to thrash them openly in the threshing-floor. At this time somewhat appeared to him in the shape of a young man, and told him that he was a happy man, and beloved of God. To which he immediately replied, "A mighty indication of God's favour to me, that I am forced to use this wine-press instead of a threshing-floor!" But the appearance exhorted him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of their liberty. He answered, that it was impossible for him to recover it, because the tribe to which he belonged was by no means numerous; and because he was but young himself, and too inconsiderable to think of such great actions; but the other promised him, that God would supply what he was defective in, and would afford the Israelites victory under his conduct.

3. Now, therefore, as Gideon was relating this to some young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men got ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him, that mankind were too fond of themselves, and were enemies to succour one another in virtue. Now that they might not pass God over, but ascribe the victory to him, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power, because they were a great army, and able of themselves to fight their enemies, but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, he advised him to bring his army about noon, in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those that went down on their knees and so drank, to be men of courage; but for all those that drank tumultuously, that he should esteem them to do it out of fear, and as in dread of their enemies. And when Gideon had so done as God had suggested to him, there were found three hundred men that took water with their hands tumultuously; so God bid him take these men, and attack the enemy. Accordingly they pitched their camp at the river Jordan, as ready the next day to pass over it.

4. But Gideon was in great fear, for God had told him beforehand that he should set upon his enemies in the night-time; but God, being willing to free him from his fear, bid him take one of his soldiers, and go near to the Midianites' tents, for that he should from that very place have his courage raised, and grow bold. So he obeyed, and went and took his servant Phuriel with him; and as he came near to one of the tents, he discovered that those that were in it were awake, and that one of them was telling to his fellow-soldier a dream of his own, and that so plainly, that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this:—He thought he saw a barley-cake, such a one as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the masts and the tents of all the soldiers. Now the other soldier explained this vision to mean the destruction of the army; and told him what his reason was which made him so conjecture, viz. That the seed called barley was all of it allowed to be of the vilest sort of seed, and that the Israelites was known to be the vilest of all the people of Asia, agreeably to the seed of barley, and that what seemed to look big among the Israelites was the Gideon and the army that was with him; and since thou sayest thou didst see the cake over-turning our tents, I am afraid lest God hath granted the victory over us to Gideon.

5. When Gideon had heard this dream, he had hope and courage came upon him; and he commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and told them of this vision of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready to perform what he should enjoin them; and Gideon divided his army into three parts, and brought it out about the fourth watch of the night, each watch containing a hundred men, they all bare empty pitchers and lighted lamps in their hands, that their onset might not be discovered by their enemies. They had also each of them a ram's horn in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet. The enemy's camp took up a large space of ground, for it happened that they had a great many camels; and as they were divided into different nations, so they were all contained in one circle. Now when the Hebrews did as they were ordered beforehand, upon their approach to their enemies, and, on the signal given, sounded with their ram horns, and brake their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with their lamps, and a great shout, and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," a disorder and a fright seized upon the other men while they were half asleep, for it was night-time, as God would have it; so that a few of them were shot by their enemies, but the greatest part by their own soldiers, on account of the diversity of their language; and when they were once put into disorder, they killed all that they met with, as thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there was a great slaughter made; and as the report of Gideon's
victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in the tract of country supplied with torrents, in a place which they could not get over; so they encompassed them, and slew them all, with their kings, Oreb and Zeeb; but the remaining captains led those soldiers that were left, which were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off the Israelites. However, Gideon did not grudge his pains, but pursued them with all his army, and joining battle with them, cut off the whole enemies' army, and took the other leaders, Zebah and Zalmunna, and made them captives. Now there were slain in this battle of the Midianites, and of their auxiliaries the Arabians, about a hundred and twenty thousand; and the Hebrews took a great prey, gold, silver, and garments, and camels, and asses; and when Gideon was come to his own country of Ophrah, he slew the kings of the Midianites.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the good success of Gideon, that they resolved to make war against him, accusing him because he did not tell them of his expedition against their enemies: but Gideon, as a man of temper, and that excelled in every virtue, pleaded, that it was not the result of his own authority or reasoning, that made him attack the enemy without them, but that it was the command of God, and still the victory belonged to them as well as those in the army; and by this method of cooling their passions, he brought more advantage to the Hebrews, than by the success he had gained against those enemies, for he thereby delivered them from a sedition which was arising among them; yet did this tribe afterwards suffer the punishment of this their injurious treatment of Gideon, of which we will give an account in due time.

7. Hereupon Gideon would have laid down the government, but was over-persuaded to take it, which he enjoyed forty years, and distributed justice to them, as the people came to him in their differences; and what he determined was esteemed valid by all; and when he died, he was buried in his own country of Ophrah.

CHAPTER VII.

THAT THE JUDGES WHO SUCCEEDED GIDEON, MADE WAR WITH THE ADJOINING NATIONS FOR A LONG TIME.

§ 1. Now Gideon had seventy sons that were legitimate, for he had many wives; but he had also one that was spurious, by his concubine Gilead, whose name was Abimelech, who, after his father's death, retired to Shechem, to his mother's relations, for they were of that place; and when he had got money of such of them as were eminent for many instances of injustice, he came with them to his father's house, and slew all his brethren, except Jotham, for he had the good fortune to escape and be preserved; but Abimelech made the government tyrannical, and constituted himself a lord, to do what he pleased, instead of obeying the laws; and he acted more rigidly against those that were the patrons of Jotham.

2. Now when, on a certain time, there was a public festival at Shechem, and all the multitude was there gathered together, Jotham his brother, whose escape we before related, went up to Mount Gilead, which hangs over the city Shechem, and cried out so as to be heard by the multitude, who were attentive to him. He desired they would consider what he was going to say to them; so when silence was made, he said, That when the trees had a human voice, and there was an assembly of them gathered together, they desired that the fig-tree would rule over them; but when that tree refused so to do, because he was contented to enjoy that honour which belonged peculiarly to the fruit it bare, and not that which should be derived from abroad, the tree did not leave them their intentions to have a ruler, so they thought proper to make the offer of that honour to the vine; but when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words which the fig-tree had used before, and excused itself from accepting the government; and when the olive-tree had done the same, the brier, whom the trees had desired to take the kingdom (it is a sort of wood good for firing), it promised to take the government, and to be zealous in the exercise of it; but that then they must sit down under its shadow. and if they should plot against it to destroy it, the principle of fire that was in it, should destroy them. He told them that what he had said was no laughing matter; for that when they had experienced many blessings from Gideon, they overlooked Abimelech, when heover-ruled all, and had joined with him in slaying his brethren; and that he was no better than a fire himself. So when he had said this, he went away, and lived privately in the mountains for three years, out of fear of Abimelech.

3. A little while after this festival, the Shechemites, who had now repented themselves of having slain the sons of Gideon, drove Abimelech away both from their city and their tribe; whereupon he contrived how he might distress their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather their fruits, for fear Abimelech should do them some mischief. Now it happened that there had come to them a man of authority, one Gaal, that sojourned with them, having his armed men and his kinsmen with him; so the Shechemites desired that he would allow them to destroy it during their vintage; whereupon he accepted of their desires, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them at the head of his soldiery; so they gathered their fruit with safety; and when they were at supper in several companies, they then ventured to curse Abimelech openly; and the magistrate laid ambushes in places about the city, and caught many of Abimelech's followers, and destroyed them.

4. Now there was one Zebul, a magistrate of the Shechemites, that had entertained Abimelech. He sent messengers, and informed him how much Gaal had irritated the people against him, and excused him to lay ambushes before the city, for that he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would leave it in his power to be revenged on him; and when that was done, he would bring him to be reconciled to the city. So Abimelech laid ambushes, and himself lay with them. Now Gaal abode in the suburbs, taking little care of himself; and Zebul was with him. Now as Gaal saw the armed men coming on, he said to Zebul, That some armed men were coming; but the other replied They were only shadows of huge stones; and when
they were come nearer, Gaal perceived what was the reality, and said, They were not shadows, but men lying in ambush. Then said Zebul, "Didst not thou reproach Abimelech for cowards? why dost thou not then show how very courageous thou art thyself, and go and fight him?" So Gaal, being in disorder, joined battle with Abimelech, and some of his men fell; whereupon he fled into the city, and took his men with him. But Zebul managed his matters so in the city, that he procured them to expel Gaal out of the city, and this by accusing him of cowardice in this action with the soldiers of Abimelech. But Abimelech, when he had learned that the Shechemites were again coming out to gather their grapes, placed ambushes before the city, and when they were coming out, the third part of his army took possession of the gates, to hinder the citizens from returning in again, while the rest pursued those that were scattered abroad, and so there was slaughter everywhere; and when he had overthrown the city to the very foundations, for it was not able to bear a siege, and had sown its ruins with salt, he proceeded on with his army till all the Shechemites were slain. As for those that were scattered about the country, and so escaped the danger, they were gathered together unto a certain strong rock, and settled themselves upon it, and prepared to build a wall about it: and when Abimelech knew their intentions, he prevented them, and came upon them with his forces, and laid faggots of dry wood round the place, he himself bringing some of them, and by his example encouraging the soldiers to do the same. And when the rock was encompassed round about with these faggots, they set them on fire, and threw in whatsoever by nature caught fire, the most easily: so a mighty flame was raised, and nobody could fly away from the rock, but every man perished, with their wives and children, in all about fifteen hundred men, and the rest were a great number also. And such was the calamity which fell upon the Shechemites; and men's grief on their account had been greater than it was, had they not brought much mischief on a person who had so well deserved of them, and had they not themselves esteemed this as a punishment for the same.

5. Now Abimelech, when he had affrighted the Israelites with the miseries he had brought upon the Shechemites, seemed openly to affect greater authority than he now had, and appeared to set no bounds to his violence, unless it were with the destruction of all. Accordingly he marched to Thebes, and took the city on the sudden; and there being a great tower therein, whereon the whole multitude fled, he made preparation to besiege it. Now as he was rushing with violence through the gates, a woman threw a piece of a mill-stone upon his head, upon which Abimelech fell down, and desired his armour-bearer to kill him, lest his death should be thought to be the work of a woman;—who did what he was bid to do. So he underwent this death as a punishment for the wickedness he had perpetrated against his brethren, and his insolence and cruelty to the Shechemites. Now the calamity that happened to these Shechemites was according to the prediction of Jotham. However, the army that was with Abimelech, upon his fall, was scattered abroad, and went to their own homes.

6. Now it was that Jair the Gileadite,* of the tribe of Manasseh, took the government. He was a man happy in other respects also, but particularly in his children, who were of a good character. They were thirty in number, and very skillful in riding on horses, and were intrusted with the government of the cities of Gilead. He kept the government twenty-two years, and died an old man; and he was buried in Camon, a city of Gilead.

7. And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were managed uncertainly, and tended to disorder, and to the contempt of God and of the laws. So the Ammonites and Philistines had them in contempt, and laid waste the country with a great army; and when they had taken all Perez, they were so insolent as to attempt to gain the possession of all the rest; but the Hebrews, being now amended by the calamities they had undergone, betook themselves to supplications to God; and brought sacrifices to him, beseeching him not to be too severe upon them, but to be moved by their prayers to lessen all his anger against them. So God became more merciful to them, and was ready to assist them.

8. When the Ammonites had made an expedition into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but wasted a commander. Now there was one whose name was Jephtha, who, both on account of his father's virtue, and on account of that army which he maintained at his own expenses, was a potent man among the Israelites; therefore they sent him to come to their assistance, and promised him the dominion over them all his life-time. But he did not admit of their entreaty; and accused them, that they did not come to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and this in an open manner by his brethren; for they cast him off, as not having the same mother with the rest, but born of a strange mother, that was introduced amongst them by his father's fondness; and this they did out of a contempt of his inability [to vindicate himself]. So he dwelt in the country of Gilead, as it is called, and received all the spoil that came to him, let them come from what place soever, and paid them wages. However, when they pressed him to accept the dominion, and swear they would grant him the government over them all his life, he led them to the war.

9. And when Jephtha had taken immediate care of their affairs, he placed his army at the city Mizpah, and sent a message to the Ammonites [claiming of his unjust possession of their land. But that king sent a contrary message, and complained of the excess of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired him to go out of the land of the Ammonites, and yield it up to him, as at first his paternal inheritance. But Jephtha returned this answer: That he did not justly complain of his ancestors about the land of the Amorites, and ought rather to thank them that they left the land of the Ammonites to them, since Moses could have taken it also; and that neither would he recede from that land of their own, which God had obtained for them, and they had now inhabited above three hundred years, but would fight with them about it. And hearing this answer, he sent the ambassadors away. And when he prayed for victory and had vowed to perform sacred

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*Our present copies of Josephus all went Tola among the judges, though the other copies have him come after Abimelech, and during twenty-three years to his father's house, with agreement of all the ancient commentators. Hence, in Josephus's time of the years of judges, his twenty-three years are included—whereas we are assured that somewhat less than half out of his copies.
offices, and if he came home in safety, to offer in sacrifice what living creature soever should first meet him; he joined battle with the enemy, and gained a great victory, and in his pursuit slew the enemies all along as far as the city Minimith. He then passed over to the land of the Ammonites, and overthrew many of their cities, and took their prey, and freed his own people from that slavery which they had undergone for eighteen years. But as he came back, he fell into a calamity no way correspondent to the great actions he had done; for it was his daughter that came to meet him; she was also an only child and a virgin: upon this Jephtha very lamented the greatness of his affliction, and bid his daughter for being so forward in meeting him, for he had vowed to sacrifice her to God. However, this action that was to befall her was not ungrateful to her, since she should die upon occasion of her father's victory, and the liberty of her fellow-citizens: she only desired her father to give her leave, for two months, to bewail her youth with her fellow-citizens; and then she agreed, that at the fore-mentioned time he might do with her according to his vow. Accordingly, when that time was over, he sacrificed his daughter as such an offering, bearing to it neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, not weighing himself with what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice.

11. Now the tribe of Ephraim fought against him, because he did not take them along with him in his expedition against the Ammonites, but because he alone had the prey, and the glory of what was done, to himself. As to which he said, first, that they were not ignorant how his kindred had fought against him, and that when they were in a difficulty they did not come to his assemblage, whom they ought to have come quickly, even before they were invited. And in the next place, that they were going to act unjustly; for while they had not courage enough to fight their enemies, they came hastily against their own kindred: and he threatened them that, with God's assistance, he would inflict a punishment upon them, unless they would grow wiser. But when he could not persuade them, he fought with them with those forces which he sent out of Gilead, and he made a great slaughter among them; and when they were beaten, he punished them in the passages of Jordan, as a part of his army which he had sent before, and slew about forty-two thousand of them.

12. So when Jephtha had ruled six years, he died, and was buried in his own country, Sebese, which is a place in the land of Gilead.

13. Now, when Jephtha was dead, Ibzan took the government, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city of Bethelhem. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all whom he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He died not in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording, or deserved a memorial. So he died an old man, and was buried in his own country.

14. When Ibzan was dead after this manner,
yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife; but when he said it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he then requested of him to tell who he was, that when the child was born, they might return him thanks, and give him a present. He replied that he did not want any present, for that he did not bring them the good news of the birth of a son out of the want of anything; and when Manoah had entreated him to stay, and parted of his hospitality, he did not give his consent. However, he was persuaded, at the earnest request of Manoah, to stay so long as while he brought him one mark of his hospitality;—so he slew a kid of the goats, and bid his wife boil it. When all was ready, the angel enjoined him to set the loaves and the flesh, but without the vessels, upon the rock; which when they had done, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, which, upon the breaking out of a flame, was consumed, together with the loaves; and the angel ascended openly, in their sight, up to heaven, in imitation of the spirit of the Saviour as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that some danger would come to them from this sight of God; but his wife bade him be of good courage, for that God appeared to them for their benefit.

4. So the woman proved with child, and was careful to observe the injunctions that were given her; and they called the child, when he was born, Samson, which name signifies one that is strong. So the child grew apace; and it appeared evidently that he would be a prophet, both by the moderation of his diet, and the permission of his hair to grow.

5. Now when he once came with his parents to Timnath, a city of the Philistines, when there was a great festival, he fell in love with a maid of that country, and he desired of his parents that they would procure him the damsel for his wife; but they refused so to do, because she was not of the stock of Israel; yet because this marriage was of God, who intended to convert it to the benefit of the people, they persuaded them to procure her to be espoused to him; and as he was continually coming to her parents, he met a lion, and, though he was naked, he received his onset, and strangled him with his hands, and cast the wild beast into a woody piece of ground on the inside of the road.

6. And when he was going another time to the damsel, he lit upon a swarm of bees making their combs in the breast of that lion; and taking a few honey-combs away, he gave them, together with the rest of his presents, to the damsel. Now the people of Timnath, out of a dread of the young man’s strength, gave him during the time of the wedding-feast (for he then feasted them all) thirty of the most stout of their youth, in pretence to be his companions, but in reality to be a guard upon him, that he might not attempt to give them any disturbance. Now as they were drinking merrily and playing, Samson said, as was usual at such times, “Come, if I propose you a riddle, and you can expound it in these seven days’ time, I will give you every one a linen shirt and a garment, as the reward of your wisdom.” So they being very ambitious to obtain the glory of wisdom, together

with the gains, desired him to propose his riddle. He said, “That a devourer produced sweet fruit out of itself, though itself were very disagreeable;—and when they were not able, in three days’ time, to find out the meaning of the riddle, they desired the damsel to discover it by the means of her husband, and tell it them; and they threatened to burn her if she did not tell it them. So when the damsel entreated Samson to tell it her, but was refused to do it; but when she lay hard at him, and fell into tears, he made his refusal to tell it sign of his unkindness to her, he informed her of his slaughter of a lion, and how he had found it in his breast, and carried away three honey-combs, and brought them to her. Thus he, suspecting nothing of deceit, informed her of all, and she revealed it to those that desired to know it. Then on the seventh day, whereon they were to expend the riddle proposed to them, they met together before sun-setting, and said, “Nothing is more despicable than a lion to those that light on it; and no treasure is more dearer than honey to those that make use of it.” To which Samson made this rejoinder: “Nothing is more deceitful than a woman, for such was the person that discovered my interpretation to you.” Accordingly he gave them the present they had promised them, making such Askedalises as met him upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced his wife; and the girl despised his anger, and was married to his companion, who had made the former match between them.

7. At this injurious treatment Samson was provoked, that he resolved to punish all the Philistines, as well as her: so it being then summertime, and the fruits of the land being almost ripe enough for reaping, he caught three hundred foxes, and joining lighted torches to their tails, he sent them into the fields of the Philistines, by which means the fruits of the fields perished. Now when the Philistines knew that this was Samson doing, and knew also for what cause he did it, they set their rulers to Timnath, and burnt his former wife, and her relations, who had been the occasion of their misfortunes.

8. Now when Samson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country, he dwelt at Gaza, which is a strong rock of the tribe of Judah; for the Philistines at that time made an expedition against that tribe; but the people of Judah said that they did not act justly with them, in inflicting punishments upon them while they paid their tribute, and this only on account of Samson’s offences. They answered, that in case they would not be blamed themselves, they must deliver up Samson, and put him into their power. So they being desirous not to be blamed themselves, came to the rock with three thousand armed men, and compelled to Samson of the bold insults he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring calamity upon the whole nation of the Hebrews; and they told him they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to them, and put him into their power; so they desired him to bear this willingly. Accordingly, when he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than only to deliver him into his enemies’ hands, he came down from the rock, and put himself into the power of his countrymen. Then did they bind him with two cords, and lead him on, in order to deliver him to the Philistines; and when they

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* Here, by a prophet, Josuephus seems only to mean one that was born by a prophet's wife; and that he was a prophet, lived after the manner of a Nazarite devoted to God, and was to have an extraordinary endowment and strength from God, as the prophet and saviour of his people Israel, without any prophetic revelations at all.
came to a certain place, which is now called the
Jaw-bone, on account of the great action there
performed by Samson, though of old it had no par-

ticular name at all, the Philistines, who had pitched
their camp not far off, came to meet them with joy
and shouting, as having done a great thing, and

gained what they desired. Now Samson broke his
bonds asunder, and catching up the jaw-bone of a

\* This fork, called Loth, or the jaw-bone, is still in use, as re-

collected from various persons, and was formerly in the days of John

Smith, and has been known by the same name in all those past ages.

\* See this justly observed in the Aposstolic Constitutions, B. v. chap.

III. that Samson’s prayer was heard, but that it was before this

the transgression.

ambush within the house; and when he was dis-

ordered in drink and asleep, she bound him as fast

as possible with the withs; and then upon her

awakening him, she told him some of the people

were upon him; but he broke the withs, and en-

deavoured to defend himself, as though some of the

people were upon him. Now this woman, in the

constant conversation Samson had with her, pre-

tended that she did not yet believe that he had such

little confidence in her affection to him, that he

would not tell her what she had desired, as if she

would not conceal what she knew it was for his

interest to have concealed. However, he deluded

her again, and told her, that if they bound him

with seven cords, he should lose his strength. And

when upon doing this, she gained nothing, he told

her the third time, that his hair should be woven

into a web; but when, upon doing this, the truth

was not yet discovered, at length Samson, upon

Delilah’s prayer (for he was doomed to fall into

some affliction), was desirous to please her, and

told her that God took care of him, and that

he was born by his providence, and that “there

is that I suffer my hair to grow, God having

charged me never to pull my head, and thence my

strength is according to the increase and continu-

ance of my hair.” When she had learned thus

much, and had deprived him of his hair, she de-

livered him up to his enemies, when he was not

strong enough to defend himself from their attempts

upon him; so they cut out his eyes, and bound him,

and had him led about among them.

12. But in process of time Samson’s hair grew

again. And there was a public festival among the

Philistines, when the rulers and those of the most

eminent character were feasting together (now the

room wherein they were, had its roof supported by
two pillars); so they sent for Samson, and he was

brought to their feast, that they might insult him

in their cups. Hereupon he, thinking it one of the

greatest misfortunes, if he should not be able to re-
venge himself when he was thus insulted, persuaded
the boy that led him by the hand, that he was

needy and wanted to rest himself, and desired he

would bring him near the pillars; and as soon as

he came to them, he rushed with force against

them, and overthrew the house, by overthrowing

its pillars, with three thousand men in it, who were

all slain, and Samson with them. And such was

the end of this man, when he had ruled over the

Israelites twenty years. And indeed this man de-

serves to be admired for his courage and strength,

and magnanimity at his death, and that his wrath

against his enemies went so far as to die himself

with them. But as for his being ensnared by a

woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature,

which is too weak to resist the temptations to that

sin; but we ought to bear him witness, that in all

other respects, he was one of extraordinary virtue.

But his kindred took away his body, and buried it

in Saron, his own country, with the rest of his

family.

CHAPTER IX.

NOW UNDER ELI’S GOVERNMENT OF THE ISRAEL

BOOBZ MARRIED RUTH, FROM WHOM CAME

THE GRANDFATHER OF DAVID.

§ 1. Now after the death of Sa-
priest was governor of the Isry
When the country was afflicted with a famine, Elijmech of Bethlehem, which is a city of the tribe of Judah, being not able to support his family under so sore a distress, took with him Naomi his wife, and the children that were born to him, and his sons, Hellon and Mahlon, and removed his habitation into the land of Moab; and upon the happy prosperity of his affairs there, he took for his sons, wives of the Moabites, Orpah for Helion, and Ruth for Mahlon. But in the compass of ten years both Elijmech, and a little while after him, the sons died; and Naomi being very uneasy at these accidents, and not being able to bear her lonesome condition, now those that were dearest to her were dead, on whose account it was that she had gone away from her own country, she returned to her again, for she had been informed it was now in a flourishing condition. However, her daughters-in-law, were not able to think of parting with her; and when they had a mind to go out of the country with her, she could not dissuade them from it; but when they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had with her sons, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also; and seeing her own affairs were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were, and not to think of leaving their own country, and parting with her, as she supposed she should not return. Accordingly Orpah said behind; but she took Ruth along with her, as not to be persuaded to stay behind her, but would take her fortune with her, whatsoever it should prove.

2. When Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to Bethlehem, Booz, who was near of kin to Elijmech, entertained her; and when Naomi was so called by her fellow-citizens, according to her true name, she said, "You might more truly call me Mara." Now Naomi signifies in the Hebrew tongue, happiness, and Marn, sorrow. It was now reaping time; and Ruth, by the leave of her mother-in-law, went out to glean, that they might get a stock of corn for their food. Now it happened that she came into Booz's field; and after some time Booz came thither, and when he saw the damsel he enquired of his servant that was set over the reapers, concerning the girl. The servant had a little before enquired about all her circumstances, and told them to his master, who kindly embraced her, both on account of her affection to her mother-in-law, and her remembrance of that son of hers to whom she had been married, and wished that she might experience a prosperous condition; so he desired her not to glean, but to reap what she was able, and gave her leave to carry it home. He also gave it in charge to that servant who was over the reapers, not to hinder her when she took it away, and bade him give her her dinner, and make her drink when he did like to the reapers. Now what corn Ruth received of him, she kept for her mother-in-law, and came to her in the evening, and brought the end of corn with her; and Naomi had kept for her a part of such food as her neighbours had plentifully bestowed upon her. Ruth also told her mother-in-law what Booz had said to her; and when the other had informed her that he was near of kin to them, and perhaps was so pious a man as to make some provision for them, she went out again on the days following, to gather the gleanings with Booz's maid-servants.

3. It was not many days before Booz, after the barley was winnowed, slept in his threshing floor.
The occasion was this: Eli, the high-priest, had two sons, Hophni and Phineas. These sons of Eli were guilty of injustice towards men, and of impurity towards God, and abstained from no sort of wickedness. Some of their gifts they carried off, as belonging to the honourable employment they had; others of them they took away by violence. They also were guilty of impurity with the women that came to worship God [at the tabernacle], obliging some to submit to their lust by force, and enticing others by bribes; nay, the whole course of their lives was no better than tyranny. Their father therefore was angry at them for such wickedness, and expected that God would suddenly inflict his punishments upon them for what they had done. The multitude took it heinously also: and so soon as God had foretold what calamity would befall Eli’s sons, which he did both to Eli himself, and to Samuel the prophet, who was yet but a child, he openly showed his sorrow for his sons’ destruction.

2. I will first dispatch what I have to say about the prophet Samuel, and after that will proceed to speak of the sons of Eli. I am now brought to the whole people of the Hebrews. Eli-camah, a Levite, one of a middle condition among his fellow-citizens, and one that dwelt at Ramathaim, a city of the tribe of Ephraim, married two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. He had children by the latter; but he loved the other best, although she was barren. Now Eleanam came with his wives to the city Shiloh to sacrifice, for there it was that the tabernacle of God was fixed, as we have formerly said. Now when, after he had sacrificed, he distributed at that festival a portion for his wife twice over, and when Hannah saw the other wife’s children sitting round about their mother, she fell into tears, and lamented herself on account of her barrenness and loneliness; and suffering her grief to prevail over her husband’s consolations to her, she went to the tabernacle to beseech God to give her seed, and to take her a mother; and to vow to consecrate the first son she should bear to the service of God, and his in such a way, that his manner of living should not be like that of ordinary men. And as she conformed at her prayers a long time, a visitation came to her, before the tabernacle, hid her away, thinking she had been disordered with wine; but when she said she had drank water, but as in sorrow for want of children, and was beseeching God for them, he bid her be of good cheer, and did her that God would send her children.

3. So she came to her husband full of hope, and at her meal with gladness. And when they had returned to their own country, she found herself with child, and they had a son born to them, to the great joy of her name of Samuel, which may be styled one that was asked of God. They therefore came to the tabernacle to offer sacrifice for the birth of the child, and brought their tithes with him; but the woman remembered the vow she had made concerning her son, and delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God, that he might become prophet. Accordingly his hair was suffered to row long, and his drink was water. So Samuel went and was brought up in the temple. But Hannah had other sons by Hamnah, and three maids.

4. Now when Samuel was twelve years old, he began to prophesy; and once when he was asleep, he was called to him by his name; and he, supposing he had been called by the high-priest, came to him; but when the high-priest said he did not call him, God did so thrice. Eli was then so far illuminated, that he said to him, “Indeed, Samuel, I was silent now as well as before: it is God that calleth thee; do thou therefore signify it to him, and say, I am here ready.” So when he heard God speak again, he desired him to speak, and to deliver what oracles he pleased to him, for he would not fail to perform any ministration whatsoever he should make use of in it—so God replied, “Since thou art here ready, learn what miseries are coming upon the Israelites,—such indeed as words cannot declare, nor faith believe; for the sons of Eli shall die on one day, and the priesthood shall be transferred into the family of Eleazar; for Eli hath loved his sons more than he hath loved my worship, and to such a degree as is not for their advantage.” Which message Eli obliged the prophet by oath to tell him, for otherwise he had no inclination to afflict him by telling it. And now Eli had a far more just expectation of the perdition of his sons; but the glory of Samuel increased more and more, it being found by experience that whatsoever he prophesied came to pass accordingly.*

CHAP. XI.

HERE IS DECLARED WHAT BEFEL THE SONS OF ELI, THE ARK, AND THE PEOPLE; AND HOW ELI HIMSELF DIED MISERABLY.

§ 1. About this time it was that the Philistines made war against the Israelites, and pitched their camp at the city Aphek. Now when the Israelites had expected them a little while, the very next day they joined battle, and the Philistines were conquerors, and slew above four thousand of the Hebrews, and pursued the rest of their multitude to their camp.

2. So the Hebrews being afraid of the worst, sent to the senate, and to the high-priest, and desired that they would bring the ark of God, that by putting themselves in array, when it was present with them, they might be too hard for their enemies, as not reflecting that he who had condemned them to endure these calamities was greater than the ark, and for whose sake it was that this ark came to be honoured. So the ark came, and the sons of the high-priest with it, having received a charge from their father, that if they pretended to survive the taking of the ark, they should come no more into his presence; for Phinehas officiated already as high-priest, his father having resigned his office to him, by reason of his years. So the Hebrews were full of courage, as supposing that, by the coming of the ark, they should be too hard for their enemies: their enemies also were greatly concerned, and were afraid of the ark’s coming to the Israelites; however, the upshot did not prove agreeable to the expectation of both sides, when the battle was joined, that victory which Hebrews expected, was gained by the Philistians and that defeat the Philistines were afraid of,

* Although there had been a few occasional prophets before, yet this Samuel the first of a constant succession of prophets in the nation, as is implied in St. Peter’s words, Acts iii. 21. And the prophets, from Samuel, and those that follow after spoken, have likewise foretold of these days.” See The others were rather sometimes called righteous r a u l. 17.
to the lot of the Israelites, and thereby they found that they had put their trust in the ark in vain, for they were presently beaten as soon as they came to a close fight with their enemies, and lost about thirty thousand men, among whom were the sons of the high-priest; but the ark was carried away by the enemies.

3. When the news of this defeat came to Shiloh, with that of the captivity of the ark, (for a certain young man, a Benjamite, who was in the action, came as a messenger thither,) the whole city was full of lamentations. And Eli, the high-priest, who sat upon a high throne at one of the gates, heard their mournful cries, and supposed that some strange thing had befallen his family. So he sent for the young man; and when he understood what had happened in the battle, he was not much uneasy as to his sons, or what was told him withal about the army, as having before-hand known by divine revelation that those things would happen, and having himself declared them before-hand,—for what sad things come unexpectedly, they distress men the most; but as soon as he heard the ark was carried captive by their enemies, he was very much grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently from what he expected; so he fell down from his throne and died, having in all lived ninety-eight years, and of them retained the government forty.

4. On the same day his son Phineas’s wife died also, as not able to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of her husband’s death as she was in labour. However, she bore a son in seven months, who lived, and to whom they gave the name of Abdon, which signifies leprous; and this because the army received a disease at this time.

5. Now Eli was the first of the family of the Hophar, the other son of Aaron that had the government; for the family of Eleazar officiated as high priests at first; but the family of Phineas after him; and Abiezer, son of his, received the honour, and delivered it to his son, whose name was Bukki, from whom his son Ozi received it; and after whom, Eli, of whom we have been speaking, had the priesthood, and so he and his posterity until the time of Solomon’s reign; but then the posterity of Eleazar reasumed it.

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**BOOK VI.**

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF ELI TO THE DEATH OF SAUL.

CHAPTER I.

THE DESTRUCTION THAT CAME UPON THE PHILISTINES, AND UPON THEIR LAND, BY THE WRATH OF GOD, ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR HAVING CARRIED THE ARK AWAY CAPTIVE; AND AFTER WHAT MANNER THEY SENT IT BACK TO THE HEBREWS.

§ 1. When the Philistines had taken the ark of the Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they carried it to the city of Ashdod, and put it by their own god, who was called Dagon;* as one of their spoils; but when they went into their temple the next morning to worship their god, they found him paying the same worship to the ark, for he lay along, as having fallen down from the basis, whereas he had stood: so they took him up and set him on his basis again, and were much troubled at what had happened; and as they frequently came to Dagon and found him still lying along, in a posture of adoration to the ark, they were in very great distress and confusion. At length God sent a very destructive disease upon the city and country of Ashdod, for they died of the dysentery and flux, a sore distemper, that brought death upon them very suddenly; for before the soul could, as usual in easy deaths, be well loosen from the body, they brought up their entrails, and vomited up what they had eaten, and what was entirely corrupted by the disease. And as to the fruits of their country, a great multitude of mice arose out of the earth, and hurt them, and spared neither the plants nor the fruits. Now while the people of Ashdod were under these misfortunes, and were not able to report themselves under their calamities, they perceived that they suffered thus because of the ark, and that the victory they had gotten, and their bearing the ark captive, had not happened for their good; they therefore sent to the people of Askelon, and desired that they would receive the ark and them. This desire of the people of Ashdod was not disagreeable to those of Askelon, so they granted them that favour. But when they had gotten the ark, they were in the same miserable condition: for the ark carried along with it the disasters that the people of Ashdod had suffered, to those who received it from them. Those of Askelon sent it away from themselves to others; nor did it stay among those others neither; for since they were pursued by the same disasters, they still sent it to the neighbouring cities; so that the ark went round, after this manner, to the five cities of the Philistines, as though it exacted these disasters as a tribute to be paid it for its coming among them. 2. When those that had experienced these miseries were tired out with them, and when those that heard of them were taught thereby not to admit the ark among them, since they paid so dear a tribute for it, at length they sought for some contrivance and method how they might get free from it: so the governors of the five cities, Gath, and Ekron, and Askelon, as also of Gaza, and Ashdod,
before them to proceed in, they went no farther, but stopped the cart there. This was a sight to those of that village, and they were very glad; for it being then summer-time, and all the inhabitants being then in the fields gathering in their fruits, they left off the labours of their hands for joy, as soon as they saw the ark, and ran to the cart, and taking the ark down, and the vessel that had the images in it, and the mice, they set them upon a certain rock which was in the plain; and when they had offered a splendid sacrifice to God, and consecrated, they offered the cart and the kine as a burnt-offering; and when the lords of the Philistines saw this, they returned back. 4.

But now it was that the wrath of God overtook them, and struck seventy persons of the village of Bethshemesh dead, who, not being priests, and so not worthy to touch the ark, had approached to it. Those of that village wept for these that had thus suffered, and made such a lamentation as was naturally to be expected on so great a misfortune that was sent from God; and every one mourned for his own relations. And since they acknowledged themselves unworthy of the ark’s sabodes with them, they sent to the public senate of the Israelites, and informed them that the ark was restored by the Philistines; which when they knew, they brought it away to Kirjathjearim, a city in the neighbourhood of Bethshemesh. In this city lived one Abinadab, by birth a Levite, and who was greatly commended for his righteous and religious course of life; so they brought the ark to his house, as to a place fit for God himself to abide in, since therein did inhabit a righteous man. His sons also ministered to the living sacrifice at the ark, and were the principal curators of it for twenty years; for so many years it continued in Kirjathjearim, having been but four months with the Philistines.

CHAPTER II.


§ 1. Now while the city of Kirjathjearim had the ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about his worship. So Samuel the prophet, seeing how ready they were to do their duty, thought this a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition, about the recovery of the ark of liberty, and of the blessings that went with it. Accordingly he used such words to them as he thought most likely to excite that inclination, and to persuade them to attempt it: “O you Israelites,” said he, “to whom the Philistines are still grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be gracious, it behoves you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper methods to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to get clear of your lords and masters, while you still do what will procure your continu-
ance under them. Be righteous then, and cast wickedness out of your souls, and by your worship supplicate the Divine Majesty with all your hearts, and persevere in the honour you pay to him; for if you act thus, you will enjoy prosperity; you will be freed from your slavery, and will get the victory over your enemies; which blessings it is not possible you should attain, either by weapons of war, or by the strength of your bodies, or by the multitude of your assistants; for God has not promised to grant these blessings by these means, but by being good and righteous men; and if you will be such, I will be security to you for the performance of God’s promises.” When Samuel had said thus, the multitude applauded his discourse, and were pleased with his exhortation to them, and gave their consent to resign themselves up to do what was pleasing to God. So Samuel gathered them together to a certain city called Mizpeh, which, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies a watch-tower; there they drew water, and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers.

2. This their assembly did not escape the notice of the Philistines: so when they had learned that so large a company had met together, they fell upon the Hebrews with a great army and mighty forces, as hoping to assault them when they did not expect it, nor were prepared for it. This thing affrighted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror; so they came running to Samuel, and said that their souls were sunk by their fears, and by the former defeat they had received, and that they were not what they lay still, lest we should excite the powers of our enemies against us. Now while thou hast brought us hither to offer up our prayers and sacrifices, and take oaths [to be obedient], our enemies are making an expedition against us, while we are naked and unarmed; wherefore we have no other hope of deliverance but that by thy means, and by the assistance of God shall afford us upon thy prayers to him, we shall obtain deliverance from the Philistines.” Hereupon Samuel bade them be of good cheer, and promised them that God would assist them; and taking a sucking lamb, he sacrificed it, and bade Samuel go to him, and hold his protecting hand over them when they should fight with the Philistines, and not to overlook them, nor suffer them to come under a second misfortune. Accordingly God hearkened to his prayers, and accepting their sacrifice with a gracious intention, and such as was disposed to assist them, he granted them victory and power over their enemies. Now while the altar had the sacrifice of God upon it, and had not yet consumed it wholly by its sacred fire, they were marched out of their camp, and was put in order of battle, and in hopes that they should be conquerors, since the Jews were caught in distressed circumstances, as neither having their weapons with them, nor being assembled there in order to fight. But things so fell out, that they would hardly have been credited though they had been foretold by any body: for, in the first place, God disturbed their enemies with an earthquake, and moved the ground under them to such a degree, that he caused it to tremble, and made them to shake it insomuch that by its trembling, he made some unable to keep their feet, and made them fall down, and, by opening their chasms, he caused that others should be buried down into them; after which he caused such a noise of thunder to ensue among them, and made fiery lightning shine terribly round about them, that it was ready to burn their faces; and he so suddenly shook their weapons out of their hands, that he made them fly and return home naked. So Samuel with the multitude pursued them to Bethcar, a place so called; and there he set up a stone as a boundary of their victory and their enemies’ flight, and called it the Stone of Peace, as a signal of that power God had given them against their enemies.

3. So the Philistines, after this stroke, made as many expeditions against the Israelites, but by all out of fear, and out of remembrance of what had befallen them: and what courage the Philistines had formerly against the Hebrews, that, after the victory, was transferred to the Hebrews. Samuel also made an expedition against the Philistines, and slew many of them, and entirely humbled their proud hearts, and took from them that country, which, when they were formerly conquerors in battle, they had cut off from the Jews, which was the country that extended from the borders of Galilee to the city of Ekron: but the remains of the Canaanites were at this time in friendship with the Israelites.

CHAPTER III.

HOW SAMUEL, WHEN HE WAS SO INFIRM IN AGE THAT HE COULD NOT TAKE CARE OF THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS, INSTITUTED THEM TO HIS SONS; HOW, UPON THE EVIL ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT BY THEM, THE MULTITUDE WERE SO ANGRY, THAT THEY REQUIRED TO HAVE A KING TO GOVERN THEM, ALTHOUGH SAMUEL WAS MUCH UPSET THEREOF.

§ 1. But Samuel the prophet, when he had ordered the affairs of the people after a convenient manner, and had appointed a city for every district of them, he commanded them to come to such cities, where the community of them that had one with another was determined in them, he himself going over these cities twice in a year, and doing them justice; and by that means he kept them in very good order for a long time.

2. But afterwards he found himself oppressed with old age, and not able to do what he used to do, so he committed the government and the care of the multitude to his sons,—the elder of whom was called Joel, and the name of the younger was Abiah. He also enjoined them to reside and judge the people, the one at the city of Bethel, and the other at Beersheba, and divided the people into districts that should be under the jurisdiction of each of them. Now these men afford us an evident example and demonstration how some children are not of the like dispositions with their parents; but sometimes perhaps good and moderate, though born of wicked parents; and sometimes showing themselves to be wicked, though born of good parents; for these men, turning aside from their father’s good courses, and taking a course that was contrary to those, perverted justice for the filthy love of gifts and bribes, and made their determinations according to truth, but according to bribery, and turned aside to luxury, and a costly way of living; so that as, in the first place, they practised what
was contrary to the will of God, so did they; in the second place, what was contrary to the will of the prophet their father, who had taken great delight in the ears, and made a very careful provision that the multitude should be righteous.

3. But the people, upon these injuries offered to their former constitution and government by the prophet's sons, were very uneasy at their actions, and came running to the prophet, who then lived at the city Ramah, and informed him of the transmissions of his sons; and said, That as he was himself old already, and too infirm by that age of his to oversee their affairs in the manner he used to do, so they ordained them a king to appoint some person to be king over them, who might rule over the nation, and avenge them of the Philistines, who ought to be punished for their former oppressions. These words greatly afflicted Samuel, on account of his innate love of justice, and his hatred to kingly government, for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as what made the men that used it of a divine and happy disposition; nor could he either think of eating or sleeping, out of his concern and torment of mind at what they had said, but all the night long did he meditate about it, and resolved these notions in his mind.

4. While he was thus disposed, God appeared to him, and comforted him, saying, That he ought not to be uneasy at what the multitude desired, because it was not he, but Himself whom they so insolently despised, and would not have to be alone their king; that they had been contriving these things from the very day that they came out of Egypt; that however in no long time they would rarely repent of what they did, which repentance yet could undo what was thus done for a great reason; that they would be sufficiently rebuked for their contempt, and the ungrateful conduct they have used towards me, and towards thy prophetic office. So I command thee to ordain them such a one as I shall name. Beforehand to be his king, when thou hast first described what mischief kingly government will bring upon them, and openly testified before them into what a great change of affairs they are hastening.

5. When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was a man; he was a king; he was first to describe to them what would follow, what treatment they would receive from their kings, and with how many mischief they must struggle. For know ye, said he, that, in the first place, they will take your sons away from you, and they will command some of them to be drivers of their chariots, and some to be their horsemen, and the guards of their bodies, and others of them to be runners before them, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds; they will also make them their artificers, makers of armour, and of chariots, and of instruments; they will make them their eunuchs also, and the curators of their own fields, and the diggers of their vineyards; nor will there be any thing which they will not do at their commands, as if they were slaves bought with money. They will also appoint your daughters to be confectioners, and cooks, and bakers; and these will be obliged to do all sorts of work which women slaves that are in fear of stripes and torments submit to. It will, besides this, take away your possessions, and bestow them upon their camels, and the guards of their bodies, and will give the

herds of your cattle to their own servants: and to say briefly all at once, you, and all that is yours, will be servants to your king, and will become no way superior to his slaves; and when you suffer thus, you will thereby be put in mind of what I now say; and when you repent of what you have done, you will beseech God to have mercy upon you, and to grant you a quick deliverance from your kings; but he will not accept your prayers, but will neglect you, and permit you to suffer the punishment your evil conduct has deserved.

6. But the multitude was still so foolish as to be deaf to these predictions of what would befall them; and too peevish to suffer a determination which they had injudiciously once made, to be taken out of their mind; for they could not be turned from their purpose, nor did they regard the words of Samuel, but peremptorily insisted on their resolution, and desired him to ordain them a king immediately, and not to trouble himself with fears of what would happen hereafter, for that it was necessary they should have with them one to fight their battles, and to avenge them of their enemies, and that it was no way absurd, when their neighbours were under kingly government. And when you suffer the same form of government also. So when Samuel saw that what he had said had not diverted them from their purpose, but that they continued resolute, he said, Go every one home for the present; when it is fit I will send for you, as soon as I shall have learned from God what it is that he will give you for your king.
overtake a company of prophets, and thou shalt be seized with the divine spirit, and prophesy along with them, till every one that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, Whence is it that the son of Kish has arrived at this degree of happiness? And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee; then do thou salute thy father and thy kindred. Thou shalt come when I send for thee to Gilgal, that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these blessings.

When Samuel had said this, and foretold these things, he sent the young man away. Many things fell out to Saul according to the prophecy of Samuel.

3. But as soon as Saul came into the house of his kinsman Abner, whom indeed he loved better than the rest of his relations, he was asked by him concerning his journey, and what accidents had happened to him therein; and he concealed none of the other things from him, nor, not his coming to Samuel the prophet, nor how he told him the asses were found, but he said nothing to him about the kingdom, or what belonged thereto, which he thought should not be procured, and when such things are kept, they are not easily believed; nor did he think it prudent to tell those things to him, although he appeared very friendly to him, and one whom he loved above the rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, what human nature really is, that no one is a firm friend, neither among our intimates nor of our kindred; nor do they preserve that kind disposition when God advances men to great prosperity, but they are still ill-natured and envious at those that are in eminent stations.

4. Thus he came to the city Mizpeth, and spake to them in the words following, which he said he was to speak by the command of God:—That when he had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies into subjection, they were become unmindful of his benefits, and rejected God that he should not be their king; not as considering that it would be most for their advantage to be presided over by the best of men; for God is the best of beings, and they chose to have a man for their king, while kings use their subjects as beasts, according to the violence of their own wills and inclinations, and other passions, as wholly carried away with the lust of power, but will not endeavour so to preserve the race of mankind, as his own workmanship and creation, which for that very reason, God would take care of. But since you have come to a settled resolution, and this injurious treatment of God has prevailed over you, dispose yourselves by your tribes and sceptres, and cast lots.

5. When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon the tribe of Benjamin; and when the lot was cast for the families of this tribe, that which was called Matri was taken; and when the lot was cast for the single persons of the family, Saul, the son of Kish, was taken for their king. When the young man knew this he prevented [their sending for him], and immediately went away and hid himself.

I suppose that it was because he would not be thought that he willingly took the government upon him; nay, he showed such a degree of disconsolate over himself, and of modesty, that while the greatest part are not able to contain their joy, even in

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*It seems to me not improbable that those seventy guests of Samuel, as fore, with himself at the head of them, were a Jewish council; and it is highly probable that these seventy guests were of that Jewish council upon all occasions, which yet we never read that he consulted afterward.*

**An instance of this divine fury we have after this in 2 Sam xliv 2, 3; 1 Chron. xi. 5. See the like, Judges iii 10, iv 6, 8, 9, 11, 25, and xvi. 6.*
Whether they would cut off a small member of their body, or universally perish. — However, the Gileadites were so affrighted at these offers, that they had no courage to say any thing to either of them, neither that they would deliver themselves up, nor that they would fight him; but they desired that he would give them seven days respite, that they might send ambassadors to their countrymen, and entreat their assistance; and if they came to assist them they would fight; but if that assistance were impossible to be obtained from them, they said they would deliver themselves up to suffer whatever he pleased to inflict upon them.

2. So Nahash, concerning the multitude of the Gileadites, and the answer they gave, allowed them a respite, and gave them leave to send to whosoever they pleased for assistance. So they immediately sent to the Israelites, city by city, and informed them what Nahash had threatened to do to them, and what great distress they were in. Now the people fell into tears and grief at the hearing of what the ambassadors from Japhesah said; and the terror they were in permitted them to do nothing more; but when the messengers were come to the city of king Saul, and declared the danger in which the inhabitants of Japhesah were, the people were in the same affliction as those in the other cities, for they lamented the calamity of those related to them; and when Saul was returned from his husbandry into the city, he found his fellow-citizens weeping and lamenting; and when, upon inquiry, he had learned the cause of the confusion and sadness they were in, he was seized with a divine fury, and sent away the ambassadors from the inhabitants of Japhesah, and promised them to come to their assistance on the third day, and to beat their enemies before sun-rising, that the sun upon its rising might see that they had already conquered, and were freed from the fears they were under; but he bid some of them stay to conduct them the right way to Japhesah.

3. So being desirous to turn the people to this war against the Ammonites by fear of the losses they should otherwise undergo, and that they might the more suddenly be gathered together, he cut the sinews of his oxen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come with their armour to Jordan the next day; and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should lead them. So they came together, out of fear of the losses they were threatened with, at the appointed time; and the multitude were numbered at the city Bezok; and he found the number of those that were gathered together, besides that of the tribe of Judah, to be seven hundred thousand, while those of the other tribes were seventy thousand. So he passed over Jordan, and proceeded in marching all that night, thirty furlongs, and came to Japhesah before sun-rising. So he divided the army into three companies; and fell upon their enemies on every side on the sudden, and when they expected no such thing; and joining battle with them, they slew a great many of the Ammonites, as also their king Nahash. This glorious action was done by Saul, and was related with great commendation to him among the Hebrews: and he thereupon gained a wonderful reputation for his valor; for although there were some of them that contended him before, they now changed their minds, and honoured him, and esteemed him as the best of men: for he did not content himself with having saved the inhabitants of Japhesah only; but he made an expedition into the
country of the Ammonites, and laid it all waste, and took a large prey, and so returned to his own country most gloriously: so the people were greatly pleased at these excellent performances of Saul, and rejoiced that they had constituted him their king. They also made a clamour against those that pretended he would be of no advantage to their affairs; and they said, Where now are these men?—let them be brought to punishment, with all the like things that multitudes usually say when they are elevated with prosperity, against those that lately had despised the authors of it; but Saul, although he took the good-will and the affections of these men very kindly, yet did he swear that he would not see any of his countrymen slain that day, since it was absurd to mix this victory, which God had given them, with the blood and slaughter of those that were of the same lineage with themselves; and that it was more agreeable to be men of a friendly disposition, and so to betake themselves to feasting.

4. And when Samuel had told them that he ought to confirm the kingdom to Saul by a second ordination of him, they all came together to the city of Gilgal, for thither did he command them to come. So the prophet anointed Saul with the holy oil in the sight of the multitude, and declared to him the second king; and so all that government of the Hebrews was changed into a regal government; for in the days of Moses and his disciple Joshua, who was their general, they continued under an aristocracy; but after the death of Joshua, for eighteen years in all, the multitude had no settled form of government, but were, in an anarchy; after which they returned to their former government, they then permitting themselves to be judged by him who appeared to be the best warrior, and most courageous, whence it was that they called this interval of their government, the Judges.

5. Then did Samuel the prophet call another assembly also, and said to them, "I solemnly adjure you, by God Almighty, who brought those excellent brethren, I mean Moses and Aaron, into the world, and delivered our fathers from the Egyptians, and from the slavery they endured under them, that you will not speak what you say to gratify me, nor suppress any thing out of fear of me, nor be overborne by any other passion, but say, What have I ever done that was cruel or unjust? or what have I done out of cruelty or covetousness, or to gratify others? Bear witness against me, I have taken an ox or a sheep, or any such thing, which yet when they are taken to support men it is esteemed blameless; or have I taken an ass for mine own use of any one to his grief—I lay some one such crime to my charge, now we are in your king's presence." But they cried out, that no such thing had been done by him, but that he had presided over the nation after a holy and righteous manner.

6. Hereupon Samuel, when such a testimony had been given him by them at all, said, "Since you grant that you are not able to lay any ill thing to my charge hitherto, come on now, and do you ascertain while I speak with great freedom to you. You have been guilty of great impiety against God, in asking you a king. It behoves you to remember, that our grandfather Jacob came down into Egypt, by reason of a famine, with seventy souls only of our family, and that their posterity multiplied there to many ten thousands, whom the Egyptians brought into slavery and hard oppression; that God himself, upon the prayers of our fathers, sent Moses and Aaron, who were brethren, and gave them power to deliver the multitude out of their distress, and that they went without a king in this very land which you now possess; and when you enjoyed these advantages from God, you betrayed his worship and religion; nay, moreover, when you were brought under the hands of your enemies, he delivered you, first by rendering you superior to the Assyrians and their forces, he then made you to overcome the Ammonites, and the Moabites, and last of all the Philistines; and these things have been achieved under the conduct of Jephthah and Gideon. What madness therefore possessed you to fly from God, and to be under a king?—yet have I ordained him for king whom he chose for you. However, that I may make it plain to you that God is angry and displeased at your choice of kingly government, I will so dispose him that he shall declare this very plainly to you by strange signals; for what none of you ever saw here before, I mean a winter storm in the midst of harvest, I will entreat of God, and I will make it visible to you." Now, as soon as he had said this, God gave such great signals by thunder and lightning, and the descent of hail, as was enough to attest the truth of all that the prophet had said, insomuch that they were amazed and terrified, and confessed they had sinned, and had fallen into that sin through ignorance; and besought the prophet, as one that was a tender and gentle father to them, to read God so merciful as to forgive this their sin, which they had added to those other offences whereby they had affronted him and transgressed against him. So he promised them that he would bless God, and persuade him to forgive them their sins. However, he advised them to be righteous, and to be good, and ever to remember the mischief that had befallen them on account of their departure from virtue: as also to remember the strange signs God had shown them, and the body of laws that Moses had given them, if they had any desire of being preserved and made happy with their king; but he said, that if they should grow careless of these things, great judgments would come from God upon them, and upon their king: and also that Samuel had thus prophesied to the Hebrews, he dismissed them to their own homes, having confirmed the kingdom to Saul the second time.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW THE PHILISTINES MADE ANOTHER EXPEDITION AGAINST THE HEBREWS, AND WERE REPELLED.

§ 1. Now Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took ten thousand of them to be the guards of his own body, and abide in the city Bethel, but he gave the rest of them to Jonathan his son, to be the guards of his body; and sent him to Gibeah, where he besieged and took a certain garrison of the Philistines, not far from Gibeah; for the Philistines of Gibeah had beaten the Jews, and taken their weapons away, and had put garrisons into the strongest places in the land.

§ 2. Mr. Belau observes here, and pronounces in his note on 2 Sam. 10, ch. 1, sect. 5, that although thunder and lightning such as were seen at the time happen in summer, yet in Palestine and Syria they usually appear to winter. Josephus takes notice of the same thing again, War, 3, sect. 4.
been so quick in offering his sacrifices, upon account of the necessity he was in, and because his soldiers were departing from him, out of their fear of the enemy's camp at Michmash, the report being gone abroad that they were coming down upon him to Gilgal. To which Samuel replied, "Nay, certainly, if thou hast been a righteous man, and hast not disobeyed me, nor slighted the commands which God suggested to me concerning the present state of affairs, and hast not acted hastily than the present circumstances required, thou wouldst have been permitted to reign a long time, and thy posterity after thee." So Samuel being grieved at what happened, returned home; but Saul came to the city Gibeah, with his son Jonathan, having only six hundred men with him; and of these the greater part had no weapons, because of the scarcity of iron in that country, as well as of those that could make such weapons; for, as we showed a little before, the Philistines had not suffered them to have such iron or such workmen. Now the Philistines divided their army into three companies, and took as many roads, and laid waste the country of the Hebrews, while king Saul, and his son Jonathan saw what was done, but were not able to defend the land, having no more than six hundred men with them; but as he, and his son, and Abiah the high-priest, who was of the posterity of Eli the high-priest, were sitting upon a pretty high hill, and seeing the land laid waste, they were mightily disturbed at it. Now Saul's son agreed with his armour-bearer, that they would go privately to the enemy's camp, and make a tumult and a disturbance among them; and when the armour-bearer had readily promised to follow him whithersoever he should lead him, though he should be obliged to die in the attempt, Jonathan made use of the young man's assistance, and descended from the hill, and went to their enemies. Now the enemy's camp was upon a precipice which had three tops, that ended in a small, but sharp and long expanse, while there was a stretch of them, like lines made to prevent the attacks of an enemy. There it so happened, that the out-guards of the camp were neglected, because of the security that there arose from the situation of the place, and because they thought it altogether impossible, not only to ascend to the camp on that quarter, but so much as to come near it. As soon, therefore, as they came to the camp, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, and said to him, "Let us attack our enemies; and if, when they see us, they bid us come up to them, take that for a signal of victory; but if they say nothing, as not intending to invite us to come up, let us return back again." So when they were approaching to the enemy's camp, just after break of day, and the Philistines saw them, they said one to another, "The Hebrews come out of their dens and caves;" and they said to Jonathan and his armour-bearer, "Come on, 

* By this answer of Samuel, and that from a divine commission, which is fuller in 1 Sam. xii. 14; and by that parallel note in the Apostolical Constitutions, it is evident that our LXX. translators, in venturing, even under a seeming necessity of affairs, to usurp the sacred and sacred offices, and offer sacrifices without the presence of the king, as they have done in this case, were not able to answer that question which I have ever thought a very hard one, viz., Whether, if there were a city or country of Jews Christians, it were lawful for them, being without the king, to offer sacrificed to God, or to celebrate the eucharist, &c. or indeed whether they alone could ordain themselves either bishops, priests, or deacons, for the due celebration of such sacred ministrations; or whether they ought not rather, the more severe to procure clergy to be ordained by them, and to be within those bounds of pietas and Christianity which belong alone to the holy; much more particularly as it is recommended in the first book of Apostolical Constitutions, which particularly concern the latter, and is intimated in Clement's undoubted epistle, sect. 49. To whom I also incline,*
ascend up to us, that we may inflict a just punishment upon you, for your rash attempt upon us." So Saul's son accepted of that invitation, as what signified to him victory, and he immediately came out of the place whence they were seen by their enemies: so he changed his place, and came to the rock which had none to guard it, because of its own strength; from thence they crept up with great labour and difficulty, and so far overcome by force, as to change the nature of the place till they were able to fight with their enemies. So they fell upon them as they were asleep, and slew about twenty of them, and thereby filled them with disorder and surprise, insomuch that some of them threw away their entire armour and fled; but the greatest part, not knowing one another, because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies (for they did not imagine there were only two of the Hebrews that came up), and so they fought one against another; and some of them died in the battle, and some, as they were flying away, were thrown down from the rock headlong.  

3. Now Saul's watchmen told the king that the camp of the Philistines was in confusion; then he inquired whether any body was gone away from the army; and when he heard that his son, and with him his armour-bearer, were absent, he bade the high-priest take the garments of his high-priesthood, and prophesy to him what success they should have; who said that they should get the victory, and prevail against their enemies. So he went out after the Philistines, and set upon them as they were slaying one another. Those also who had fled to dens and caves, upon hearing that Saul was gaining a victory, came running to him. When, therefore, the number of the Hebrews that came to Saul amounted to about ten thousand, he pursued the enemy, who were scattered all over the country; but then he fell into an action, which was a very unhappy one, and liable to be very much blamed; for, whether out of ignorance, or whether out of uprightness, so strangely (for it frequently happens that persons so fortunate are not then able to use their reason consistently), as he was desirous to avenge himself, and to enact a due punishment of the Philistines, he denounced a curse* upon the Hebrews: That if any one put a stop to his slaughter of the enemy, and fell on eating, and left off the slaughter or the pursuit before the night came on, and obliged them so to do, he should be accursed. Now after Saul had denounced this curse, since they were now in a wood belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, which was thin and full of bees, Saul's son, who did not hear his father denounce that curse, nor hear of the approbation the multitude gave to it, broke off a piece of a honey-comb, and ate part of it. But, in the meantime, he was informed with what a curse his father had forbidden them to taste any thing before sun-setting: so he left off eating, and said his father had not done well in this prohibition, because, had they taken some food, they might have pursued the enemy with greater vigour and alacrity, and had both taken and slain many more of their enemies.

4. When therefore they had slain many ten thousands of the Philistines, they fell upon spoiling the camp of the Philistines, but not till late in the evening. They also took a great deal of prey and cattle, and killed them, and ate them with their blood. This was told to the king by the scouts, that the multitude were simming against God; and when he ascended on the hill of the Philistines, there was a vast deal of restlessness among the blood, which was well washed away, and the flesh was made clean. Then did Saul give order that a great stone should be rolled into the midst of them, and he made proclamation that they should kill their sacrifices upon it, and not feed upon the flesh with the blood, for that was not acceptable to God. And when all the people did as the king commanded them, Saul erected an altar there, and offered burnt-offerings upon it to God.* This was the first altar that Saul built.

5. So when Saul was desirous of leading his men to the enemy's camp before it was day, in order to plunder it, and when the soldiers were unwilling to follow him, but indeed showed great readiness to do as he commanded them, the king called Ahitub the high-priest, and enjoined him to know of God whether he would grant them the favour and permission to go against the enemy's camp, in order to destroy those that were in it; and when the priest said that God did not give any answer, Saul replied, "And not without some cause does God refuse to answer what we inquire of him, while I have a little while ago he declared to us all that we desired before-hand, and even prevented us in his answer. To be sure, there is some sin against him that is concealed from us, which is the occasion of his silence. Now I swear by him himself, though he hath committed this sin should prove to be my own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and by that means will appease the anger of God against us, and that in the very same manner as if I were to punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offence." So when the multitude saw the priest so to do, he presently set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought to discover the offender by lot. Now the lot appeared to fall upon Jonathan himself. So when he was asked by his father what sin he had been guilty of, and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed instances of guilt or profanation, his answer was this: "O father, I have done nothing more than that yesterday, without knowing of the curse and oath thou hast denounced, while I was in pursuit of my enemies, I tasted of a honey-comb.

But Saul swore that he would slay him, and prefer the observation of his oath, before all the ties of birth and nature; and Jonathan was not dismayed at this threatening of death, but, offering himself to it generously and undauntedly, he said, "I desire you, father, to spare me: death will be to me very acceptable, when it proceeds from thy pious, and after a glorious victory; for it is the greatest consolation to me that I leave the Hebrews victorious over the Philistines." Hereupon all the people were very sorry for greatly afflicting Jonathan; and they averred that they would not overlook Jonathan, and see him die, who was the

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* This rash vow or curse of Saul, which Josephus says was confirmed by God in his silence, was not censured principally because some people supposed that he did not know of it, or because of the ordinary punishment that was given to those who defied God, but because it was a great profanation of sacrifices, and a running counter to the commandments of God. It was the offering of a thanksgiving sacrifice to God, and an observance of all promises made to God by Saul, and hence it was a sin that God would not forgive, and which the people could not overlook. It was an act of great folly, and was a thing that Saul ought not to have done, either because he omitted to consult with his high priest, or because he was not desirous of establishing a new altar by Saul, and his offering of burnt-offerings made a sin, and was not acceptable to God.
CHAPTER VII.

Saul's war with the Amalekites, and conquest of them.

Now Samuel came unto Saul, and said to him, he was sent by God to put him in mind that had preferred him before all others, and orded him king; that he therefore ought to be ent to him, and to submit to his authority, aserring, that though he had the dominion over her tribes, yet that God had the dominion him, and over all things; that accordingly did to him, that "because the Amalekites did herbs a great deal of mischief while they the wilderness, and when, upon their com of Egypt, they were making their way to country which is now their own, I enjoin thee the Amalekites, by making war upon and when thou hast subdued them, to leave them alive, but to pursue them through, and to slay them, beginning with the and the infants, and to require this as a to be inflicted upon them for the mis they did to our forefathers: to spare nothing,asses nor other beasts; nor to reserve any for your own advantage and possession, but them universally to God, and, in obedi the commands of Moses, to blot out the Amalekites entirely."**

Saul promised to do what he was com and supposing that his obedience to God shown, not only in making war againstikes, but more fully in the readiness and of his proceedings, he made no delay, but gathered together all his forces; and had numbered them in Gilgal, he found about four hundred thousand of the Israels the tribe of Judah, for that tribe

contained by itself thirty thousand. Accordingly Saul made an irruption into the country of the Amalekites, and set many men by a certain ambush at the river, that so he might not only do them mischief by open fighting, but might fall upon them unexpectedly in the ways, and might thereby compass them round about, and kill them. And when he had joined battle with the enemy, he beat them; and pursuing them as they fled, he destroyed them all. And when that undertaking had succeeded, according as God had foretold, he set upon the cities of the Amalekites; he besieged them, and took them by force, partly by warlike courage, partly by building walls on the outsomes they starved out with famine, and some they gained by other methods; and after all, he bestowed himself to slay the women and the children, and thought he did not act therein either barbarously or inhumanly: first, because they were enemies whom he had treated, and, in the next place, because it was done by the command of God, whom it was dangerous to obey. He also took Agag, the enemies' king, captive; the beauty and tallness of whose body he admired not so much, that he thought it was worthy of preservation; yet was not this done however, according to the will of God, but by giving way to human passions, and suffering himself to be moved with an unreasonable commiseration, in a point where it was not safe for him to indulge it; for God hated the nation of the Amalekites to such a degree, that he commanded Saul to have no pity on even those infants which we by nature chiefly compassionately; but Saul preserved their king and governor from the miseries which the Hebrews brought on the people, as if he preferred the fine appearance of the enemy to the memory of what God had sent him about. The multitude were also guilty, together with Saul; for they spared the herds, and the flocks, and took them for a prey, when God had commanded they should not spare them. They also carried off with them the rest of their wealth and riches; but if there were any thing that was not worthy of regard, that they destroyed.

But when Saul had conquered all these Amalekites that reached from Pelusium of Egypt to the Red Sea, he laid waste all the rest of the enemy's country; but for the nation of the Shechemites, he did not touch them, although they dwelt in the very middle of the country of Midian; for, before the battle, Saul had sent to them, and charged them to depart thence, lest they should be partakers of the miseries of the Amalekites; for he had a just occasion for saving them, since they were of the kindred of Raguel, Moses' father-in-law.

4. Hereupon Saul returned home with joy, for the glorious things he had done, and for the conquest of his enemies, as though he had not neglected any thing which the prophet had enjoined him to do when he was going to make war with the Amalekites, and as though he had exactly observed all that he ought to have done. But God was grieved that the king of the Amalekites was preserved alive, and that the multitude had seized on the cattle for a prey, because these things were done without his permission; for he thought it an intolerable thing that they should conquer and overcome their enemies by that power which he gave them, and then that he himself should be so grossly despised and disobeyed by them, that a mere man that was a king would not bear it.
to the lot of the Israelites, and thereby they found
that they had put their trust in the ark in vain, for
they were presently beaten as soon as they came to
a close fight with their enemies, and lost about
three thousand men, among whom were the sons
of the high-priest; but the ark was carried away
by the enemies.

3. When the news of this defeat came to Shiloh,
with that of the captivity of the ark, (for a certain
young man, a Benjamite, who was in the action,
came as a messenger thither,) the whole city was
full of lamentations. And Eli, the high-priest, who
sat upon a high throne at one of the gates, heard
their mournful cries, and supposed that some strange
thing had befallen his family. So he sent for the
young man; and when he understood what had
happened in the battle, he was not much uneasy as
to his sons, or what was told him withal about the
army, as having before-hand known by divine reve-
lation that those things would happen, and having
himself declared them before-hand,—for what sad
things come unexpectedly, they distress men the
most; but as soon as (he heard) the ark was car-
ried captive by their enemies, he was very much
grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently
from what he expected; so he fell down from his
throne and died, having in all lived ninety-eight
years, and of them retained the government fort.

4. On the same day his son Phineas's wife also,
as not able to survive the misfortune of her
husband; for they told her of her husband's death
as she was in labour. However, she bore a son
seven months, who lived, and to whom they gave
the name of Icaabod, which signifies 

* * *
and this because the army received a disgrace at
this time.

5. Now Eli was the first of the family of
Icaabod, the other son of Aaron that had the
government; for the family of Eleazar officiated as
high-priest at first, the son still receiving that honor
from the father which Eleazar bequeathed to his
son Phineas; after whom Abiezer his son took the
honour, and delivered it to his son, whose name
was Bucchi, from whom his son Ozi, received it;
after whom, Eli, of whom we have been speaking,
had the priesthood, and so he and his posterity
until the time of Solomon's reign; but then his
posterity of Eleazar reasserted it.

BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF ELI TO THE DEATH OF SAUL.

CHAPTER I.

THE DESTRUCTION THAT CAME UPON THE PHILISTINES,
AND UPON THEIR LAND, BY THE WRATH OF GOD,
ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR HAVING CARRIED THE ARK
AWAY CAPTIVE; AND AFTER WHAT MANNER THEY
SENT IT BACK TO THE HEBREWS.

§ 1. When the Philistines had taken the ark of the
Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they car-
rried it to the city of Ashdod, and put it by their
own god, who was called Dagon,* as one of their
spoils; but when they went into his temple the
next morning to worship their god, they found him
paying the same worship to the ark, for he lay
along, as having fallen down from the basis whereon
he had stood: so they took him up and set him on
his basis again, and were much troubled at what
had happened; and as they frequently came to
Dagon and found him still lying along, in a posture
of adoration to the ark, they were in very great
distress and confusion. At length God sent a very
destructive disease upon the city and country of
Ashdod, for they died of the dysentery and flux, a
sore distemper, that brought death upon them very
suddenly; for before the soul could, as usual in
case deaths, be well loosed from the body, they
brought up their entails, and vomited up what they
had eaten, and what was entirely corrupted by the
disease. And as to the fruits of their country, a

* Dagon, a famous flattened god or idol, is generally supposed to have
been like a man above the navel and like a fish beneath it.
CHAPTER II.


§ 1. Now while the city of Kirjathjearim had the ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about his worship. So Samuel the prophet, seeing how ready they were to do their duty, thought this a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition, about the recovery of their liberty, and of the blessings that accompanied the same. Accordingly he used such words to them as he thought were most likely to excite that inclination, and to persuade them to attempt it: "O you Israelites," said he, "to whom the Philistines are still grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be gracious, it behoves you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper methods to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to get clear of your lords and masters, while you still do what will procure your continu-
a woman, as Deborah had foretold. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor; and when he met with him, he slew him: and when the general was fallen, Barak overthrew the city to the foundation, and was the commander of the Israelites for forty years.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW THE MIDIANITES AND OTHER NATIONS FOUGHT AGAINST THE ISRAELITES, AND BEAT THEM, AND AFFLICTED THEIR COUNTRY FOR SEVEN YEARS. HOW THEY WERE DELIVERED BY GIDEON, WHO RULED OVER THE MULTITUDE FOR FORTY YEARS.

§ 1. Now when Barak and Deborah were dead, whose deaths happened at the same time, afterwards the Midianites called the Amalekites and Arabians to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and were too hard for those that fought against them; and when they had burnt the fruits of the earth, they carried off the prey. Now when they had done this for three years, the multitude of the Israelites retired to the mountains, and forsook the plain country. They also made themselves hollows under ground, and caverns, and preserved therein whatever had escaped their enemies; for the Midianites made expeditions in harvest-time, but permitted them to plough the land in winter, that so, when the others had taken the pains, they might have fruits for them to carry away. Indeed, there ensued a famine and a scarcity of food; upon which they betook themselves to their supplications to God, and besought him to save them.

2. Gideon also, the son of Joash, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his sheaves of corn privately, and thrashed them at the wine-press; for he was too fearful of their enemies to thrash them openly in the threshing-floor. At this time somewhat appeared to him in the shape of a young man, and told him that he was a happy man, and beloved of God. To which he immediately replied, "A mighty indication of God's favour to me, that I am forced to use this wine-press instead of a threshing-floor!" But the appearance exhorted him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of their liberty. He answered, that it was impossible for him to recover it, because the tribe to which he belonged was by no means numerous; and because he was but young himself, and too inconsiderable to think of such great actions; but the other promised him that God would supply what he was defective in, and would afford the Israelites victory under his conduct.

3. Now therefore, as Gideon was relating this to some young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men got ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him, that mankind were too fond of themselves, and were enemies to such as excelled in virtue. Now that they might not mock God over, but ascribe the victory to him, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power, because they were a great army, and able of themselves to fight their enemies, but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, he advised him to bring his army about noon, in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those that bent down on their knees and so drank, to be men of courage; but for all those that drank tumultuously, that he should esteem them to do it out of fear, and as in dread of their enemies. And when Gideon had done as God had suggested to him, there were found three hundred men that took water with their hands tumultuously; so God bid him take these men, and attack the enemy. Accordingly they pitched their camp at the river Jordan, as ready the next day to pass over it.

4. But Gideon was in great fear, for God had told him beforehand that he should set upon his enemies in the night-time; but God, being willing to free him from his fear, bid him take one of his soldiers, and go near to the Midianites' tents, that he should find from that very place have courage raised, and grow bold. So he obeyed, and went and took his servant Phurah with him; and as he came near to one of the tents, he discerned that those that were in it were awake, and that one of them was telling to his fellow a dream of his own, and that, as plain as to himself, that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this—He thought he saw a barley-cake, such a one as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal seat, and the tents of all the soldiers. Now the other soldier explained this vision to mean the destruction of the army; and told him what his recompense was which made him so conjecture, viz. That the seed called "barley" was all of it allowed to be of the vilest sort of seed, and that the Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the people of Asia, agreeably to the seed of barley, and that it seemed to look big among the Israelites was this Gideon and the army that was with him; "and since thou sayest thou didst see the cake overturning our tents, I am assured that God hath granted the victory over us to Gideon." 

5. When Gideon had heard this dream, God gave courage and hope came upon him; and he commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and told them of this vision of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready to perform what he should enjoin them; so Gideon divided his army into three parts, and brought it out about the fourth watch of the night, each watching containing a hundred men; they all bare empty pitchers and lighted lamps in their bands, that their onset might not be discovered by their enemies. They had also each of them a ram's horn in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet. The enemy's camp took up a large space of ground, for it happened that they had a vast many encamps; and as they were divided into different nations, so they were all contained in one circle. Now when the Hebrews did as they were ordered beforehand, upon their approach to their enemies, and, on the signal given, sounded with their ram's horns, and brake their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with their lamps, and a great shout, and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," a disorder and a fright seized upon the other men, that they were half asleep, for it was night-time, as that would have it; so that a few of them were slain by their enemies, but the greatest part by their own soldiers, on account of the diversity of their language; and when they were once put into disorder, they killed all that they met with, as thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there was a great slaughter made; and as the report of Gideon's
victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a certain valley encompassed with torrents, in a place which none could not get over; so they encompassed them, and slew them all, with their kings, Oreb and Zeeb; but the remaining captains led those soldiers that were left, which were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off the Israelites. However, Gideon did not grudge his pains, but pursued them with all his army, and joining battle with them, cut off the whole enemies' army, and took the other leaders, Zebah and Zalmunna, and made them captives. Now there were slain in this battle of the Midianites, and of their auxiliaries the Arabians, about a hundred and twenty thousand; and the Hebrews took a great prey, gold, and silver, and garments, and camels, and asses; and when Gideon was come to his own country of Ophrah, he slew the kings of the Midianites.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the good success of Gideon, that they resolved to make war against him, accusing him because he did not tell them of his expedition against their enemies; but Gideon, as a man of temper, and that excelled in every virtue, pleased, that it was not the result of his own authority or reasoning, that made him attack the enemy without them, but that it was the command of God, and still the victory belonged to them as well as those in the army; and by this method of cooling their passions, he brought more advantage to the Hebrews, than by the success he had gained against those enemies, for he thereby delivered them from a sedition which was arising among them; yet did this tribe afterwards suffer the punishment of this their injurious treatment of Gideon, of which we will give an account in due time.

7. Hereupon Gideon would have laid down the government, but was over-persuaded to take it, which he enjoyed forty years, and distributed justice to them, as the people came to him in their differences; and what he determined was esteemed valid by all; and when he died, he was buried in his own country of Ophrah.

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT THE JUDGES WHO SUCCEEDED GIDEON, MADE WAR WITH THE ADJOINING NATIONS FOR A LONG TIME.

1. Now Gideon had seventy sons that were legitimate, for he had many wives; but he had also one that was spurious, by his concubine Drumah, whose name was Abimelech, who, after his father's death, retired to Shechem, to his mother's relations, for they were of that place; and when he had got money of such of them as were eminent for many instances of injustice, he came with them to his father's house, and slew all his brethren, except Jotham, for he had the good fortune to escape and be preserved; but Abimelech made the government tyrannical, and constituted himself a lord, to do what he pleased, instead of obeying the laws; and he acted more rigidly against those that were the patrons of justice.

2. And when, in a certain time, there was a public festival at Shechem, and all the multitude was there gathered together, Jotham his brother, whose escape we before related, went up to Mount Gerizim, which hangs over the city Shechem, and cried out so as to be heard by the multitude, who were attentive to him. He desired they would consider what he was going to say to them; so when silence was made, he said, That when the trees had a human voice, and there was an assembly of them gathered together, they desired that the fig-tree would rule over them; but when that tree refused so to do, because he was contented to enjoy that honour which belonged peculiarly to the fruit it bore, and not that which should be derived to it from abroad, the trees did not leave off their intentions to have a ruler, so they thought proper to make the offer of that honour to the vine; but when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words which the fig-tree had used before, and excused itself from accepting the government; and when the olive-tree had done the same, the brier, whom the trees had desired to take the kingdom (it is a sort of wood good for firing), it promised to take the government, and to be zealous in the exercise of it; but that then they must sit down under its shadow, and if they should revolt against it to destroy it, the principle of fire that was in it, should destroy them. He told them that what he had said was no laughing matter; for that when they had experienced many blessings from Gideon, they overlooked Abimelech, when he overruled all, and had joined with him in slaying his brethren; and that he was no better than a fire himself. So when he had said this, he went away, and lived privately in the mountains for three years, out of fear of Abimelech.

3. A little while after this festival, the Shechemites, who had now repented themselves of having slain the sons of Gideon, drove Abimelech away both from their city and their tribe; whereupon he contrived how he might distress their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather their fruits, for fear Abimelech should do them some mischief. Now it happened that there had come to them a man of authority, one Gaal, that sojourned with them, having his armed men and his kinmen with him; so the Shechemites desired that he would allow them a guard during their vintage; whereupon he went to the house of Abimelech, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them at the head of his soldiers; so they gathered their fruit with safety; and when they were at supper in several companies, they then ventured to curse Abimelech openly; and the magistrates laid ambushes in places about the city, and caught many of Abimelech's followers, and destroyed them.

4. Now there was one Zebul, a magistrate of the Shechemites, that had entertained Abimelech. He sent messengers, and informed him how much Gaal had irritated the people against him, and excited him to lay ambushes before the city, for that he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would leave it in his power to be revenged on him; and when that was once done, he would bring him to be reconciled to the city. So Abimelech laid ambushes, and himself lay with them. Now Gaal abode in the suburbs, taking little care of himself; and Zebul was with him. Now as Gaal saw the armed men coming on, no said to Zebul, That these armed men were coming; but the other replied, They were only shadows of huge stones: and when
they were come nearer, Gaal perceived what was the reality, and said, They were not shadows, but men lying in ambush. Then said Zebul, “Didst not thou reproach Abimelech for cowardice? I why dost thou not then show how very courageous thou art thyself, and go and fight him?” So Gaal, being in disorder, joined battle with Abimelech, and some of his men fell; whereupon he fled into the city, and took his men with him. But Zebul managed his matters so in the city, that he procured them to expel Gaal out of the city, and this by accusing him of cowardice in this action with the soldiers of Abi-

Melech. But Abimelech, when he had learned that the Shechemites were again coming out to gather their grapes, placed ambushes before the city, and when they were coming out, the third part of his army took possession of the gates, to hinder the citizens from returning in again, while the rest pursued those that were scattered abroad, and so there was slaughter everywhere; and when he had overthrown the city to the very foundations, for it was not able to bear a siege, and had sown its ruins with salt, he proceeded on with his army. All the Shechemites were slain. As for those that were scattered about the country, and so escaped the danger, they were gathered together unto a certain strong rock, and settled themselves upon it, and prepared to build a wall about it: and when Abi-

Melech knew their intentions, he prevented them, and came upon them with his forces, and laid faggots of dry wood round the place, he himself bringing some of them, and by his example encouraging the soldiers to do the same. And when the rock was encompassed round about with these faggots, they set them on fire, and threw in whatsoever nature caught fire, the most easily: so a mighty flame was raised, and nobody could fly away from the rock, but every man perished, with their wives and children, in all about fifteen hundred men, and the rest were a great number also. And such was the calamity which fell upon the Shechemites; and men’s grief on their account had been greater than it was, had they not brought so much mischief on a person who had so well deserved of them, and had they not themselves esteemed this as a punishment for the sins of the people. 5. Now Abimelech, when he had affrighted the Israelites with the miseries he had brought upon the Shechemites, seemed openly to affect greater authority than he now had, and appeared to set no bounds to his violence, unless it were with the de-

struction of all. Accordingly he marched to Thbeis, and took the city on the sudden; and there being a great tower therein, whereto the whole multitude fled, he made preparation to besiege it. Now as he was proceeding with violence through the gates, a woman threw a piece of a mill-stone upon his head, upon which Abimelech fell down, and desired his armour-bearer to kill him, lest his death should be thought to be the work of a woman;—who did what he was bid to do. So he underwent this death as a punishment for the wickedness he had perpetrated against his brethren, and his insolent barbarity to the Shechemites. Now the calamity that happened to these Shechemites was according to the prediction of Jotham. However, the army that was with Abimelech, upon his fall, was scattered abroad, and went to their own homes. 6. Now it was that Jair the Gileadite,* of the

tribe of Manasseh, took the government. He was a man happy in other respects also, but particularly in his children, who were of a good character. They were thirty in number, and very skilful in riding on horses, and were intrusted with the go-

government of the cities of Gilead. He kept the go-

government twenty-two years, and died an old man; and he was buried in Camon, a city of Gilead. 7. And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were managed uncertainly, and tended to disorder, and to the contempt of God and of the laws. So the Ammonites and Philistines had them in contempt, and laid waste the country with a great army; and when they had taken all Perea, they were so insolent as to attempt to gain the possession of all the rest: but the Hebrews, being now amended by the calamities they had undergone, betook themselves to supplications to God; and brought sacrifices to him, beseeching him not to be too severe upon them, but to be moved by their prayers to leave off his anger against them. So God became merciful to them, and was ready to save them. 8. When the Ammonites had made an expedition into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but wrested a commander. Now there was one whose name was Jephtha, who, both on account of his father’s virtue, and on account of that army which he maintained at his own expenses, was a potent man: the Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance, and promised him the dominion over them all his life-time. But he did not admit of their entreaty; and accused them, that they did not come to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and this in an open manner by his brethren; for they cast him off, as not having the same mother with the rest, but born of a strange mother, that was introduced among them by his father’s fondness; and this they did out of a contempt of his inability [to vindicate himself]. So he dwelt in the country of Gilead, as it is called, and received all that came to him, let them come from what place soever, and paid them wages. However, when they pressed him to accept the dominion, and swore they would grant him the government over them all his life, he led them to the war. 9. And when Jephtha had taken immediate care of their affairs, he placed his army at the city Jis-

seph, and sent a message to the Ammonite [king], complaining of his unjust possession of their land. But that king sent a contrary message; and com-

plained of the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired him to go out of the land of the Am-

nites, and yield it up to him, as at first his paternal inheritance. But Jephtha returned word over:

what he gave not to him, that Joseph had got; and then he gave the Ammonites about the land of the Amorites, and ought rather to thank them that they left the land of the Am-

nites to them, since Moses could have taken it also; and that neither would he receive from that land of their own, which God had obtained for them, and that they had now inhabited [above] three hundred years, but would fight with them about it. 10. And when he had given them this answer, he sent the ambassadors away. And when he had prayed for victory and had vowed to perform sacred

* Our present copies of Josephus all omit Toms among the judges.

though the other copies have him next after Abimelech, and also

three years to his administration (Judges 8, 31); yet so do five of

delicate commentators conclusively, that in Josephus’s time the

years of the judges, his twenty-three years are included—hence we are to infer

that somewhat has been here lost out of the copies.
antiquities of the jews

chap. viii.

concerning the fortitude of samson, and what mischiefs he brought upon the philistines.

§ 1. after abdon was dead, the philistines overcame the israelites, and received tribute of them for forty years; from which distress they were delivered after this manner.

2. there was one manah, a person of such great virtue, that he had few men his equals, and without dispute the principal person of his country. he had a wife celebrated for her beauty, and excelling her contemporaries. he had no children; and, being uneasy at his want of posterity, he entreated god to give them seed of their own bodies to succeed them; and with that intent he came constantly into the suburbs,7 together with his wife; which suburbs were in the great plain. now, he was fond of his wife to a degree of madness, and on that account was unmeasurably jealous of her. now, when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her: it was an angel of god, and resembled a young man, beautiful and tall, and brought her the good news, that she should have a son, born by god's providence, that should be a goodly child, of great strength; by whom, when he was grown up to man's estate, the philistines should be afflicted. he exhorted her also not to poll his hair, and that she should avoid all other kinds of drink (for so had god commanded), and he entirely contended with water. so the angel, when he had delivered this message, went his way, his coming having been by the will of god.

3. now the wife informed her husband when he came home, of what the angel had said, who showed so great an admiration of the beauty and tallness of the young man that had appeared to her, that her husband was astonished, and out of himself for jealousy, and such suspicions as are excited by that passion; but she was desirous of having her husband's unreasonable sorrow taken away; accordingly she entreated god to send the angel again, that he might be seen by her husband. so the angel came again by the favour of god, while they were in the suburbs, and appeared to her when she was alone without her husband. she desired the angel to stay so long till she might bring her husband; and that request being granted, she went to call manah. when he saw the angel he was not

1. so discover no reason why manah and his wife came so constantly into those suburbs to pray for children, but because there was a synagogue or place of devotion in those suburbs.
yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife; but when he said it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he then requested of him to tell who he was, that when the child was born, they might return him thanks, and give him a present. He replied that he did not want any present, for that he did not bring them the good news of the birth of a son out of the want of any thing; and when Manoah had entreated him to stay, and partake of his hospitality, he did not give his consent. However, he was persuaded, at the earnest request of Manoah, to stay so long as while he brought him one mark of his hospitality; so he slew a kid of the goats, and bid his wife boil it. When all was ready, the angel enjoined him to set the loaves and the flesh, but without the vessels, upon the rock; which when they had done, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, which, upon the breaking out of a flame, was consumed, together with the loaves; and the angel ascended openly, in their sight, up to heaven, by means of the smoke, as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that something divine was about to happen to him; and so he took his wife by the hand, and said, "O my soul, were there any God among the children of men, I should not have seen him!" And he said to her, "Shall I prophesy and see?"

4. So the woman proved with child, and was careful to observe the injunctions that were given her; and they called the child, when he was born, Samson, which name signifies one that is strong. So the child grew space; and it appeared evidently that he would be a prophet, both by the moderation of his diet, and the permission of his hair to grow.

5. Now when he once came with his parents to Timnath, a city of the Philistines, when there was a great festival, he fell in love with a maid of that country, and he desired of his parents that they would procure him the damsel for his wife; but they refused so to do, because she was not of the stock of Israel; yet because this marriage was of God, who intended to convert it to the benefit of the Hebrews, he over-persuaded them to procure her to be espoused to him; and as he was continually coming to her parents, he met a lion, and, though he was naked, he received his onset, and smote him with his hands, and cast the wild beast into a woody piece of ground on the inside of the road.

6. And when he was going another time to the damsel, he lit upon a swarm of bees making their combs in the breast of that lion; and taking three honeycombs away, he gave them, together with the rest of his presents, to the damsel. Now the people of Timnath, out of a dread of the young man's strength, gave him during the time of the wheat harvest (for all that time he was not seen by them all) the strength of the most stout of their youth, in pretence to be his companions, but in reality to be a guard upon him, that he might not attempt to give them any disturbance. Now as they were drinking merrily and playing, Samson said, as was usual at such times, "Come, if I propose a riddle, and you can expound it in these seven days' time, I will give you every one a linen shirt and a garment, as the reward of your wisdom." So they being very ambitious to obtain the glory of wisdom, together with the gains, desired him to propose his riddles. He said, "That a day's work produced sweet food out of itself, though itself were very disagreeable;"—and when they were not able, in three days' time, to find out the meaning of the riddle, they desired the damsel to discover it by the means of her husband, and tell it them; and they threatened to burn her if she did not tell it them. So when the damsel entreated Samson to tell it her, he at first refused to do it; but when she lay hard at him, and fell into tears, and made his refusal to tell it a sign of his unkindness to her, he informed her of his slaying of the lion, and how he found him in his breast, and carried away three honeycombs, and brought them to her. Thus he, suspecting nothing of deceit, informed her of all, and she revealed it to those that desired to know it. Then on the seventh day, whereon they were to expound the riddle proposed to them, they met together before sun-setting, and said, "Nothing is more disagreeable than a lion to those that light on it; and nothing is sweeter than honey to those that make use of it." To which Samson made this reply: "Nothing is sweeter than honey to such a man, for such was the person that discovered my interpretation to you." Accordingly he gave them the present he had promised them, making such Ascelons as met him upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced his wife; and the girl despised his anger, and was married to his companion, who had made the former match between them.

7. At this injurious treatment Samson was so provoked, that he resolved to punish all the Philistines, as well as her; so it being then summertime, and the fruits of the land being almost ripe enough for reaping, he caught three hundred foxes, and joining lighted torches to their tails, he set them into the fields of the Philistines, by which means the fruits of the fields perished. Now when the Philistines knew that this was Samson's doing, and knew also for what cause he did it, they sent their rulers to Timnath, and burnt his former wife, and her relations, who had been the occasion of their misfortunes.

8. Now when Samson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country, he dwelt at Gaza, which is a strong rock of the tribe of Judah; for the Philistines at that time made an expidition against that tribe; but the people of Judah said they that they did not act justly with them, in inflicting punishments upon them while they paid their tribute, and this only on account of Samson's offences. They answered, that in case they would not be blamed themselves, they must deliver up Samson, and put him into their power. So they being desirous not to be blamed themselves, came to the rock with three thousand armed men, and complained to Samson of the bold insults he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring calamity upon the whole nation of the Hebrews; and they told him they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to them, and put him into their power; so they desired him to bear this willingly. Accordingly, when he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than only to deliver him into his enemies' hands, he came down from the rock, and put himself into the power of his countrymen. Then did they bind him with two cords, and led him along, in order to deliver him to the Philistines; and when they
A DAY.&

9. Upon this slaughter, Samson was too proud of what he had performed, and said that this did not come to pass by the assistance of God, but that his success was to be ascribed to his own courage; and vaunted himself, that it was out of a dread of him that some of his enemies fell, and the rest ran away upon his use of the jaw-bone; but when a great thirst came upon him, he considered that human courage is nothing, and bare his testimony that all is to be ascribed to God, and besought him that he would not be angry at any thing he had said, nor give him up into the hands of his enemies, but afford him help under his affliction, and deliver him from the misfortune he was under. Accordingly God was moved with his entreaties, and raised him up a plentiful fountain of sweet water at a certain rock; whence it was that Samson called the place the Jaw-bone,* and so it is called to this day.

10. After this fight Samson held the Philistines in contempt, and came to Gaza, and took up hislodgings in a certain inn. When the rulers of Gaza were informed of his coming thither, they seized upon the gates, and placed men in ambush about them, that he might not escape without being perceived; but Samson, who was acquainted with their contrivances against him, arose about mid-night, and ran by force upon the gates, with their posts and beams, and the rest of their wooden furniture, and carried them away on his shoulders, and then led them to the mountain that is over Hebron, and there laid them down.

11. However, he at length transgressed the laws of his country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners, which thing was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman that was a harlot among the Philistines; her name was Delilah, and he lived with her. So those that administered the public affairs of the Philistines came to her, and, with promises, induced her to get out of Samson, what was the cause of that his strength, by which he became unconquerable to his enemies. Accordingly, when they were drinking, and had the like conversations together, she pretended to admire the actions he had done, and contrived to get out of him by subtility, by what means he so much excelled others in strength. Samson, in order to delude Delilah, for he had not yet lost his senses, replied, that if he were bound with seven such bands as might still be wrenched, he should be weaker than any other man. The woman said no more then, but told this to the rulers of the Philistines, and hid certain of the soldiers in

* This fountain, called Lehi or the jaw-bone, is still in use, as being an ancient one, and was known by this very name in the days of Joseph, and has been known by the same name to all those who have seen it.

† See this justly observed in the Apostolical Constitution, Book viii. chap. iv. 4. That Samson's prayer was heard, but that it was before this his transgression.

12. In the mean time Samson's hair grew again, and there was a public festival among the Philistines, when the rulers and those of the most eminent character were feasting together (now the room wherein they were, had its roof supported by two pillars;) so they sent for Samson, and he was brought to their feast, that they might insult him in their cups. Hereupon he, thinking it one of the greatest misfortunes, if he should not be able to revenge himself when he was thus insulted, persuaded the boy that led him by the hand, that he was weary and wanted to rest himself, and desired he would bring him near the pillars; and as soon as he came to them, he rushed with force against them, and overthrew the house, by overturning its pillars, with three thousand men in it, who were all slain, and Samson with them. And such was the end of this man, when he had ruled over the Israelites twenty years. And indeed this man deserves to be admired for his courage and strength, and magnanimity at his death, and that his wrath against his enemies went so far as to die himself with them. But as for his being ensnared by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist the temptations to that sin; but we ought to bear him witness, that in all other respects, he was one of extraordinary virtue. But his kindred took away his body, and buried it in Sarat, his own country, with the rest of his family.

CHAPTER IX.

NO UNDER ELI'S GOVERNMENT OF THE ISRAELITES, 0025 MARRIED RUTH, FROM WHOM CAME OBEDE, THE GRANDFATHER OF DAVID.

§ 1. Now after the death of Samson, Eli the high-priest was governor of the Israelites. Under him,
they will fall upon the heads of thine enemies. Be thou gracious to me, and think me so far worthy as to accept of these presents from me; and, out of regard to me, remit that wrath and that anger which thou hast against my husband and his house, for mildness and humanity become thee, especially as thou art to be our king." Accordingly David accepted her presents, and said, "Nay, but, O woman, it was no other than God's mercy which brought thee to us to-day; for, otherwise, thou hadst never seen another day, I having sworn to destroy Nabal's house this very night," and to leave alive not one of you who belonged to a man that was wicked and ungrateful to me and my companions. And when David had said this, Nabal was so overcome with rage that he almost muffled my anger, as being myself under the care of God's providence: but as for Nabal, although for thy sake he now escape punishment, he will not always avoid justice; for his evil conduct, on some other occasion, will be his ruin."

8. When David had said this, he dismissed the woman. But when she came home and found her husband feasting with a great company, and oppressed with wine, she said nothing to him then about what had happened; but on the next day, when he was sober, she told him all the particulars and made his whole body to appear like that of a dead man by her words, and by that grief which arose from them; so Nabal survived ten days, and no more, and then died. And when David heard of his death, he said that God had justly avenged him of this man, for that Nabal had died by his own wickedness, and had suffered punishment on his account, while he had kept his own hands clean. At which time he understood that the wicked are prosecuted by God; that he does not overlook any man, or any one of the sons of the evil one, or of his companions, and inflicts a deserved punishment on the wicked. So he sent to Nabal's wife, and invited her to come to him, to live with him, and to be his wife. Whereupon she replied to those that came, that she was not worthy to touch his feet; however, she came, with all her servants, and became his wife, having received that honour on account of her wise and righteous course of life. She also obtained the same honour partly on account of her beauty. Now David had a wife before, whom he married from the sons of Jesse, the son of Zeruiah, the daughter of King Saul, who had been David's wife; father had given her in marriage to Phalit, the son of Laish, who was of the city of Gallim.  

9. After this came certain of the Ziphites, and told Saul that David was come again into their country, and, if he would afford them his assistance, they could catch him. So he came to them with three thousand armed men; and upon the approach of night, he pitched his camp at a certain place called Hachilah. But when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent his spies, and bid them let him know to what place of the country Saul was already come; and when they told him that he was at Hachilah, he concealed his going away from his companions, and came to Saul's camp, having taken with him Abishai, his sister Zeruiah's son, and Ahimelech the Hittite. Now Saul was asleep, and the armed men, with Abner their commander, lay round about him in a circle.

Hereupon David entered the king's tent; but he did neither kill Saul, though he knew where he lay, by the spear that was stuck down by him, nor did he give leave to Abishai, who would have killed him, and was earnestly bent upon it so to do; for he said it was a horrid crime to kill one that was ordained king by God, although he was a wicked man; for that he who gave him the dominion would in time inflict punishment upon him. So he restrained his eagerness: but that it might appear to have been in his power to have killed him when he refrained from it, he took his spear, and the cruse of water which stood by Saul as he lay asleep, without being perceived by any of them, and with the spear which he went with, and with the cruse of water, thou wilt learn what a wily way, having performed every thing among the king's attendants that the opportunity afforded, and his boldness encouraged him to do. So when he had passed over a brook, and was gotten up to the top of a hill, whence he might be sufficiently heard, he cried aloud to Saul's soldiers, and to Abner their commander, and awakened them out of their sleep, and called both to him and to the people. Hereupon the commander heard him, and asked who it was that called him. To whom David replied, "It is I, the son of Jesse, whom you make a vagabond. But what is the matter? Dost thou, that art a man of so great dignity, and of the first rank in the king's court, take so little care of thy master's body? and is sleep of more consequence to thee than his preservation and thy care of him? This negligence of yours deserves death, and punishment to be inflicted on you, who never perceived when, a little while ago, some of us entered into your camp, as far as to the king himself, and to all the rest of you. If thou look for the king's spear and the cruse of water, thou wilt learn what a wily way was ready to overtake you in your very camp without your knowing it." Now when Saul knew David's voice, and understood that when he had him in his power while he was asleep, and his guards took no care of him, yet did not he kill him, but spared him, when he might have cut him off, he said that he owed him thanks for his preservation, and exhorited him to be of good courage, and not be afraid of suffering any mischief from him any more, and to return to his own home, for he was now persuaded that he did not love him well as well as he was loved by him; that he had driven away him that could guard him, and had given many demonstrations of his good-will to him: that he had forced him to live so long in a state of banishment, and in great fears of his life, destitute of his friends and his kindred, while still he was often saved by him, and frequently received his life again when it was evidently in danger of perishing. So David made them send for the spear and the cruse of water, and take them back; adding this withal, That God would be the judge both of their dispositions and of the actions that flowed from the same, who knows that when it was this day in my power to have killed thee, I abstained from it."
gave them a place to inhabit in. He had with him also his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail; and he dwelt in Gath. But when Saul heard this, he took no farther care about sending to him, or going after him, because he had been twice in a manner caugh by him, while he was himself endeavouring to catch him. However, David had no mind to continue in the city of Gath, but desired the king, that since he had received him with such humanity, he would grant him another favour, and bestow upon him some place of that country for his habitation, for he was ashamed, by living in the city, to be grieved and hard hearted to him. So Achish gave him a certain village called Ziklag; which place David and his sons were fond of when he was king, and reckoned it to be their peculiar inheritances. Let about those matters we shall give the reader other information elsewhere. Now the time that David dwelt in Ziklag, in the land of the Philistines, was four months and twenty days. And now privately attacked those Geshurites and Amalekites that were neighbours to the Philistines, and waste their country, and took much prey of their beasts and camels, and then returned home; and David abstained from the men, as fearing they would discover him to king Achish; yet did he part of the prey to him as a free gift. And in the king inquired whom they had attacked, or they brought away the prey, he said, those lay to the south of the Jews, and inhabited in plain; whereby he persuaded Achish to approve of what he had done, for he hoped that David fought against his own nation, and that now could have him for his servant all his life long, that he would stay in his country.

CHAPTER XIV.

SAUL, UPON GOD'S NOT ANSWERING HIM CONING THE FIGHT WITH THE PHILISTINES, RED A NECROMANCY WOMAN TO SOUL OF SAMUEL TO HIM; AND HOW HE, WITH HIS SONS, UPON THE OVERthrow OF HEBREWS IN BATTLE.

Now the same time the Philistines resolved war against the Israelites, and sent to all their federates that they would go along with the war to Reggan, [near the city Shunem], they might gather themselves together and attack the Hebrews. Then David, king of Gath, desire David to assist them with men against the Hebrews. This he promised; and said that the time was now reigned he might require him for his kindness: so the king promised to make him master of his body after the victory, supposing battle with the enemy succeeded to their rich promise of honour and confidence he purpose to increase his zeal for his service. Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had cast about fortune-tellers, and all such as exercised the like art among the prophets; but when he heard that all Philistines were already come, and had their camp near the city Shunem, situate in he made haste to oppose them with his when he was come to a certain mountain, Gilboa, he pitched his camp over against the enemy; but when he saw the enemy’s army was greatly troubled, because it appeared to him to be numerous, and superior to his own; and he inquired of God by the prophets concerning the battle, that he might know beforehand what would be the event of it, and what God would do in it, Saul was under a still greater dread, and his courage fail, foreseeing, as was but reasonable to suppose, that mischief would befall him, now God was not there to assist him; yet did he bid his servants to inquire out for him some woman that was a necromancer, and called up the souls of the dead, that he might know whether his affairs would succeed to his mind; for this sort of necromantic women that bring up the souls of the dead, do by them foretell future events to such as desire them. And one of his servants told him that there was such a woman in the city Endor, but was known to nobody in the camp; hereupon Saul put off his royal apparel, and took two of those his servants with him, whom he knew to be most faithful to him, and came to Endor to the woman, and entreated her to act the part of a fortune-teller, and to bring up such a soul to him as he should name to her. But when the woman opposed his motion, and said, She did not despise the king who had banished this sort of fortune-tellers, and that he did not do well himself, when she had done him no harm, and was about to lay a snare for her, and to discover that she exercised a forbidden art, in order to procure her to be punished,—he swore that nobody should know what she did; and that he would not tell any one else what she foretold, but that she should incur no danger. As soon as he had induced her by this oath to fear no harm, he bade her bring up to him the soul of Samuel. She not knowing who Samuel was, called him out of Hades. When he appeared, and the woman saw one that was venerable, and of a divine form, she was in disorder, and, being astonished at the sight, she said,—"Art thou not King Saul?" for Samuel had informed her who he was. When he had owned that to be true, and had asked her whence her disorder arose, she said, that she saw a certain person ascend, who in his form was like to a god. And when he bid her tell him what he resembled, in what habit he appeared, and of what age he was, she told him he was an old man already, and of a glorious personage, and had on a sacerdotal mantle. So the king discovered by these signs that he was Samuel; and he fell down upon the ground and saluted and worshipped him. And when the soul of Samuel asked him why he had disturbed him, and caused him to be brought up, he lamented the necessity he was under; for he said, that his enemies pressed heavily upon him; that he was in distress what to do in his present circumstances; that he was forsaken of God, and could obtain no prediction of what was coming, neither by prophets nor by dreams; and that these were the reasons why I have recourse to thee, who always tookest care of me." But Samuel, seeing that the end of Saul’s life was come, said,—"It is in vain for thee to desire to learn of me any
thing farther, when God has forsaken thee: however, hear what I say, that David is to be king, and to finish this war with good success: and thou art to lose thy dominion and thy life, because thou didst not obey God in the war with the Amalekites, and hast not kept his commandments, as I foretold thee while I was alive. Know, therefore, that the people shall be made subject to their enemies, and that thou, with thy sons, shall fall in the battle tomorrow, and thou shalt then be with me [in Hades]."

3. When Saul heard this, he could not speak for grief, and fell down on the floor, whether it were from the sorrow that arose upon what Samuel had said, or from his emptiness, for he had taken no food the foregoing day nor night, he fell quite down; and when with difficulty he had recovered himself, the woman would force him to eat, begging him as a favour on account of her concern in that dangerous instance of fortune-telling, which it was not lawful for her to have done, because of the fear she was under of the king, while she knew not who he was, yet did she undertake it, and go through with it; on which account she entreated him to admit that a table and food might be set before him, that he might recover his strength, and so go to his own camp. And when he opposed her motion, and entirely rejected it, by reason of his anxiety, she forced him, and at last persuaded him to it. Now she had one cait if she was very fond of, and one that she took a great deal of care of, and fed it herself, for she was a woman that got her living by the labour of her own hands, and had no other possession but that one calf; this she killed, and made ready its flesh, and set it before his servants and himself. So Saul came to the camp while it was yet night.

4. I say it is but just to recommend the generosity of this woman,* because when the king had forbidden her to use that art whence her circumstances were bettered and improved, and when she had never seen the king before, she still did not remember to his disadvantage that he had condemned her sort of learning, and did not refuse him as a stranger, and one that she had had no acquaintance with; but she had compassion upon him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to do what he was greatly averse to, and offered him the only creature she had, as a poor woman, and that earnestly, and was not at all lessened by the enmity which requital made her for her kindness, nor hunted after any future favour from him, for she knew he was to die; whereas men are naturally either ambitious to please those that bestow benefits upon them, or are very ready to serve those from whom they may receive some advantage. It would be well therefore to imitate the example of this woman, and to do kindnesses to all such as are in want; and to think that nothing is better, nor more becoming mankind, than such a general benevolence, nor what sooner will render God favourably, and ready to bestow good things upon us. And so far may suffice to have spoken concerning this woman. But I shall speak farther upon another subject, which will afford me an opportunity of discoursing on what is for the advantage of cities, people, and nations, and suited to the taste of good men, and will encourage them all in the prosecution of virtue, and

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*These great commendations of this auctorit restaurant woman of Endor, and of many material changes, when yet he knew he should die in the battle, are somewhat uncertain observations in Josephus. They seem to be of no more weight in the form of reports or declarations of his composed formerly, in the way of original, than by him, and which he thought fit to borrow upon this occasion. See before on Amos, b. 1, ch. 19, sect. 9. is capable of showing them the method of acquiring glory, and an everlasting fame; and of impressing in the minds of nations the wisdom of rulers of cities, by great indulgence, and diligence of doing well; as also of encouraging them to undergo dangers, and to die for their countries, and of instructing them how to despise all the most terrible adversities; and I have a fair occasion offered me to enter on a such a discourse by Saul king of the Hebrews; for although he knew what was coming upon him, and that he was to die immediately by the prediction of the prophet, he did not resolve to fly from death, nor so far to indulge the love of life as to betray his own people to the enemy, or to forget himself. He thought it a brave thing to fall together with them, as he was fighting for his subjects, and that it was better his sons should die thus, showing their courage, than to leave them to their uncertain conduct afterward, while, instead of succession and posterity, they gained commendation and a lasting name. Such a one alone seems to me to be a just, a courageous, and a prudent man; and when any one has arrived at these dispositions, or shall at any rate arrive at them, he is to be loved and thought to be by all, honored with the testimony of a virtuous or courageous man; for as to those that go out to war with hopes of success, and that they shall remain safe, supposing they should have performed some glorious action, I think those who do not do well who call those valiant men, as so many historians, and other writers who treat of them are wont to do, although I confess those do justly deserve some commendation also; but those only may be styled courageous and bold in great undertakings, who despise of adversaries, who imitate (Saul) so far as to be those that do not know what the event of war will be as to themselves, and though they do not fast in it, but deliver themselves up to uncertain fates, and are tossed this way and that way, this is not so very eminent an instance of a generous mind, although they happen to perform many great exploits: but when men's minds expect no good event, but they know beforehand they must die, and that they must undergo that death in the battle also, after this, neither to be affrighted nor to be astonished at the terrible fate that is coming, but to stand directly upon it when they know it beforehand—this is it that I esteem the character of a man truly courageous. Accordingly this Saul did, and thereby demonstrated, that all men who desire fame after they are dead, are so as to act as they may obtain the same: this especially concerns kings, who ought not to think it enough in their high stations that they are not wicked in the government of their subjects, but to be no more than moderately good to them. I could say more than this about Saul and his courage, the subject affording matter sufficient; but that I may not appear to run out of propriety in his commendation, I return again to that history from which I made this digression.

5. Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and had taken an account of their forces, according to their nations, and kings, and governments, king Achish came last of all with his own army; after whom came David with his six hundred armed men. And when the commanders of the Philistines saw him, they asked the king whence these Hebrews came, and what was their invitation. He answered, That it was David, wh
was led away from his master Saul, and that he had entertained him when he came to him, and that now he was willing to make him his requital for his favours, and to avenge himself upon Saul, and so was become his confederate. The commanders complained of this, that he had taken him for a confederate who was an enemy; and gave him counsel to send him away, lest he should unawares do his friends a great deal of mischief, by entertaining him, for that he afforded him an opportunity of being reconciled to his master, by doing a mischief to our army. They thereupon desired him, out of a prudent foresight of this, to send him away with his six hundred armed men, to the place he had given him for his habitation; for that this was that David whom the virgins celebrated in their hymns, as having destroyed many ten thousands of the Philistines. When the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spake well; so he called David, and said to him, "As for myself, I can bear witness that thou hast shown great diligence and kindness about me, and on that account it was that I took thee for my confederate; however, what I have done does not please the commanders of the Philistines, go therefore within a day's time to the place I have given thee, without suspecting any harm, and there keep my country, lest any of our enemies should make an incursion upon it, which will be one art of that assistance which I expect from thee." David came to Ziklag, as the king of Gath bade him; but it happened, that while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, the Amalekites made an incursion, and taken Ziklag before he had burnt it; and when they had taken a great 1 of other prey out of that place, and out of the other parts of the Philistines' country, they de- parted. Now when David found that Ziklag was laid waste, and that it was all spoiled, and that as well as own wives, who were two, as the wives of his companions, with their children, were made captives; he presently rent his clothes, and put on him, and said to his friends, and indeed he was cast down with these misfortunes, that at tears themselves failed him. He was also grieved of being stoned to death by his companions, who were greatly afflicted at the captivity of wives and children, for they laid the blame of what had happened; but when he had red himself of his grief, and had raised his mind to God, he desired the high-priest to put it on his sacerdotal garments, and to put on God, and to prophesy to him. Whether he could grant, that if he pursued after the king, he would recover them, and save them and their children, and avenge himself on them—and when the high-priest said he would do it—and when he had a certain book called Besor, and had upon one that was wandering about an by birth, who was almost dead with want (for he had continued wandering about food in the wilderness three days), he first to him sustenance, both meat and drink; by this means he wrought upon him, and took him to belong, and whence he came. Where- man told him he was an Egyptian by birth, left behind by his master, because he was as weak that he could not follow him. He med him that he was one of those who had burnt and plundered, not only other parts of Judaea, but Ziklag itself also. So David made use of him as a guide to find out the Amalekites; and when he had overtaken them, as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some disordered, and entirely drunk with wine, and in the fruition of their spoils and their prey, he fell upon them on the sudden, and made a great slaughter among them, for they were naked, and expected no such thing, but had betaken themselves to drinking and feasting, and so they were all easily destroyed. Now some of them that were overtaken as they lay at the table, were slain in that posture; and their blood brought up with it their meat and their drink. They slew others of them as they were drinking to one another in their cups; and some of them when their full bellies had made them fall asleep; and for so many as had time to put on their armour, they slew them with the sword, with no less ease than they did those that were naked; and for the partisans of David, they continued also the slaughter from the first hour of the day to the evening, so that there were not above four hundred of the Amalekites left; and they only escaped by getting upon their dromedaries and camels. Accordingly David recovered not only all the other spoils which the enemy had carried away, but his wives also, and the wives of his companions; but when they were come to the place where they had left the two hundred men, which were not able to follow them, but were left to take care of the stuff, the four hundred men did not think fit to divide among them any other part of what they had gotten, or of the prey, since they did not accompany them, but pretended to be feeble, and did not follow them in the pursuit of the enemy, but said they should be contented to have safely recovered their wives; yet did David pronounce that this opinion of theirs was evil and unjust, and that when God had granted them such a favour, that they had avenged themselves on their enemies, and had recovered all that belonged to themselves, they should make their stuff equal; and as much as they had gotten to all, because the rest had married them to guard their stuff; and from that time the law obtained among them, that those who guarded the stuff should receive an equal share with those that had fought in the battle. Now when David came to Ziklag, he sent portions of the spoils to all that had been familiar with him, and to his friends in the tribe of Judah; and thus ended the affairs of the plundering of Ziklag, and of the slaughter of the Amalekites.

7. Now upon the Philistines joining battle, there followed a sharp engagement, and the Philistines became the conquerors and slew a great number of the enemy; but Saul the king of Israel, and his sons, fought courageously, and with the utmost aspersion, as knowing that their entire glory lay in nothing else but dying honourably, and exposing themselves to the utmost danger from the enemy (for they had nothing else to hope for); so they brought upon themselves the whole power of the enemy, till they were encompassed round and slain, but not before they had killed many of the Philistines. Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, Abinadab, and Malchishua; and when these were slain, the multitude of the Hebrews were put to flight, and all was disorder and confusion and slaughter, upon the Philistines pressing in upon them. But Saul himself fled, having a strong body of soldiers about him; and upon the Philistines sending after
him those that threw javelins and shot arrows, he lost all his company except a few. As for himself he fought with great bravery; and when he had received so many wounds that he was not able to bear up, nor to oppose any longer, and yet was not able to kill himself, he bid his armour-bearer to draw his sword and run him through, before the enemy should take him alive. But his armour-bearer not daring to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself over against its point, he threw himself upon it; and when he could neither run it through him, nor, by leaning against it, make the sword pass through him, he turned him round, and asked a certain young man that stood by, who he was; and when he understood that he was an Amalekite, he desired him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and thereby to procure him such a death as he desired. This the young man did accordingly; and he took the golden bracelet that was on Saul's arm, and his royal crown that was on his head, and ran away. And when Saul's armour-bearer saw that he was slain, he killed himself; nor did any of the king's guards escape, but they all fell upon the mountain called Gilboa. But when those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond Jordan, and those who had their cities in the plain, heard that Saul and his sons were fallen, and that the multitude about them were destroyed, they left their own cities, and fled to such as were the best fortified and fenced; and the Philistines finding those cities deserted, came and dwelt in them.

8. On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip their enemies that were slain, they got the bodies of Saul and of his sons and stripped them, and cut off their heads. And they sent messengers all about their country, to acquaint them that their enemies were fallen; and they dedicated their armour in the temple of Astarte, but hung their bodies on crosses at the walls of the city Bethshan, which is now called Scythopolis. But when the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead heard that they had dismembered the dead bodies of Saul and of his sons, they deemed it so horrid a thing to overlook this barbarity, and to suffer them to be without funeral rites, that the most courageous and hardly among them (and indeed that city had in it men that were very stout both in body and mind) journeyed all night, and came to Bethshan, and approached to the enemy's wall, and taking down the bodies of Saul and of his sons, they carried them to Jabesh, while the enemy were not able enough, nor bold enough, to hinder them, because of their great courage; so the people of Jabesh wept all in general, and buried their bodies in the best place of their country, which was called Aroura; and they observed a public mourning for them seven days, with their wives and children, beating their breasts, and lamenting the king and his sons, without tasting either meat or drink* [till the evening].

9. To this his sad end did Saul come, according to the prophecy of Samuel, because he disobeyed the commands of God about the Amalekites, and on the account of his destroying the family of Ahimelech, the high-priest, with Ahimelech himself, and the city of the high-priests. Now Saul, when he had reigned eighteen years while Samuel was alive, and after his death two [and twenty] years ended his life in this manner.

BOOK VII.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FORTY YEARS.
FROM THE DEATH OF SAUL TO THE DEATH OF DAVID.

CHAPTER I.
NOW DAVID REIGNED OVER ONE TRIBE AT HEBRON,
WHILE THE SON OF SAUL REIGNED OVER THE REST
OF THE MULTITUDE; AND HOW, IN THE CIVIL WAR
WHICH THEN AROSE, ASAHEL AND ABNER WERE
SLAIN.

§ 1. This fight proved to be on the same day whereon David was come back to Ziklag, after he had overcame the Amalekites. Now when he had been already two days at Ziklag, there came to him the man who slew Saul, which was the third day after the fight. He had escaped out of the battle which the Israelites had with the Philistines, and had his clothes rent, and ashes upon his head. And when he had made his obeisance to David, he inquired of him whence he came. He replied, from the battle of the Israelites; and he informed him that the end of it was unfortunate, many ten thousands of the Israelites having been cut off, and Saul, together with his sons, slain. He also said that he could well give him this information, because he was present at the victory gained over the Hebrews, and was with the king when he fled. Nor did he deny that he had himself slain the king, when he was ready to be taken by the enemy, and he himself exhorted him to do it, because, when he was fallen on his sword, his great wounds had made him so weak that he was not able to kill himself. He also produced demonstrations that the king was

*This way of speaking in Josephus, of "saving seven days without meat or drink," is almost-like that of St. Paul, Acts xvi. 28: "I day is the fourteenth day that ye have merited and continued fasting, having taken nothing;" and as the nature of the thing, and the intemperance of eating so long, require no less to understand both Josephus and the sacred author of this history, 1 Sam. xxv. 15, since when the fourteenth day he was under the intemperance of fasting, as he ver. 17, and that on the fourteenth day they had continued fasting, and had taken nothing before the evening. The mention of the fourteenth day, ver. 14, is done to believe the former explanation to be the truth, and that the case was then for a fortnight what it was here for a week, and not for

**Judg. xxvi. 9, xxv. 2; 1 Sam. xiv. 24; 2 Sam. i. 127; Antiqu. b. vii. ch.

§ 7. sect. 4.
their sides and grins, until they all, as it were by mutual agreement, perished together. When these were fallen down dead, the rest of the army came to a sore battle, and Abner's men were beaten; and when they were beaten, Joab did not leave off pursuing them, but he pressed upon them, and excited the soldiers to follow them close, and not to grow weary of killing them. His brethren also pursued them with great alacrity, especially the younger Asahel, who was the most emulous of them. He was very famous for his swiftness of foot, for he could not only be too hard for men, but is reported to have over-run a horse, when they had a race together. This Asahel ran violently after Abner, and would not turn in the least out of the straight way, either to the one side or to the other. Hereupon Abner turned back, and attempted artfully to avoid his violence. Sometimes he made haste to leave the pursuit, and take the the armour of one of his soldiers; and sometimes, when he could not persuade him so to do, he exhorted him to restrain himself, and not to pursue him any longer, lest he should force him to kill him, and he should then not be able to look his brother in the face: but when Asahel would not admit of any persuasions, but still continued to pursue him, Abner emote him with his spear, as he held it in his hand, and that by a back-stroke, and gave him a deadly wound, so that he died immediately; but those that were with him pursuing Abner, when they came to the place where Asahel lay, they stood round about the dead body, and left off the pursuit of the enemy. However, both Joab himself, and his brother Abishai, ran past the dead corpse, and making their anger at the death of Asahel an occasion of greater zeal against Abner, they went on with incredible haste and alacrity, and pursued Abner to a certain place called Ammah: it was about sun-set. Then did Joab ascend a certain hill, as he stood at that place, having the tribe of Benjamin with him, whence he took a view of them, and of Abner also. Hereupon Abner cried aloud, and said that it was not fit that they should irritate men of the same nation to fight so bitterly one against another; that as for Asahel his brother, he was not his match at all, and wrong, when he would not be advised by him not to pursue him any farther, which was the occasion of his wounding and death. So Joab consented to what he said, and accepted these words as an excuse [about Asahel] and called the soldiers back with the sound of the trumpet, as a signal for their retreat, and thereby put a stop to any farther pursuit. After which Joab pitched his camp there that night; but Abner marched all that night, and passed over the river Jordan, and came to Ichaboseh, Saul's son, to Mahanaim. On the next day Joab counted the dead men, and took care of all their funeral. Now there were slain of Abner's soldiers about three hundred and sixty; but those of David nine-teen, and Abishai, whose body Joab and Abishai carried to Bethlehem; and when they had buried him in the Sepulchre of his fathers, they came to David to Hebron. From this time, therefore, they began an intestine war, which lasted a great while in which the followers of David grew stronger in the dangers they underwent; and the servants and subjects of Saul's sons did almost every day become weaker.

*It ought to be here noted that Joab, Abishai, and Asahel, were all three David's nephews, the sons of his sister Zeruiah, as I Chron. ii. 10; and that Amasa w这话 was his nephew by his other sister Abigail.*
about this time David was become the father of six sons, born of as many mothers. The eldest was by Abi-noam, and he was called Ammon; the second was Daniel, by his wife Abigail; the name of the third was Absalom, by Maacah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur; the fourth he named Adonijah, by his wife Haggith; the fifth was Shephatiah, by Abital; the sixth he called Ithream, by Eglah. Now while this intestine war went on, and the subjects of the two kings came frequently to action and to fighting, it was Abner, the general of the host of Saul’s son, who, by his prudence, and the great interest he had among the multitude, made them all continue with Ishboosheth: and indeed it was a considerable time that they continued of his party; but afterwards Abner was blamed, and an accusation was laid against him, that he went in unto Saul’s concubine: her name was Rispah, the daughter of Aiah. So when he was complain’d of by Ishboosheth, he was very uneasy and angry at it, because he had not done him by Ishboosheth, to whom he had shown the greatest kindness; whereupon he threatened to transferr the kingdom to David, and denounced that he did not rule over the people beyond Jordan by his own abilities and wisdom, but by his warlike conduct and fidelity in leading his army. So he sent ambassadors to Hebron to David, and desired that he would give him security upon oath that he would esteem his companion and his friend, upon condition that he should persuade the people to leave Saul’s son, and choose him king of the whole country; and when David had made that league with Abner, for he was pleased with his message to him, to destroy this as the mark of performance of the present league, that he might have his wife Michal restored to him, as her whom he had purchased with great hazards, and with those six hundred heads of the Philistines which he had brought to Saul her father. So Abner took Michal from Phaltiel, who was then her husband, and sent her to David, Ishboosheth himself, affording him his assistance; for David had written to him that of right he ought to have this his wife restored to him. Abner also called together the elders of the multitude, the commanders and officers of the multitude, and said to them: That he had formerly dissuaded them from their own resolution, when they were ready to forsake Ishboosheth, and to join themselves to David; that, however, he now gave them leave so to do, if they had a mind to it, for they knew that God had appointed David to be king of all the Hebrews, by Samuel the prophet; and had foretold that he should punish the Philistines, and overcome them, and bring them under. Now when the elders and rulers heard this, and understood that Abner was come over to those sentiments about the public affairs which they were of before, they changed their measures, and came into David. When these men had agreed to Abner’s proposal, he called together the tribe of Benjamin, for all of that tribe were the guards of Ishboosheth’s body, and he spake to them to the same purpose; and when he saw that they did not in the least oppose what he said, but resigned themselves up to his opinion, he took about twenty of his friends, and came to David, in order to receive himself security upon oath from him; and we may justly esteem those things to be firmer which every one of us do by ourselves, than those which we do by another. He also gave him an account of what he had said to the rulers, and to the whole tribe of Benjamin; and when David had received him in a courteous manner, and had treated him with great hospitality for many days, Abner, when he was dismissed, desired him to permit him to bring the multitude with him, that he might deliver up the government to him when David himself was present, and a spectator of what was done.

8. When David had sent Abner away, Joab, the general of his army, came immediately to Hebron, and when he had understood that Abner had been with David, and had parted with him a little before under leagues and agreements that the government should be delivered up to David, he feared lest David should place Abner, who had assisted him to gain the kingdom, in the first rank of dignity, especially since he was a shrewd man in other respects, in understanding affairs, and in managing them artfully, as proper seasons should require, and that he should himself be put lower, and deprived of the command of the army; so he came to David as a knavish and a wicked counsellor. In the first place, he endeavoured to calumniate Abner to the king, expostulating him to have a care of him, and not to give attention to what he had engaged to do for him, because all he did tended to confirm the government to Saul’s son: that he came to him deceitfully, and with guile, and was gone away in hopes of gaining his purpose by this management; but when he could not thus persuade David, nor saw him at all exasperated, he betook himself to a subject bolder than the former:—he determined to kill Abner; and in order thereto, he sent some messengers after him, to whom he gave in charge, that when they should overtake him they should recall him in David’s name, and tell him that he had somewhat to say to him about his affairs, which he had not remembered to speak of when he was with him. Now when Abner heard what the messengers said (for they overtook him in a certain place called Beirra, which was distant from Hebron twenty furlongs), he suspected none of the mischief which was befalling him, and came back. Hereupon Joab met him in the gate, and received him in the kindest manner, as if he were Abner’s most benevolent acquaintance and friend; for such as undertake the vilest actions, in order to prevent the suspicion of any private mischiefs intended, do frequently make the greatest pretences to what really good men sincerely do. So he took him aside from his own followers, as if he would speak with him in private, and brought him into a void place of the gate, having himself nobody with him but his brother Abishai; then he drew his sword, and smote him in the groin; upon which Abner died by the treachery of Joab, which, as he said himself, was in the way of punishment for his brother Asahel, whom Abner smote and slew as he was pursuing him in the battle of Hebron, but as the truth was, out of his fear of losing his command of the army, and his dignity with the king, and lest he should be deprived of those advantages, and Abner should obtain the first rank in David’s court. By these examples any one may learn how many are moved by the great instances of wickedness men are put upon for the sake of getting money and authority, and that they may not fail of either of them; for as when they are desired to obtain the same, they acquire them by ten thousand evil practices; so when they are afraid of losing them, they get them confirmed to them by practices much worse
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER II.

THAT UPON THE SLAUGHTER OF IBHOSHETH, BY THE TREACHERY OF HIS FRIENDS, DAVID RECEIVED THE WHOLE KINGDOM.

§ 1. When Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, had heard of the death of Abner, he took it to heart to be deprived of a man that was of this kindred, and had indeed given him the kingdom, but was greatly afflicted, and Abner's death very much troubled him; nor did he himself outlive any long time, but was treacherously set upon by the sons of Rimmon (Baannah and Rechab were their names), and was slain by them; for these being of a family of the Benjamites, and of the first rank among them, thought that if they should slay Ishbosheth, they should obtain large presents from David, and be made commanders by him, or, however, should have some other trust committed to them. So when they once found him alone, and asleep at his meal in an upper room, when none of his guards were there, and when the woman that kept the door was not watching, but was fallen asleep also, partly on account of the labour she had undergone, and partly on account of the heat of the day, these men went into the room in which Ishbosheth, Saul's son, lay asleep, and slew him; they also cut off his head, and took their journey all that night, and the next day, as supposing themselves flying away from those they had injured, to one that would accept of this action as a favour, and would afford them security. So they came to Hebron, and showed David the head of Ishbosheth, and presented themselves to him as his well-wishers, and such as had killed one that was his enemy and antagonist. Yet David did not relish what they had done as they expected, but said to them, "You vile wretches, you shall immediately receive the punishment you deserve. Did not you know what vengeance I executed on him that murdered Saul, and brought me his crown of gold, and this while he who made this slaughter did it as a favour to Hishbon, and not to be caught by his enemies? Or do you imagine that I am altered in my disposition, and suppose that I am not the same man I then was, but am pleased with men that are wicked doers, and esteem your vile actions, when you are become murderers of your master, as grateful to me, when you have slain a righteous man upon his bed, who never did evil to any body, and treated you with good will and respect! Wherefore you shall suffer the punishment due on his account, and the vengeance I ought to inflict upon you for killing Ishbosheth, and for supposing that I should take his death kindly at your hands; for you could not lay a greater blot on my honour than by making such a supposal." When David had said this, he tormented them with all sorts of torments, and then put them to death: and he bestowed all accursed rites on the burial of the head of Ishbosheth, and laid it in the grave of Abner.

2. When these things were brought to a conclusion, all the principal men of the Hebrew people came to David to Hebron, with the heads of thousands, and other rulers, and delivered themselves up to him, putting him in mind of the good will they had borne to him in Saul's lifetime, and the respect they then had not ceased to pay him when he was captain of a thousand, as also that he was chosen...
CHAPTER III.

HOW DAVID LAID SIEGE TO JERUSALEM; AND WHEN HE HAD TAKEN THE CITY, HE CAST THE CANANITES OUT, AND BROUGHT IN THE JEWS TO INHABIT THEREIN.

§ 1. Now the Jebusites, who were the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and were by extraction Canaanites, shut their gates, and placed the blind, and the lame, and all their maimed persons, upon the wall, in way of derision of the king; and said, that the very lame themselves would hinder his entrance into it. This they did out of contempt of his power, and as depending on the strength of their walls. But David was minded that the king should have no respect of his son to repent of being thus disposed to him. So when he had feasted them, and treated them kindly, he sent them out to bring all the people to him; upon which there came to him about six thousand and eight hundred armed men of the tribe of Judah, who bare shields and spears for their weapons, for these had till now continued with Saul’s son, when the rest of the tribe of Judah had ordained David for their king. There came also seven thousand and one hundred out of the tribe of Simeon. Out of the tribe of Levi came four thousand and seven hundred, having Jebusada for their leader. After these came Zadok the high-priest, with twenty-two captains of his kindred. Out of the tribe of Benjamin the armed men were four thousand; but the rest of the tribe continued, still expecting that some one of the house of Saul should reign over them. Those of the tribe of Ephraim were twenty thousand and eight hundred; and these mighty of valor, and eminent for their strength. Out of the half-tribe of Manasseh came eight thousand, to bring in the most potent men. Out of the tribe of Issachar came two hundred, who foresaw what was to come hereafter, but of armed men twenty thousand. Of the tribe of Zebulun fifty thousand chosen men. This was the only tribe that came universally in to David; and all these had the same weapons with the tribe of Gad. Out of the tribe of Naphtali the eminent men and rulers were one thousand, whose weapons were shields and spears; and the tribe itself followed after, being (in a manner) innumerable (thirty-seven thousand). Out of the tribe of Dan there were of chosen men twenty-seven thousand and six hundred. Out of the tribe of Asher were forty thousand. Out of the two tribes that were beyond Jordan, and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh, such as used shields, and spears, and head-pieces, and swords, were an hundred and twenty thousand. The rest of the tribes also made use of swords. This multitude came together to Hebron to David, with a great quantity of corn and wine, and all other sorts of food, and established David in his kingdom with one consent; and when the people had rejoiced for three days in Hebron, David and all the people removed and came to Jerusalem.
some say that Iomer mentions it by that name of Solya, (for he named the temple Solya, according to the Hebrew language, which denotes security.) Now the whole time from the warfare under Joshua our general against the Canaanites, and from that war in which he overcame them, and distributed the land among the Hebrews (nor could the Israelites ever cast the Canaanites out of Jerusalem until this time, when David took it by siege,) this whole time was five hundred and fifteen years.

3. I shall now make mention of Armunah, who was a wealthy man among the Jebusites, but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem, because if he had been born to the Hebrews, and a particular benefactor and affection which he had to the king himself; which I shall take a more reasonable opportunity to speak of a little afterwards. Now David married other wives over and above those which he had before: he had also concubines. The sons whom he had, were in number seven, whose names were Ammon, Enoch, Nathan, Solomon, Hushai, Phina, Enannephe, Azai, Elipheleth, and A daughter, Tamar. Nine these were born of legitimate wives, but the two so-called of concubines; and Tamar had the same father with Absalom.

CHAPTER IV.

WHEN DAVID HAD CONQUERED THE PHILISTINES, HE MADE WAR AGAINST THEM AT JERUSALEM, AND建て MIND TO BUILD A TEMPLE.

When the Philistines understood that David made king of the Hebrews, they made war against him at Jerusalem; and when they had upon that valley which is called The Valley Giants, and is a place not far from the city, pitched their camp therein; but the king of Israel never permitted himself to do any without prophecy, and the command of God, but depending on him as a security for the victory, bade the high priest to foretell what the will of God, and what would vent of this battle. And when he foretold should gain the victory and the dominion of his enemies against the Philistines; and battle was joined, he came himself behind, upon the enemy on the sudden, and slew them, and put the rest to flight. And it is supposed that it was a small army of the Phits that came against the Hebrews, as he hath in their suddenness of their defeat, and from that scene performed no great action, or that recording, from the slowness of the want of courage; but let him know that and Phoenicians, with many other nations arts, and those warlike nations also, came distance, and had a share in this war; and was the only cause why, when they often conquered, and had lost so many thousands of their men, they still came upon the Hebrews with greater armies; nay, indeed, when they had some occasion of it in these battles, they came upon David with an army three times as numerous as before, and pitched their camp on the same spot of ground as before. The king of Israel therefore inquired of God again concerning the event of the battle; and he prophecies foretold him, that he should keep his army in the groves, called the Gardens of Weeping, which were not far from the enemy's camp, and that he should not move, nor beg to fight, till the trees of the grove should be in motion without the wind's blowing; but as soon as the trees moved, and the time foretold by God to him, he should, without delay, go out to gain what was an already prepared and evident victory; for the several ranks of the enemy's army did not sustain him, but retreated at the first onset, whom he closely followed, and slew them as he went along, and pursued them to the city of Gaza (which is the limit of their country); after he spoiled their camp, in which he found rich riches; and he destroyed their gods.

2. When this had proved the event of the battle, David thought it proper, upon a consultation with the elders and rulers, and captains of thousands, to send for those who were in the flower of their age out of all his countrymen, and out of the whole land, and with them the priests and the Levites, in order to their going to Kirjathjearim, to bring upon the ark of God out of that city, and to carry it to Jerusalem, and there to keep it, and offer before it those sacrifices and those honours with which God used to be well pleased; for had they done thus in the reign of Saul, they had not undergone any great misfortunes at all. So when the whole body of the people were come together, as they had resolved to do, the king came to the ark, which the priests brought out of the house of Aminadab, and laid it upon a new cart, and permitted their brethren and their children to draw it, together with the oxen. Before it went the king, and the whole multitude of the people with him, singing hymns to God, and making use of all sorts of songs usual among them, with variety of the sounds of musical instruments, and with dancing and singing of psalms, as also with the sounds of trumpets and of cymbals, and so brought the ark to Jerusalem. But as they were come to the threshing-floor of Cidon, a place so called, Uzzah was slain by the anger of God; for as the oxen shook the ark, he stretched out his hand, and would needs take hold of it. Now because he was not a priest, and yet touched the ark, God struck him dead. Hereupon both the king and the people were displeased at the death of Uzzah; and the place where he died is still called the Breach of Uzzah unto this day. So David was afraid; and supposing that if he received the ark to himself into the city, he might suffer in the like manner as Uzzah had suffered, who, upon his bare putting out his hand to the ark, died in the manner already mentioned, he did not receive it to himself into the city, but he took it aside unto a court.

4. Josephus seems to be partly in the right, when he says that Uzzah was no priest at all, but only a Levite in the service of David's; and when Uzzah was struck down before the ark, Zophah, v. 18, 29; and how, he considers, that it was Josephus, who, because her father Saul did not have a share of the ark, to the story then on inquiry by, or before it was taken, because she thought it beneath the dignity to be so

4. See Josephus, Antiq. b. vii. ch. 15. sect. 4. It is probable that the putting this ark in a cart, when it ought to be carried by the priests or Levites, as it was presently here, was the breach of his law. See Numb. xiv. 15.
place belonging to a righteous man, whose name was Obededom, who was by his family a Levite, and deposited the ark with him; and it remained there three entire months. This augmented the house of Obededom, and conferred many blessings upon it; and when the king heard what had befallen Obededom, how he was become, of a poor man, in a low estate, exceedingly happy, and the object of envy to all those that saw or inquired after his house, he took courage, and hoping that he should meet with no misfortune thereby, he transferred the ark to his own house, the priests carrying it, while seven companies of singers, who were set in that order by the king, went before it, and while he himself played upon the harp, and joined in the music, insomuch that when his wife Michal, the daughter of Saul, who was our first king, saw him so doing, she laughed at him; but when they had brought in the ark, they placed it under the tabernacle which David had pitched for it, and he offered costly sacrifices and peace-offerings, and treated the whole multitude of the people, both of the women and the men, and the infants, a loaf of bread and a cake, and another cake baked in a pan, with a portion of the sacrifice. So when he had thus feasted the people, he sent them away, and he himself returned to his own house.

3. But when Michal his wife, the daughter of Saul, came and stood by him, she wished him all other happiness; and entreated that whatsoever he should farther desire, to the utmost possibility, might be given him by God, and that he might be favourable to him; yet did she blame him, that so great a king as he was should dance after an unseemly manner, and in his dancing uncover himself among the servants and the hand-maidens; but he replied, that he was not ashamed to do what was acceptable to God, who had preferred him before his father, and before all others; that he would play frequently, and dance, without any regard to what the hand-maidens and she herself thought of it. So this Michal had no children; however, when she was afterward married to him whom Saul her father had given her (for at this time David was away from him, and had deserted himself), she bore five children. But concerning those matters I shall discourse in a proper place.

4. Now when the king saw that his affairs grew better almost every day, by the will of God, he thought he should offend him, if, while he himself continued in houses made of cedar, such as were of a great height, and had the most curious works of architecture in them, he should overlook the ark while it was laid in a tabernacle, and was desirous to build a temple to God, as Moses had predicted (Exod. 28, 30; and 31, 3), and when he had discoursed with Nathan the prophet about these things, and had been encouraged by him to do whatsoever he had a mind to do, as having God with him and his helper in all things, he was thereupon more ready to set about that building. But God appeared to Nathan that very night, and commanded him to say to David; but that he took his purpose and his desires kindly, since nobody had before now taken it into their head to build him a temple, although upon his having such a notion he would not permit him to build that temple, because he had made many wars, and was defiled with the slaughter of his enemies; that, however, after his death, in his old age, and when he had lived a long life, there should be a temple built by a son of his, who should take the kingdom after him, and should be called Solomon, whom he promised to provide for, as a father provides for his son, by preserving the kingdom for his son's posterity, and delivering it to them; but that he would still punish him if he sinned, with diseases and barrenness of land. When David understood this from the prophet, and was overjoyed at this knowledge of the sure continuance of the dominion to his posterity, and that his house should be splendid, and very famous, he came to the ark, and fell down on his face, and began to adore God, and to thank him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had had, as also for those that he had not, but promised to him, in raising him from a low state, and from the employment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion and glory, as for those also which he had promised to his posterity; and, besides, for that providence which he had exercised over the Hebrews, in preserving them the liberty they enjoyed. And when he had said thus, and had sung an hymn of praise to God, he went his way.

CHAPTER V.


§ 1. A little while after this, he considered that he ought to make war against the Philistines, and not to see any idleness or laziness permitted in his management, that so it might prove, as God had foretold to him, that, when he had overcome his enemies, he should leave his posterity to reign in peace afterward: so he called together his army again, and when he had charged them to be ready and prepared for war, and when he thought that all things in his army were in a good state, he removed from Jerusalem, and came against the Philistines; and when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off a great part of their country, and adjoined it to the country of the Hebrews, he transferred the war to the Moabites; and when he had overcome two parts of their army in battle, he took the remaining part captive, and imposed tribute upon them, to be paid annually. He then made war against Hadadezer, the son of Rehob, king of Sophene; and when he had joined battle with him at the river Euphrates, he destroyed twenty thousand of his footmen, and about seven thousand of his horsemen; he also took a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed the greatest part of them, and conformed the two distinct predictions which God made to David and to Nathan, concerning the building him a temple by one of his sons, to the circumstance of his son's marriage between which is of the greatest consequence to the Christian religion.
of the ill success of Hadadezer, and had heard of the ruin of his army, he was afraid on his own account, and resolved to make a league of friendship and fidelity with David, before he should come against him; so he sent to him his son Jerom, and professed that he had come for fighting with the king of Israel, as a pledge for the city, and to make a league with him of mutual assistance and friendship. He also sent him presents, vessels of ancient workmanship, both of gold, of silver, and of brass. So when David had made this league of mutual assistance with Toel (for that was the name of the king of Hamath), and had received the presents he sent him, he dismissed his son with that respect which was due on both sides; but then David brought those presents that were sent him, as also the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken of the cities which he had conquered, and dedicated them to God. Nor did God give victory and success to him only when he went to the battle himself, but led his own army, but he gave victory to Abiathar, the brother of Joab, general of his forces, over the Idumeans, and by him to David, when he sent him with an army into Idumea; for Abiathar destroyed eighteen thousand of them in the battle; whereupon the king [of Israel] placed garrisons through all Idumea, and received the tribute of the country, and of every head among them. Now David was in his nature just, and made his determination with regard to truth. He had for the general of his whole army Joab; and he made Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, recorder; he also appointed Zadok, of the family of Phineas, to be high-priest, together with Abiathar, for he was his friend; he also made Seisan the scribe; and committed the command over the guards of his body to Benniah, the son of Jehoiada. His elder sons were near his body, and had the care of it also.

5. He also called to mind the covenants and the oaths he had made with Jonathan, the son of Saul, and the friendship and affection Jonathan had had for him; for besides all the rest of the excellent qualities with which he was endowed, he was also exceeding mindful of such as had at other times bestowed benefits upon him. He therefore gave order that inquiry should be made, whether any of Jonathan's lineage were living, to whom he might make return of that familiar acquaintance which Jonathan had had with him, and for which he was still debtor. And when one of Saul's freed men was brought to him, who was acquainted with those of his family that were still living, he asked him whether he could tell him of any one belonging to Jonathan that was now alive, and capable of a requital of the benefits which he had received from Jonathan. And when he said that a son of his was remaining, whose name was Mephibosheth, but that he was lame of his feet; for when his nurse heard that the father and grand-father of the child were fallen in the battle, she snatched him up, and fled away, and let him fall from her shoulders, and his feet were lamed. So when he had learned where and whom he was brought up, he sent messengers to Maachir, to the city of Lode, for with him the son of Jonathan brought up, and sent for...
to come to him. So when Mephibosheth came to the king, he fell on his face and worshipped him, but David encouraged him, and bade him be of good cheer, and expect better times. So he gave him his father’s house, and all the estate which his grand-father Saul was in possession of, and bade him come and diet with him at his own table, and never to be absent one day from that table. And when the youth had worshipped him, on account of his words and gifts given to him, he called for Ziba, and told him that he had given the youth his father’s house, and all Saul’s estate. He also ordered that Ziba should cultivate his land, and take care of it, and bring him the profit of all to Jerusalem. Accordingly David brought him to his table every day; and bestowed upon him thirty of Ziba’s sons, who were in number fifteen, and his servants, who were in number twenty. When the king had made these appointments, and Ziba had worshipped him, and promised to do all that he had bidden him, he went his way; so that this son of Jonathan dwelt at Jerusalem, and dined at the king’s table, and had the same care that a son could claim taken of him. He also had himself a son, whom he named Mica.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WAR WAS WAGED AGAINST THE AMMONITES, AND HAPPILY CONCLUDED.

1. These were the honours that such as were left of Saul’s and Jonathan’s lineage received from David. About this time died Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, who was a friend of David’s; and when his son had succeeded his father in the kingdom, David sent ambassadors to him to comfort him; and exhorted him to take his father’s death patiently, and to expect that he would continue the same kindness to himself which he had shown to his father. But the princes of the Ammonites took this message in evil part, and not as David’s kind dispositions gave reason to take it; and they excited the king to resent it; and said that David had sent men to spy out the country, and what strength it had, under the pretence of humanity and kindness. They further advised him to have a care, and not to give heed to David’s words, lest he should be deluded by him, and so fall into an insensible calamity. Accordingly, Nahash’s son, the king of the Ammonites, thought these princes spake what was more probable than the truth would admit, and so abused the ambassadors after a very harsh manner; for he shaved the one half of their beards, and cut off one half of their garments, and sent his answer not in words but in deeds. When the king of Israel saw this, he had indignation at it, and showed openly that he would not overlook this injurious and contumelious treatment, but would make war with the Ammonites, and would avenge this wicked treatment of his ambassadors on their king. So that the king’s intimate friends and commanders, understanding that they had violated their league, and were liable to be punished for the same, made preparations for war; they also sent a thousand talents to the Syrian king of Mesopotamia, and endeavoured to prevail with him to assist them for that pay, and Shobach. Now these kings had twenty thousand footmen. They also hired the king of the country called Mascah, and a fourth king, by name Ishiob; which last had twelve thousand armed men.

2. But David was under no consternation at this confederacy, nor at the forces of the Ammonites; and putting his trust in God, because he was going to war in a just cause, on account of the injuries treatment he had met with, he immediately sent Joab, the captain of his host, against them, and gave him the flower of his army, who pitched his camp by Rabbath, the metropolis of the Ammonites; whereupon the enemy came out, and set themselves in array, not all of them together, but in two bodies; for the auxiliaries were set in array in the plain by themselves, but the army of the Ammonites at the gate over-against the Hebrews. When Joab saw this, he opposed one stratagem against another, and chose out the most hardy part of his men, and set them in opposition to the king of Syria, and the kings that were with him, and gave the other part to his brother Abishai, and bid him set them in opposition to the Ammonites; and said to him, That in case he should see that the Syrians distressed him, and were too hard for him, he should order his troops to turn about, and meet him: and he said, That he himself would do the same to him, if he saw him in the like distress from the Ammonites. So he sent his brother before, and encouraged him to do everything courageously and with alacrity, which would teach them to be afraid of disgrace, and to fight manfully; and so he dismissed him to fight with the Ammonites, while he fell upon the Syrians. And though they made a strong opposition for a while, Joab slew many of them, but compelled the rest to betake themselves to flight; which, when the Ammonites saw, and were withal afraid of Abishai and his army, they stood no longer, but imitated their auxiliaries, and fled to the city. So Joab, who had thus overcome the enemy, returned with great joy to Jerusalem to the king.

3. This defeat did not still induce the Ammonites to be quiet, nor to own those that were superior to them to be so, and be still, but they sent to Chalamon, the king of the Syrians, beyond Euphrates, and hired him for an auxiliary. He had Shobach for the captain of his host, with eighty thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen. Now when the king of the Hebrews understood that the Ammonites had again gathered so great an army together, he determined to make war with them no longer by his generals, but he passed over the river Jordan himself with all his army; and when he met them he joined battle with them, and overcame them, and slew forty thousand of their footmen, and seven thousand of their horsemen. He also wounded Shobach, the general of Chalamon’s forces, who died of that stroke; but the people of Mesopotamia, upon such a conclusion of the battle, delivered themselves up to David, and sent him presents, who at winter-time returned to Jerusalem. But at the beginning of the spring, he sent Joab, the captain of his host, to fight against the Ammonites, who overran all their country, and laid it waste, and shut them up in their metropolis, Rab- bah, and besieged them therein.
CHAPTER VII.

How David fell in love with Bathsheba, and slew her husband Uriah, for which he is reproved by Nathan.

1. But David fell into a very grievous sin, through he was otherwise naturally a righteous and religious man, and one that firmly observed the laws of his fathers; for when late in an evening he took a view round him from the roof of his royal palace, where he used to walk at that hour, he saw a woman washing herself in her own house: she was one of extraordinary beauty, and therein surpassed all other women; her name was Bathsheba, she was overcome by that woman's beauty, and being unable to restrain his desires, sent for her, and lay with her. Hereupon she conceived with child, and sent to the king, that he should contrive a way for concealing her sin (for, according to the laws of her fathers, she who had been guilty thereof ought to be put to death). So the king for Joab's armour-bearer from the siege, who was the woman's husband; and his name was Amnon, and when he was come, the king inquired about the army, and about the siege; and had he made answer, that all his affairs according to their wishes, the king took some meat from his supper, and gave them, and bade him go home to his wife, and take her with her. Uriah did not do so, but slept with the rest of his armour-bearers, the king was informed of this, he asked him why he did not go home to his house, and to his wife so long an absence; which is the custom of all men, when they come from journey. He replied, that it was not right, a fellow-soldiers, and the general of the army; but he went, and solace himself with his wife. So he thus replied, the king ordered him to go to the siege, that he might discharge his duty to the general. So the king invited supper, and after a cunning and dexterousfeated him with drink at supper till he was staggered; yet did he nevertheless sleep at his gates, without any inclination to go to the siege. This the king was very angry at, and wrote to Joab, and commanded him to come, for he told him that he had offended him, for being so, and being so, he was killed by a large stone thrown at him by an old woman; and, although he was a man of great prowess, he died ignominiously by the dangerous manner of his assault. That they should remember this accident, and not come near the enemy's wall, for that the best method of making war with success was to call to mind the accidents of former wars, and what good or bad success had attended them in the like dangerous cases, so that they might imitate the one, and avoid the other. But when the king was in this disposition, the messengers told him that Uriah was slain also; whereupon he was pacified. So he bade the messengers go back to Joab, and tell him, that this misfortune is no other than what is common among mankind; and that such is the nature, and such the accidents of war, as not to be avoided, and sometimes the enemy will have success therein, and sometimes others; but that he ordered him to do as he did, and to go on still in his care about the siege, that none accident might befall him in it thereafter; that they should raise bulwarks and use machines in besieging the city; and when they have gotten it, to overturn its very foundations, and to destroy all those that are in it. Accordingly the messengers carried the king's message with which they were charged, and made haste to Joab. But Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, when she was informed of the death of her husband, mourned for his death many days; and when her mourning was over, and the tear which she shed for Uriah were dried up, the king took her to wife presently; and a son was born to him by her.

2. When this was done, Joab sent messengers to the king, and ordered them to tell him that he did what he could to take the city soon; but that as they were forced to retire with great loss, and bade them, if they saw the king was angry at it, to add this, that Uriah was slain also. When the king had heard this of the messengers, he took it heinously, and said that they did wrong when they assaulted the wall, whereas they ought, byunderstanding and other stratagems of war, to endeavour the taking of the city, especially when they had before their eyes the example of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, who would needs take the tower in Thebes by force, and was killed by a large stone thrown at him by an old woman; and, although he was a man of great prowess, he died ignominiously by the dangerous manner of his assault. That they should remember this accident, and not come near the enemy's wall, for that the best method of making war with success was to call to mind the accidents of former wars, and what good or bad success had attended them in the like dangerous cases, so that they might imitate the one, and avoid the other. But when the king was in this disposition, the messengers told him that Uriah was slain also; whereupon he was pacified. So he bade the messengers go back to Joab, and tell him, that this misfortune is no other than what is common among mankind; and that such is the nature, and such the accidents of war, as not to be avoided, and sometimes the enemy will have success therein, and sometimes others; but that he ordered him to do as he did, and to go on still in his care about the siege, that none accident might befall him in it thereafter; that they should raise bulwarks and use machines in besieging the city; and when they have gotten it, to overturn its very foundations, and to destroy all those that are in it. Accordingly the messengers carried the king's message with which they were charged, and made haste to Joab. But Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, when she was informed of the death of her husband, mourned for his death many days; and when her mourning was over, and the tears which she shed for Uriah were dried up, the king took her to wife presently; and a son was born to him by her.

3. With this marriage God was not well pleased;
but was thereupon angry at David; and he appeared to Nathan the prophet in his sleep, and complained of the king. Now Nathan was a fair and prudent man; and considering that kings, when they fall into a passion, are guided more by that passion than they are by justice, he resolved to conceal the threatenings that proceeded from God, and made a good-natured discourse to him, and this after the manner following:—He desired that the king would give him his opinion in the following case:—"There were," said he, "two men inhabiting the same city, the one of them was rich and [the other poor]. The rich man had a great many flocks of cattle, of sheep, and of kine; but the poor man had but one ewe-lamb. This he brought up with his children, and let her eat her food with them; and he had the same natural affection for her which any one might have for a daughter. Now upon the coming of a stranger to the rich man, he would not vouchsafe to kill any of his own flocks, and then to feast his friend, but he sent for the poor man's lamb, and took her away from him, and made her ready for food, and thence feasted the stranger." This discourse troubled the king exceedingly; and he denounced to Nathan, that "this man was a wicked man, who could dare to do such a thing; and that it was but just that he should restore the lamb fourfold, and be punished with death for it also." Upon this, Nathan immediately said, that he was himself the man who ought to suffer those punishments, and that by his own sentence; and that it was he who had perpetrated this great and horrid crime. He also revealed to him, and laid before him, the anger of God against him, who had made him king over the army of the Hebrews, and lord of all the nations, and those many and great nations round about him; who had formerly delivered him out of the hands of Saul, and had given him such wives as he had justly and legally married; and now this God was despaired by him, and affronted by his impiety, when he had married, and now had another man's wife; and by exposing her husband to the enemy, had really slain him; that God would inflict punishments upon him; and that instance of wickedness that his own wives should be forced by one of his sons; and that he should betreacherously supplanted by the same son; and that although he had perpetrated his wickedness secretly, yet should that punishment which he was to undergo be inflicted publicly upon him; "that, moreover," said he, "the child who was born to thee of her, shall soon die." When the king was troubled at these messages, and sufficiently confounded, and said, with tears and sorrow, that he had sinned, (for he was without controversy a pious man, guilty of no sin at all in his whole life, excepting those in the matter of Uriah), God had compassion on him, and was reconciled to him, and promised that he would preserve to him both his life and his kingdom; for he said, that seeing he repented of the things he had done, he was no longer displeased with him. So Nathan, when he had delivered this prophecy to the king, returned home.

4. However, God sent a dangerous distemper upon the child that was born to David of the wife of Uriah; at which the king was troubled, and did not take sleep for two whole nights. He then, by his servants, almost forced him to take it; but he clothed himself in a black garment, and fell down, and lay upon the ground in sackcloth, entreating God for the recovery of the child, for he vehemently loved the child's mother; but when, on the seventh day, the child was dead, the king's servants durst not tell him of it, as supposing that when he knew it, he would still less admit of food and other care of himself, by reason of his grief at the death of his son, since when the child was only sick, he so greatly afflicted himself, and grieved for him; but when the king perceived that the servants was in disorder, and seemed to be affected as those are who are very desirous to conceal something, he understood that the child was dead; and when he had called one of his servants to him, and discovered that so it was, he arose up and washed himself, and took a white garment, and came into the tabernacle of God. He also commanded them to set supper before him, and thereby greatly surprised his kindred and servants, while he did nothing of that when the child was sick, but did it all when he was dead. Whereupon, having first begged leave to ask him a question, they besought him to tell them the reason of his conduct; he then called them unskilful people, and instructed them how he had hopes of the recovery of the child while it was alive, and accordingly did all that was proper for him to do, as thinking by such means to render God propitious to him; but that when the child was dead, there was no longer any occasion for grief, which was then to no purpose. When he had said this, they commended the king's wisdom and understanding. He then went in unto Bathsheba, his wife, and she conceived and bare a son; and by the command of Nathan the prophet, called his name Solomon.

5. But Joab sorely distressed the Ammonites in the siege, by cutting off their waters, and depriving them of other means of subsistence, till they were in the greatest want of meat and drink, for they depended only on one small well of water, and this they durst not drink of too freely, lest the fountain should entirely fall them. So he wrote to the king, and informed him thereof; and persuaded him to come himself to take the city, that he might have the honour of the victory. Upon this letter of Joab's, the king, in view of his good will and fidelity, and took with him his army, and came to the destruction of Rabbah; and when he had taken it by force, he gave it to his soldiers to plunder it; but he himself took the king of the Ammonites' crown, the weight of which was a talent of gold, and it had in its middle a precious stone called a sardonyx; which crown David ever after wore on his own head. He also found many other crowns in the city, and those both splendid and of great price; but as for the men, he hanged them, and then destroyed them; and when he had taken the other cities of the Ammonites by force, he treated them after the same manner.\footnote{That a talent of gold was about seven pounds weight, see the deduction of the temple, chap. ii. Nor would Josephus well explain it. Whether Josephus saw the words of our report, or not, David put the palace of Rabbah, and of the other Ammonite cities which he had possessed, under the care of the officers of war, and, under such as of war, or of position of war, and under, or with some of them, and made them pass through the city, in order to have them displayed, if not by a second proclamation, but by the king himself, that they should examine, and take such as they thought fit: and as to the crown, he gives it for certain, that it was of precious stone, of such sort as was used in the crowns of Emperors, and that it had in the middle a precious stone called a sardonyx, and that crown David ever after wore on his own head. He also found many other crowns in the city, and those both splendid and of great price; but as for the men, he hanged them, and then destroyed them; and when he had taken the other cities of the Ammonites by force, he treated them after the same manner.}
CHAPTER VIII.

HOW ABISHAI MURDERED AMNON, WHO HAD FORCED HIS OWN SISTERS; AND HOW HE WAS BANISHED, AND AFTERWARDS RECALLED BY DAVID.

1. When the king was returned to Jerusalem, a misfortune befell his house, on the occasion following: He had a daughter who was yet a virgin, of very handsome, inasmuch that she surpassed the most beautiful women; her name was Tamar; she had the same mother with Absalom. So Amnon, David's eldest son, fell in love with her, and being yet able to obtain her desires, on account of her virginity, and the custody she was, was so much out of order, nay, his grief so up his body, that he grew lean, and his colour changed. Now there was one Jonadab, a man and friend of his, who discovered this his son, for he was an extraordinary wise man, of great sagacity of mind. When, therefore, that every morning Amnon was not in body sought to be, he came to him, and desired to tell him what was the cause of it: however, if that he suspected that it arose from the passing of love, Amnon confessed his passion, that is, in love with a sister of his, who had the father with himself. So Jonadab suggested by what method and contrivance he might his desires; for he persuaded him to presentness, and bade him, when his father should him, to beg of him that his sister might minister to him; for, if that were done, it would be better, and should quickly recover a distemper. So Amnon lay down on his pretended to be sick, as Jonadab had suggested.

When his father came, and inquired how he begged of him to send his sister to him; accordingly, he presently ordered her to be brought and when she was come, Amnon bade her enter for him, and fry them in a pan, and do her own hands, because he should take her from her hand [than from any one's] she kneaded the flour in the sight of her, and made him cakes, and baked them in a brought them to him; but at that time not taste them, but gave order to his servants all that were there out of his chamber he had a mind to repose himself, free all and disturbance. As soon as what he and was done, he desired his sister to supper to him into the inner parlour; in the damsel had done, he took hold of her resolutions to persuade her to lie with, and upon the damsel cried out, and said, her, do not force me, nor be so wicked press the laws, and bring upon yourself confusion. Curb this thy unrighteous lust, from which our house will be reproach and disgrace. She also he to speak; to his father about this affair, I permit him [to marry her]. This she to avoid her brother's violent passion. But he would not yield to her; he with love and blinded with the vehicle, he forced his sister: but as son had satisfied his lust, he hated her, and giving her reproachfull words, up and was gone. And when she said, is a more injurious treatment than the former, if, now he had forced her, he would not let her stay with him till the evening, but bid her go and sit in the day-time, and while she was gone, she might meet with people that would be witness of her shame—she commanded his servant to turn her out of his house. Whereupon she was sorely grieved at the injury and violence that had been offered to her, and rent her loose coat (for the virgins of old time wore such loose coats tied at the hands, and let down to the ankles, that the inner coats might not be seen), and sprinkled ashes on her head; and went up the middle of the city, crying out and lamenting for the violence that had been offered her. Now Absalom, her brother, happened to meet her, and asked her, what sad thing had befallen her, that she was in that plight; and when she had told him what injury had been offered her, he comforted her, and desired her to be quiet, and take all patiently, and not to esteem her being corrupted by her brother as an injury. So she yielded to his advice, and left off her crying out, and discovering the force offered her to the multitude: and she continued as a widow with her brother Absalom a long time.

2. When David his father knew this, he was grieved at the actions of Amnon; but because he had an extraordinary affection for him, for he was his eldest son, he was compelled not to afflict him; but Absalom watched for a fit opportunity of revenging this crime upon him, for he thoroughly hated him. Now the second year after this wicked affair about his sister was over, and Absalom was about to go to shear his own sheep at Baalhazor, which is a city in the portion of Ephraim, he sought his father, as well as his brethren, to come and feast with him; but when David excused himself, as not being willing to be burdensome to him, Absalom desired he would however send his brethren; whom he did send accordingly. Then Absalom charged his own servants, that when they should see Amnon disordered and drowsy with wine, and he should give them a signal, they should fear nobody, but kill him.

3. When they had done as they were commanded, the rest of his brethren were astonished and disturbed, and were afraid for themselves, so they immediately got on horseback, and rode away to their father: but somebody there was who prevented them, and told their father that all slain by Absalom; whereupon he was overcome with sorrow, for so many of his sons that were destroyed at once, and that by their brother also; and by this consideration, that it was their brother that appeared to have slain them, he aggravated his sorrow for them. So he neither inquired what was the cause of this slaughter, nor made to hear any else, which yet it was but reasonable to have done, when so very great, and by that greatness so incredible a misfortune was related to him, he rent his clothes, and threw himself upon the ground, and there lay lamenting the loss of all his sons, both these who, as he was informed, were slain, and of whom he shew them. But Jonadab, the son of his brother Shemaiah, entreated him not to indulge his sorrow so far, for as to the rest of his sons he did not believe that they were slain, for he found no cause for such a suspicion; but he said it might deserve inquiry as to Amnon, for it was not unlikely that Absalom might venture to kill him on account of the injury he had offered to Tamar. In the meantime, a great noise of horses, and a tumult of
some people that were coming, turned their attention to them; they were the king’s sons, who were fled away from the feast. So their father met them as they were in their grief, and he himself grieved with them; but it was more than he expected to see those his sons again, whom he had a little before heard to have perished. However, there were tears at both sides; they lamenting their brother, who was killed, and the king lamenting his son, who was killed also; but Absalom fled to Geshur, to his grandfather by his mother’s side, who was king of that country, and he remained with him three whole years.

4. Now David had a design to send to Absalom, not to come that he should be punished, but that he might be with him, for the effects of his anger were abated by length of time. It was Joab the captain of his host, that chiefly persuaded him so to do; for he suborned an ordinary woman, that was stricken in age, to go to the king in mourning apparel, who said thus to him:—That two of her kindred, in a coarse way, had some difference between them, and that in the progress of that difference they came to an open quarrel, and that one was smitten by the other, and was dead; and she desired him to interpose in this case, and to do her the favour to save this her son from her kindred, who were very zealous to have him that had slain his brother put to death, that so she might not be farther deprived of the hopes she had of being taken care of in her old age by him; and that if he would hinder this slaughter of her son by those that wished for it, he would do her a great favour, because that kindred would not be restrained from their purpose by any thing else than by the fear of him:—and when the king had given his consent to what the woman had begged of him, she made this reply to him:—"I owe thee thanks for thy benignity to me in pitying my old age, and preventing the loss of my only remaining child; but in order to assure me of this thy kindness, be first reconciled to thine own son, and cease to be angry with him; for how shall I persuade myself that thou hast really bestowed thy favour upon me, when thou thyself continuedst after the like manner in thy wrath to thine own son? for it is a foolish thing to add wilfully another to thy dead son, while the death of the other was brought about without thy consent:"— and now the king perceived that this pretended story was a subordination derived from Joab, and was of his contrivance; and when, upon inquiry of the old woman, he understood it to be so in reality, he called for Joab, and told him he had obtained what he requested according to his own mind; and he bid him bring Absalom back, for he was now dissolved, and he had already ceased to be angry with him. So Joab bowed himself down to the king, and took his words kindly, and went immediately to Geshur, and took Absalom with him, and came to Jerusalem.

5. However, the king sent a message to his son beforehand, as he was coming, and commanded him to retire to his own house, for he was not yet in such a disposition as to think fit at present to see him. Accordingly, upon the father’s command, he avoided coming into his presence, and contented himself with the respects paid him by his own family. Now, his bounty was not impaired, either by the grief he had been under, or by the want of s as proper to be taken of a king’s service, surpassed and excelled all men in the tallness of his body, and was more eminent [in a fine appearance] than those that did the most luxuriously; and instead such was the thickness of the hair of his head, that it was with difficulty he was polled every eighth day; and his hair weighed two hundred shekels, which are five pounds. However, he dwelt in Jerusalem two years, and was covered with the beard of three sons, and one daughter; which daughter was of very great beauty, and which Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, took to wife afterward, and had by her a son named Abijah; but Absalom sent to Joab, and desired him to pacify his father entirely towards him; and to beseech him to give him leave to come to him to see him, and speak with him; but when Joab neglected so to do, he sent some of his own servants, and set fire to the field adjoining to him; which, when Joab understood, he came to Absalom, and accused him of what he had done; and asked him the reason why he did so? To which Absalom replied, "I have found out this stratagem that might bring thee to us, while thou hast taken no care to perform the injunction I laid upon thee, which was this, to reconcile my father to me; and I really beg it of thee, now thou art here, to pacify my father as to me, since I esteem my coming hither to be more grievous than my banishment, while my father’s wrath against me continues." Hereby Joab was persuaded, and pitied the distress that Absalom was in, and became an intercessor with the king for him; and when he had discoursed with his father, he so soon brought him to that amiable disposition towards Absalom, that he presently sent for him to come to him; and when he had cast himself down upon the ground, and had begged for the forgiveness of his offences, the king raised him up, and promised him to forget what he had formerly done.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCERNING THE INSURRECTION OF ABSALOM AGAINST DAVID; AND CONCERNING ARIATHOPEL AND MADSHAI; AND CONCERNING ZIRAA AND SHIMEE; AND HOW ARIATHOPEL HANGED HIMSELF.

§ 1. Now Absalom, upon this his success with the king, procured to himself a great many horses, and many chariots, and that in a little time also. He had moreover fifty armour-bearers that were about him, and he came early every day to the king’s palace, and spake what was agreeable to such as came for justice and lost their causes, as if that happened for want of good counsellors about the king, or perhaps because the judges misdik in that unjust sentence they gave; whereby he gained the good-will of them all. He told them, that had he but such authority committed to him, he would distribute justice to them in a most equitable manner. When he had made himself so popular among the multitude, he thought he had already the good-will of
the people secured to him; but when four years had passed since his father’s reconciliation to him, he came to him, and besought him to give him leave to go to Hebron, and pay a sacrifice to God, because he had not brought it from the country. So when David had granted his request, he went thither, and great multitudes came running together to him, for he had sent to a great number to do so.

2. Among them came Abihai, the Gilonite, a cousin of David’s, and two hundred men out of Jerusalem itself, who knew not his intentions, but were sent for as a sacrifice. So he was appointed by all of them, which he obtained by this stratagem. As soon as this news was brought to him, and he was informed of what he did not set forth from his son, he was affrighted at this his journey and bold undertaking, and wondered that was so far from remembering how his offence been so lately forgiven him, that he undertook a more and more wicked enterprises; first, he alleged against that kingdom which was given of God; and, secondly, to take away his own life. He therefore resolved to fly to the beyond Jordan; so he called his most intimate friends together, and communicated to them that he had heard of his son’s madness. He said himself to God, to judge between them all their actions; and left the care of his place to his ten concubines, and went away from Jerusalem, being willingly accompanied by the multitude, who went hastily after him, and particularly by those six armed men, who had been with him first flight in the days of Saul. But he did not take Abiathar and Zadok, the high-priests, determined to go away with him, as also evites, who were with the ark, to stay believing that God would deliver him without fail; but he charged them to let him know how all things went on, and that they should save the son of Zadok, and Jonathan the brother, for faithful ministers in all things; let the Gittite go out with him whether he let him or not, for he would have preserved them to stay, and on that account he appeared friendly to him; but as he was ascending of Olivet barefooted, and all his company, it was told him that Abihai was after him, and was of his side. This hearing this, he soon embarked God facilitated the mind of Absalom from Abi- he was afraid that he should persuade Abi- haim his pernicious counsel, for he was a strong, and very sharp in seeing what was. When David was gotten upon the mountain, he took a view of the city; he looked with abundance of tears, as he observed his kingdom; and here it was that end of his, whose name was Hushai, when David saw him with his clothes ming ashes all over his head, and in the great change of affairs, he comforted him to leave off grieving; he comforted him to go back to Abi- salom, and appear as one of his party, and to fish out the secret counsel of his mind, and to contradict the counsels of Abihai, for that he could not do him so much good by being with him as he could by being with Absalom. So he was prevailed on by David, and he went, and came to Jerusalem, whither Absalom himself came also a little while afterward.

3. When David was gone a little farther, there met him Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth (whom he had sent to take care of the possessions which had been given him, as the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul) with a couple of asses, laden with provis- on, and desired him to take as much of them as he and his followers stood in need of. And when the king asked him where he had left Mephibosheth, he said he had left him in Jerusalem, expecting to be chosen king in the present confusion, in remembrance of the benefits Saul had conferred upon them. At this the king had great indignation, and gave to Ziba all that he had formerly bestowed on Mephibosheth, for he determined that it was much fitter that he should have them than the other; at which Ziba greatly rejoiced.

4. When David was at Bahurim, a place so called, there came out a kinsman of Saul’s, whose name was Shimei, and threw stones at him, and gave him reproachful words; and as his friends stood about the king and protected him, he persevered still more in his reproaches, and called him a bloody man, and the author of all sorts of mischief. He耳边 him also go out of the land as an impure and accursed wretch; and he thanked God for depriving him of his kingdom, and causing him to be punished for what injuries he had done to his master [Saul], and this by the means of his own son. Now when they were all provoked against him, and angry at him, and particularly Abishai, who had a mind to kill Shimei, David restrained his anger. “Let us not,” said he, “bring upon ourselves another fresh misfortune to those we have already, for truly I have not the least regard nor concern for this dog that raves at me; I submit myself to God, by whose permission this man treats me in such a wild manner; nor is it any wonder that I am obliged to undergo these abuses from him, while I experience the like from an impious son of my own; but perhaps God will have some compassion upon us; if it be his will, we shall overcome them.” So he went on his way without troubling himself with Shimei, who ran along the other side of the mountain, and threw out his abusive language plentifully. But when David was come to Jordan, he allowed those that were with him to refresh themselves; for they were weary.

5. But when Absalom, and Abihai his counselor, were come to Jerusalem, with all the people, David’s friend, Hushai, came to them; and when he had worshipped Absalom, he withal wished that his kingdom might last a long time, and continue for all ages. But when Absalom said to him, “How comes this, that he who was so intimate a friend of my father’s, and appeared faithful to him in all things, is not with him now, but hath left him, and is come over to me?” Hushai’s answer was very pertinent and prudent; for he said, “We ought to follow God and the multitude of the people; while these, therefore, my lord and master, are with thee, it is fit that I should follow them, for thou hast received the kingdom from God. I will therefore, if thou believest me to be thy friend, show the same
fidelity and kindness to thee, which thou knowest I have shown to thy father: nor is there any reason to be in the least dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, for the kingdom is not transferred into another, but remains still in the same family, by the son's receiving it after his father." This speech persuaded Absalom, who before suspected Hushai. And now he called Ahithophel, and consulted with him what he ought to do; he persuaded him to go in unto his father's concubines; for he said, that by this action the people would believe that the difference with thy father is irreconcilable, and will therefore fight with great alacrity against thy father, for lietherto they are afraid of taking up open enmity against him, out of an expectation that you will be reconciled again." Accordingly, Absalom was prevailed on by this advice, and commanded his servants to pitch him a tent upon the top of the royal palace, in the sight of the multitude; and he went in and lay with his father's concubines. Now this came to pass according to the prediction of Nathan, when he prophesied and signified to him that his son would rise up in rebellion against him. And when Hushai had done what he was advised to by Ahithophel, he desired his advice, in the second place, about the war against his father. Now Ahithophel only asked him to let him have ten thousand chosen men, and he promised he would slay his father, and bring the soldiers back again in safety; and he said, that then the kingdom would be firm to him when David was dead [but not otherwise]. Absalom was pleased with this advice, and called for Hushai, David's friend (for so did he style him), and informed him of the opinion of Ahithophel: he asked, further, what was his opinion concerning that matter. Now he was sensible that if Ahithophel's counsel were followed, David would be in danger of being seized on, and slain; so he attempted to introduce a contrary opinion, and said, "Thou art not unacquainted, O king, with the valour of thy father, and of those that are now with him; that he hath made many wars, and hath always come off with victory, though probably he now abides in the camp, for he is very skilful in stratagems, and in foreseeing the deceitful tricks of his enemies; yet will he not leave his own soldiers in the field, and will rather hide himself in some valley, or will place an army by stony rock which is not large, and thereby so fence himself that, when our army joins battle with him, his soldiers will retire for a little while, but will come upon us again, as encouraged by the king's being near them; and in the meantime your father will show himself suddenly in the time of the battle, and will infuse courage into his own people when they are in danger, but bring consternation to thine. Consider therefore, my advice, and reason upon it, and if thou canst not but acknowledge it to be the best, reject the opinion of Ahithophel. Send to the entire country of the Hebrews, and order them to come and fight with thy father; and do thou thyself take the army, and be thine own general in this war, and do not trust its management to another; then expect to conquer him with ease, when thou overtakest him openly with his few partizans, but hast thyself many tens, thousands, who will be desirous to demonstrate to thee their diligence and alacrity. And if thy father shall shut himself up in some city, and bear a siege, we will overthrow the cities of war, and by undermining it." When Hushai had said this, he obtained against Ahithophel, for his opinion was preferred by Absalom before the other's; however, it was no other than God* who made the counsel Hushai appear best to the mind of Absalom.

7. So Hushai made haste to the high-priests, Zadok and Abiathar, and told them the opinion of Ahithophel, and his own, and that the resolution was taken to follow latter advice. He therefore bade them send to David, and tell him of it, and to inform him of the counsels that had been taken; and to desire him further to pass quickly over Jordan, lest his son should change his mind, and make haste to pursue him, and so prevent him, and seize upon him before he be in safety. Now the high-priests had their sons concealed in a proper place out of the city, that they might carry news to David of what was transmitted. Accordingly, they sent a maid-servant, whom they could trust, to them, to carry the news of Absalom's counsels, and ordered them to signify the same to David with all speed. So they made no excuse nor delay, but taking along with them their fathers' injunctions, because pious and faithful ministers; and judging that quickness and suddenness was the best way of bringing them to them, they hasten to meet with David. But certain horsemen saw them when they were two furlongs from the city, and informed Absalom of them, who immediately sent some to take them; but when the sons of the high-priests perceived this, they went out of the road, and broke themselves to a certain village (that village was called Bahurim); there they desired a certain woman to hide them, and afford them security. Accordingly she let the young men down by a rope into a well, and laid fleeces of wool over them, and when those that pursued them came nearer, and asked her whether she saw them, she did not deny that she had seen them, for that they said with her some time, but she said they then went their ways; and she foretold, that, however, if they would follow them directly, they would catch them; but when, after a long pursuit, they could not catch them, they came back again; and when the women saw those men were returned, and that there was no longer any fear of the young men's being caught by them, she drew them up by the rope, and conducted them on their journey. Accordingly, they came with great diligence in the prosecution of that journey, and came and informed David accurately of all the counsels of Absalom. So he commanded those that were with him to pass over Jordan while it was night, and not to delay at all on that account.

8. But Ahithophel, on rejection of his advice, got upon his ass and rode away to his own country, Gilon; and calling his family together, he told them distinctly what advice he had given Absalom; and since he had not been persuaded by it, he said he would evidently perish, and this in no long time, and that David would overcome him, and return to his kingdom again; so he said it was better that

*This reflection of Josephus', that God brought to naught the froward counsel of Ahithophel, and directly instituted what was to be the effect of it (which falsification is what I have here been rehearsing), and filling the hearts, and blinding the eyes of men, who by their voluntary wickedness, have justly deserved to be punished by a divine intervention to destruction, is not farther, and it is not so frequent. Nor does Josephus ever put it on himself, or pretend it is his business as to the events of such judicial interference by God, while the justice of them is generally so obvious. This is the manner of the divine operations, or prophecies, or the cause of difficulty relating either to disaster or divine operation; the same reason holds in such cases, in (incomprehensible) Man was taught to the Lord and our God; but it was taught to us, and to our children for ever, that we may do the world good, Deut. xxxii. 29. Nor have all the subtilities of the wisdom of the world, with which this matter is celebrated, in another point of difference relating either to disaster or divine operation, as the notes on Antig. b. v. ch. i. sec. 2, and Antig. b. v. ch. 16.
he should take his own life away with freedom and magnanimity, that he might be punished by David; in opposition to whom he had acted entirely for Absalom. When he had discovered thus to them, he went into the innermost room of his house, and hanged himself; and thus was the death of Ahithophel, who was self-condemned; and when his relations had taken him down from the hanger, they took care of his funeral. Now, as for David, he passed over Jordan, as we have said already, and came to Mahanaim, in very fine and very strong city; and all the chief men of the country received him with great pleasure, both out of the shame they had that he should be forced to flee away [from Jerusalem], and out of the respect they bare him while he was in his former prosperity. These were Barzillai the Gileadite, and Siphar the ruler among the Ammonites, and Machir the principal man of Gilead; and these furnished him with plentiful provisions for himself and his followers, insomuch as they wanted no beds nor blankets for them, or leaves of trees for their shelter, but brought them a great many cattle for slaughter, and afforded them what furniture they wanted for their refreshment when they were weary, and for food, with many of other necessaries.

CHAPTER X.

WHEN ABSALOM WAS BEATEN, HE WAS CAUGHT IN A TREE BY HIS HAIR, AND WAS SLAIN.

And this was the state of David and his followers: but Absalom got together a vast army of Lews to oppose his father, and passed therewith over the river Jordan, and sat down not far from Mahanaim, in the country of Gilead. He appointed Amasa to be captain of all his host, instead of his kinsman: his father was Ithra, and his Abigail; now she and Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, were David’s sisters; but when David numbered his followers, and found them to be four thousand, he resolved not to tarry till they attacked him, but set over his men captains, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and his army into three parts; the one part he gave to Joab, the next to Abishai, Joab’s brother, and the third to Ittai, David’s companion, but one that came from the city Gath; he was desirous of fighting himself, his friends would not let him: Amaasal of theirs was founded upon very na;—"For," said they, "if we be compelled to attack, we have lost all good discovering ourselves; but if we should make parts of our army, the other parts to him, and may thereby prepare a source of, while the enemy will naturally suppose another army with him." So pleased with this their advice, and resolved to tarry at Mahanaim; and as he sends commanders to the battle, he show all possible alacrity and fidelity, in mind what advantages they had on him, which, though they had not great, yet had they not been quite inconceivable, and he begged of them to spare the Absalom, lest some mischief should happen, if he should be killed; and thus did he send out his army to the battle, and wished them victory therein.

2. Then did Joab put his army into battle array over against the enemy in the Great Plain, where he had a wood behind him. Absalom also brought his army into the field to oppose him. Upon the joining of the battle, both sides showed great actions with their hands and their boldness; the one side exposing themselves to the greatest hazards, and using their utmost alacrity, that David might recover his kingdom; and the other being no way sufficient, either in doing or suffering, that Absalom might not be deprived of that kingdom, and be brought to punishment by his father, for his impudent attempt against him. Those also that were the most numerous were solicitous that they might not be conquered by those few that were with Joab, and with the other commanders, because that would be the greatest disgrace to them; while David’s soldiers strove greatly to overcome so many thousands as the enemy had with them. Now David’s soldiers were conquerors, as superior in strength and skill in war; so they followed the others till they fled away through the forests and valleys; some they took prisoners, and many they slew, and more in the flight than in the battle, for there fell about twenty thousand that day. But all David’s men ran violently upon Absalom, for he was easily known by his beauty and tallness. He was himself also afraid lest his enemies should seize on him, so he got upon the king’s mule and fled; but as he was carried with violence, and noise, and a great motion, as being himself light, he entangled his hair greatly in the large boughs of a knotty tree, that he could not move a great way, and there he hung after a surprizing manner; and as for the beast, it went on farther, and that swiftly, as if his master had been still upon his back; but he hanging in the air upon the boughs, was taken by his enemies. Now when one of David’s soldiers saw this, he informed Joab of it; and when the general said, that if he had shot at and killed Absalom, he would have given him fifty shekels,—he replied, "I would not have killed my master’s son if thou wouldst have given me a thousand shekels, especially when he desired that the young man might be spared to be the heir of us all." But Joab bade him show him where it was that he saw Absalom hang; whereupon he shot him to the heart, and slew him, and Joab’s armour-bearers stood round the tree, and pulled down his dead body, and cast it into a great chasm that was out of sight, and laid a heap of stones upon him, till the cavity was filled up, and had both the appearance and the bigness of a grave. Then Joab sounded a retreat, and recalled his own soldiers from pursuing the enemy’s army, in order to spare their countrymen.

3. Now Absalom had erected for himself a marble pillar in the king’s dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named Absalom’s Hand, saying, that if his children were killed, his name would remain by that pillar; for he had three sons and one daughter, named Tamar, as we said before, who, when she was married to David’s grandson, Rehoboam, bare a son, Abijah by name, who succeeded his father in the kingdom; but of these we shall speak in a part of our history which will be more proper. After the death of Absalom, they returned every one to their own homes respectively.

4. But now Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok the hig-
priest, went to Joab, and desired he would permit him to go and tell David of this victory, and to bring him the good news that God had afforded his assistance and his providence to him. However, he did not grant his request, but said to him, "Wilt thou, who hast always been the messenger of good news, now go and acquaint the king that his son is dead?" So he desired him to desist. He then called Cushi, and committed the business to him, that he should tell the king what he had seen. But when Ahimaaz again desired him to let him go as a messenger, and assured him that he would only relate what concerned the victory, but not concerning the death of Absalom, he gave him leave to go to David. Now he took a nearer road than the former did, for nobody knew it but himself, and he came before Cushi. Now as David was sitting between the gates, and waiting to see when somebody would come to him from the battle, and tell him how it went, one of the watchmen saw Ahimaaz running, and before he could discern what he was, he told David that he saw somebody coming to him, who said, he was a good messenger. A little while after, he informed him, that another messenger followed him; whereupon the king said, that he also was a good messenger: but when the watchman saw Ahimaaz, and that he was already very near, he gave the king notice, that it was the son of Zadok the high-priest, who came running. So David was very glad, and said he was a messenger of good tidings, and brought him some such news from the battle as he desired to hear.

5. While the king was saying thus, Ahimaaz appeared, and worshipped the king. And when the king inquired of him about the battle, he said he brought him the good news of victory and dominion. And when he inquired what he had to say concerning his son, he said that he came away on the sudden so soon as the enemy was defeated, but that he heard a great noise of those that pursued Absalom, and that he could learn no more, because of the haste he made when Joab sent him to inform him of the victory. But when Cushi was come, and had worshipped him, and informed him of the victory, he asked him about his son, who replied, "May the like misfortune befall thine enemies as hath befallen Absalom." That word did not permit either himself or his soldiers to rejoice at the victory, though it was a very great one; but David went up to the highest part of the city; and wept for his son, and beat his breast, tearing [the hair of] his head, tormenting himself in a manner of ways, and crying out, "O my son! I wish that I had died myself, and ended my days with thee!" for he was of a tender natural affection, and had extraordinary compassion for this son in particular. But when the army and Joab heard that the king mourned for his son, they were ashamed to enter the city in the habit of conquerors, but they all came in as cast down, and in tears, as if they had been beaten. Now while the king covered himself, and grievously lamented his son, Joab went in to him, and said, "O my lord the king, thou art not unaware that thou layest a blot on thyself by what thou now dost; for thou now seemeth to hate those that love thee, and undergo dangers for thee; nay to hate thyself and thy family, and to love those that are thine bitter enemies, and to desire the company of those that are no more, and who have been justly slain; for had Absalom gotten the victory, and firmly settled himself in the kingdom, there had been none of us left alive, but all of us, beginning with thyself and thy children, had miserably perished, while our enemies had not wept for us, but rejoiced over us, and punished even those that pitied us in our misfortunes; and thou art not ashamed to do this in the case of one that has been thy bitter enemy, who, while he was thine own son, hath proved so wicked to thee. Leave off, therefore, thy unreasonable grief, and come abroad, and be seen by thy soldiers, and return them thanks for the alacrity they showed in the fight; for I myself will this day persuade the people to leave thee, and to give the kingdom to another, if thou continuest to do thus; and then I shall make thee to grieve bitterly and in earnest." Upon Joab's speaking thus to him, he made the king leave off his sorrow, and brought him to the consideration of his affairs. So David changed his habit, and exposed himself in a manner fit to be seen by the multitude, and sat in the gates; whereupon all the people heard of it, and ran together to him, and saluted him. And this was the present state of David's affairs.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW DAVID, WHEN HE HAD RECOVERED HIS KINGDOM, WAS RECONCILED TO SHIMEH, AND TO ZADOK, AND ABIAH, AND ABISHAR, AMASA CAPTAIN OF HIS HOST, IN ORDER TO FORGE SHEBA; WHICH AMASA WAS SLAIN BY JOAB.

§ 1. Now those Hebrews that had been with Absalom, and had retired out of the battle, when they were all returned home, sent messengers to every city to put them in mind of what benefits David had bestowed upon them, and of that liberty which he had procured them, by delivering them from many and great wars. But they complained, that whereas they had ejected him out of his kingdom, and committed it to another governor, whom their governor, whom they had set up, was already dead; they did now beseech David to leave off his anger at them, and to become friends with them, and, as he used to do, to resume the care of their affairs, and to take the kingdom again. This was often told to David. And, this notwithstanding, David sent to Zadok and Abiahar the high-priests, that they should speak to the rulers of the tribe of Judah after the manner following:—That it would be a reproach upon them to permit the other tribes to choose David for their king, before their tribe had this said he, while you are akin to him, and of the same common blood. He recommended, then also to say the same to Amasa the captain of their forces. That whereas he was his sister's son, he had not persuaded the multitude to restore the kingdom of David; that he might expect from him not only a reconciliation, for that was already granted, but..."
that supreme command of the army also which Almazon had bestowed upon him. Accordingly, the high priests, when they had discussed with the rulers of the tribe, and said what the king had ordered them, persuaded Arnaas to undertake the care of his affairs. So he persuaded that tribe to send immediately ambassadors to him, to beseech him to return to his own kingdom. The same did all the Israelites, at the like persuasion of Arnaas.

2. When the ambassadors came to him, he came to Jerusalem; and the tribe of Judah was the first that came to meet the king at the river Jordan; and Shimeel, the son of Gera, came with a thousand men, which he brought with him out of the tribe of Benjamin; and Ziba, the freedman of Saul, with his sons, fifteen in number, and with his twenty servants. All these, as well as the tribe of Judah, bad a bridge [of boats] over the river, that the king, and those that were with him, might with ease pass over it. Now as soon as he was come to Jordan, the tribe of Judah saluted him. Shimeel also came, and saluted him, as a friend, and said, ‘Will you never see us more at Jerusalem? Do not you, I pray, the new troubles and seditions among us, now the power is over; for I would have you know, that I this day begin my reign, and therefore cannot permit to all offenders their punishments, not to animadvert on any one that has sinned. So, therefore, said he, ‘O Shimeel, of good age, and do not at all fear being put to death.’ Shimeel worshipped him, and went on before him.

Mophiboseth also, Saul's grandson, met David in a solitude, and having his feel around him, cried, ‘David, my master, for I am ready for him, with him, he took no care of it, but him no more than if he had been a used, indeed, had I my feet care and had not deserted thee, for I could then use them in my flight; but this is an injury that Ziba has done to me, as to thee, my lord and master, but he had me besides, and told lies about me of invention; but I know thy mind will not allow such calumnies, but is righteously disposed.

5. Now the prophet of the country came to Gilgal, having about him half the people [of Israel], and the [whole] tribe of Judah. By the day, not to speak of the night, and the rulers of the tribe of Judah desired them not to be displeased if they had been prevented by them: for, said they, ‘We are David's kinsmen, and on that account we the rather took care of him, and loved him, and so came first to him;’ yet had they not, by their early winning, received any gifts from him, which the king gave them, who came last among them. When the rulers of the tribe of Judah had said this, the rulers of the other tribe were not quiet, but said farther, ‘O brethren, we cannot but wonder at you when you call the king your kinsman alone, whereas he that hath received from God the power over all of us in common, ought to be esteemed a kinsman to us all; for which reason the whole people have...”

* By David’s disposition of half Mophiboseth’s estate to Ziba, one would imagine that he was a good deal discredited and doubtful whether Mophiboseth's story were entirely true or not; nor does David now invite him to diet with him, as he did before, but only forgives him, if he had been at all guilty. Now is this odd way of mourning that Mophiboseth came not of him, and 2 Sam. 24, whereby free from suspicion of hypocrisy. If Ziba neglected or refused to bring Mophiboseth an ace of his own, on which he might ride he lived, it is hard to suppose that he would seize on it as he was should not be able to pursue some other beast for his security.
eleven parts in him, and you but one part: * we are also elder than you; wherefore you have not done justly in coming to the king in this private and concealed manner. 6. While these rulers were thus disputing one with another, a certain wicked man, who took a pleasure in seditious practices (his name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin) stood up in the midst of the multitude, and cried aloud, and spake thus to them:—We have no part in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse. 7. And when he had used those words, he blew with a trumpet, and declared war against the king; and they all left David, and followed him; the tribe of Judah alone stood with him, and settled him at Jerusalem. But as for his counsellors, with whom Absalom his son had accompanied, truly he removed them to another house; and ordered those that had the care of them to make a plentiful provision for them; but he came not near them any more. He also appointed Amasa for the captain of his forces, and gave him the same high office which Joab before had; and he commanded him to gather together, out of the tribe of Judah, as great an army as he could, and come to him within three days, that he might deliver to him his entire army, and might send him to fight against [Saul] this son of Jesse the Anointed. 8. And Joab and Amasa went out, and made some delay in gathering the army together, and so was not yet returned, on the third day the king said to Joab,—It is not fit we should make any delay in this affair of Sheba, lest he should get a numerous army about him, and be the occasion of greater mischief, and hurt our affairs more than did Absalom himself; donot thou therefore wait any longer, but take such forces as thou hast at hand, and that [old] body of six hundred men and thy brother Abishai with thee, and pursue after our enemy, and endeavor to fight him wheresoever thou canst overtake him. Make haste to prevent him, lest he seize upon some fenced cities, and cause us great labour and pains before we take him.” 7. So Joab resolved to make no delay, but taking with him his brother, and those six hundred men, and giving orders that the rest of the army which was at Jerusalem should follow him, he marched with great speed against Sheba; and when he was come to Gibeah, which is a village forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, Amasa brought a great army with him, and met Joab. Now Joab was girded with a sword, and his breast-plate on; and when Amasa came near him to salute him, he took particular care that his sword should fall out, as it were, of its own accord; so he took it up from the ground, and while he approached Amasa, who was then near him, as though he would kiss him, he took hold of Amasa’s beard with his other hand, and he smote him in his belly when he did not foresee it, and slew him. This impious and altogether profane action, Joab did to a young man, and his kinsman, and one that had done him no injury, and one that had no jealousy that he would obtain the chief command of the army, and be in equal dignity with himself about the king; and for the same cause it was that he killed Abner; but as to that former wicked action, the death of his brother Asahel, which he seemed to revenge, afforded him a decent pretence, and made that crime a pardonable one; but in this murder of Amasa there was no such covering for it. Now when Joab had killed this general, he pursued after Sheba, having left a man with the dead body, who was ordered to proclaim aloud to the army that Amasa was justly slain, and deservedly punished. “But,” said he, “if you be for the king, follow Joab his general, and Abi-shai, Joab’s brother;” but because the body lay on the road, and all the multitude came running to it, and, as is usual with the multitude, stood wondering a great while at it, he that guarded it removed it thence, and carried it to a certain place that was very remote from the road, and there laid it, and covered it with his garment. When this was done, all the people followed Joab. Now as he pursued Sheba through all the country of Israel, one told him that he was in a strong city, called Abelbethmaachah. Hereupon Joab went thither, and set about it with his army, and cast up a bank round it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls, and to overthrow them; and since the people in the city did not admit him, he was greatly displeased at them. Now there was a woman of small account, and yet both wise and intelligent, who seeing her native city lying at the last extremity, ascended upon the wall, and, by means of the armed men, called for Joab; and when he came to her, she began to say, That “God ordained kings and generals of armies, that they might cut off the enemies of the Hebrews, and introduce a universal peace among them; but thou art endeavoring to overthrow and depopulate a metropolis of the Israelites, which hath been guilty of no offence.” But he replied, “God continue to be merciful unto me; I am disposed to avoid killing any one of the people, much less would I destroy such a city as this; and if they will deliver me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who hath rebelled against the king, I will leave off the siege, and withdraw the army from the place.” Now as soon as the woman heard what Joab said, she desired him to intermit the siege for a little while, for that he should have the head of his enemy thrown out to him presently. So she went down to the citizens, and said to them, “Will you be so wicked as to perish miserably, with your children and wives, for the sake of a vile fellow, and one whom nobody knows who he is? And will you have him for your king instead of David, who hath been so great a benefactor to you, and oppose your city alone to such a mighty and strong army?” So she prevailed with them, and they cut off the head of Sheba, and threw it into Joab’s army. When this was done, the king’s general sounded a retreat, and raised the siege. And when he was come to Jerusalem, he was again appointed to be general of all the people. The king also constituted Benaiah captain of the guards, and of the six hundred men. He also set Adoram over the tribute, and Sathonites over the herds; he made Sheba the scribe; and appointed Zadok and Abiatar the high-priests.  

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* I obviously prefer Josephus’s reading here, when it supposes eleven tribes including Benjamin, to be on the one side, and the tribe of Judah alone on the other, since Benjamin, in general, had been still founder of the house of Saul, and less firm to David thereafter, than any of the rest, and as cannot be supposed to be joined with Judah at this time, he must be reckoned, especially when the following rebellion was headed by an Ammonite, see sect. 6 and 2 Sam. xx. 6-4.
CHAPTER XII.

HOW THE ISRAELITES WERE DELIVERED FROM A FASTING WHEN THE GIBEONITES HAD CAUSED PUNISHMENT TO BE INFlicted FOR THOSE OF THEM THAT HAD BEEN SLAIN: AS ALSO, WHAT GREAT ACTIONS WERE PERFORMED AGAINST THE PHILISTINES BY DAVID, AND THE MEN OF VALOUR ABOUT HIM.

§ 1. After this, when the country was greatly afflicted with a famine, David beseoked God to have mercy on the people, and to discover to him what was the cause of it, and how a remedy might be found for that distemper. And when the prophets answered, that God would have the Gibeonites avenged, whom Saul the king was so wicked as to betray to slaver, and had not observed the oath which Joshua the general and the senate had sworn to them. If, therefore, said God, the king would permit such vengeance to be taken for those that were slain as the Gibeonites should desire, he promised that he would be reconciled to them, and free the multitude of their miseries. As soon therefore as the king understood that this it was which God sought, he sent for the Gibeonites, and asked them what it was they would have; and when they desired to have seven sons of Saul delivered to them to be punished, he delivered them up, but spared Mephibosheth the son of Jonathan. So when the Gibeonites had received the men, they punished them as they pleased; upon which God began to send rain, and to recover the earth to bring forth its fruits as usual, and to free it from the foregoing drought; so that the country of the Hebrews flourished again. A little afterw ard the king made war against the Philistines; and when he had joined battle with them, and put them to flight, he was left alone, as he was in pursuit of them; and when he was quite tired down, he was seen by one of the enemy, whose name was Achmon, the son of Araph; he was one of the sons of the giants. He had a spear, the handle of which weighed three hundred shekels, and a breast-plate of chain-work, and a sword. He turned back, and violently to slay [David] their enemy's king, or he was quite tired out with labour; but Abhah, Joab's brother, appeared on the sudden, and protected the king with his shield, as he lay down, and slew the enemy. Now the multitude were very peasy at these dangers of the king, and that he was very near to be slain; and the rulers made him fear that he would no more go out with them to battle, lest he should come to some great misfortune by his courage and boldness, and thereby deceive the people of the benefits they now enjoyed by his living a long time among them.

2. When the king heard that the Philistines gathered together at the city Gaza, he sent army against them, when Sidhebhe the Hitite, one of David's most courageous men, beheld him, so as to deserve great commendation, for he was of the multitude of those that bragged they were of the valiant, and vented themselves largely on that account, and thereby was the occasion of victory to the Hebrews. After which deed, the Philistines made war again; and when David had sent an army against them, Nephishman fought in a single combat with the stoutest of the Philistines, and slew him, and put the rest to flight. Many of them also were slain in the fight. Now a little while after this, the Philistines pitched their camp at a city which lay not far off the bounds of the country of the Hebrews. They had a man who was six cubits tall, and had on each of his feet and hands one more toe and finger than men naturally have. Now the person who was sent against him by David out of his army was Jonathan, the son of Shimea, who fought this man in a single combat, and also sent one person who gave the turn to the battle, he gained the greatest reputation for courage therein. This man also vaunted himself to be of the sons of the giants. But after this fight, the Philistines made war no more against the Israelites.

3. And now David being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying for the future a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God, of several sorts of metre; some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters. He also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on that called the Sabbath-Day, and on other festivals. Now the construction of the instruments was thus: The violin was an instrument of ten strings, it was played upon with a bow; the psaltery had twelve musical notes, and was played upon by the fingers; the cymbals were broad and large instruments, and were made of brass. And so much shall suffice to be spoken of these instruments, that the readers may not be wholly unacquainted with their nature.

4. Now all the men that were about David, were men of courage. Those that were most illustrious and famous of them for their actions, were thirty-eight; of five of whom I will only relate the performances, for these will suffice to make manifest the virtues of the others also; for these were powerful enough to subdue countries, and conquer great nations. First, therefore, was Jessai, the son of Achimmon, who frequently leaped upon the troops of the enemy, and did not leave off fighting till he overthrew nine hundred of them. After him was Eleazar, the son of Doe, who fought with the king at Aaram. This man, when once the Israelites...
CHAPTER XIII.

THAT WHEN DAVID HAD NUMBERED THE PEOPLE, THEY WERE PUNISHED; AND HOW THE DIVINE COMPASSION RESTRAINED THAT PUNISHMENT.

§ 1. Now king David was desirous to know how many ten thousands there were of the people, but forgot the commands of Moses,* who told them beforehand, that if the multitude were numbered, they should pay half a shekel to God for every head. Accordingly the king commanded Joab, the captain of his host, to go and number the whole multitude; but when he said there was no necessity for such a numeration, he was not persuaded (to countermand it), but he enjoined him to make no delay, but to go about the numbering of the Hebrews immediately. So Joab took with him the heads of the tribes, and the scribes, and went over the country of the Israelites, and took notice how numerous the multitude were, and returned to Jerusalem to the king, after nine months and twenty days; and he gave in to the king the number of the people, without the tribe of Benjamin, for he had not yet numbered that tribe, no more than the tribe of Levi, for the king repented of his having sinned against God. Now the number of the rest of the Israelites was nine hundred thousand men; and they were able to bear arms and go to war; but the tribe of Judah, by itself, was four hundred thousand.

2. Now when the prophets had signified to David that God was angry at him, he began to entreat him, and to desire he would be merciful to him, and forgive him his sin. But God sent Nathan the prophet to him, to propose to him the election of three things, that he might choose which he liked best: Whether he would have a famine come upon the country for seven years, or would have a war, and he should have his enemies one against another, and a distemper upon the Hebrews for three days! But as he was fallen to a fatal choice of great miseries, he was in trouble, and sorely confounded; and when the prophet had said that he must of necessity make his choice, and had ordered him to answer quickly, that he might declare what he had chosen to God, the king reasoned with himself, that in case he should ask for famine, he would appear to do it for others, and without danger to himself, since he had

* The words of God by Moses (Exod. xxx. 19), sufficiently justify the reason here given by Josephus for the great plagues mentioned in the chapter—"When thou takest the souls of the children of Israel, and numberest them, thou shalt give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them, that there be no plague among them when thou numberest them." Nor indeed real David, at the SACREDOT'S neglect of the divine institutions, for causing the people, who ought still to have brought their burdens half a shekel apiece with them, when they came to be numbered. The great reason why nations are so constantly punished by both and with their wicked kings and governors is, that they almost content themselves with them in their neglect of or pretense of the holy law, and suffer those divine laws to go into disuse or contempt, in order to please those wicked kings and governors, and that they endeavor to break wicked political laws and commands of these kings and governors, instead of (as before the law of God, they obey, let their kings and governors say what they please to the contrary. This preference of human before divine laws seems to be a kind of character of some gross or antehuman cruelty: whereas Josephus well observes (Annot. b. iv. ch. vii. sect. 10), that it was the duty of the people of Israel not to take care that their kings, when they would have them, did not exceed their proper limits of power, and were answerable to God, as if he had encharged them with the care for delivering them from breaking the laws of God. Nor do I think that negligence peculiar to the Jews: those nations which are called Christendom, and have, from breaking the laws of God, his laws, and so his judgment, which is like care for delivering them from breaking the laws of God. Who is it right the sight of God, to break such laws more? Acts ii. 19. "We ought to obey God rather than men," Acts ii. 19.
A great deal of corn hoarded up, but to the harm of others; that in case he should choose to be overcome [by his enemies] for three months, he would appear to have chosen war, because he had valiant men about him, and strong-holds, and that therefore he feared nothing therefrom: so he chose that afflition which is common to kings and to their subjects, and in which the fear was equal on all sides; and said this beforehand, that it was much better to fall into the hands of God, than into those of his enemies.

2. When the prophet had heard this, he declared it to God; who therefore sent a pestilence and a mortality upon the Hebrews; nor did they die after one and the same manner, nor so that it was easy to know what the distemper was. Now, the miserable disease was one in deed, but it carried them off by ten thousand causes and occasions, which those that were afflicted could not understand; for one died upon the neck of another, and the terrible malady seized them before they were aware, and brought them to their end suddenly, some giving up the ghost immediately with very great pains and sudden grief; and some were worn away by the distempers, and had nothing remaining to be buried, but as soon as ever they fell, were entirely macerated; some were choked, and greatly lamented their case, as being also stricken with a sudden darkness; some there were who, as they were burying a relation, fell down dead,* without finishing the rites of the funeral. Now there perished of his disease, which began with the morning, and lasted till the hour of dinner, seventy thousand. And, as the angel stretched out his hand over Jerusalem, as sending this terrible judgment upon it; but David had put on sackcloth, and laid upon the ground, as stretching God, and begging that the distemper might now cease, and that he would be satisfied with those that had already perished; and when the king looked up into the air, and saw the angel carried along thereby into Jerusalem, with his sword drawn, he said to God, that he might justly be punished, who was their shepherd; but that the sheep might be preserved, as not having sinned at all; did he implore God that he would send his wrath on him, and upon all his family, but to spare the people.

When God heard his supplication, he caused pestilence to cease; and sent God the prophet him, and commanded him to go up immediately to the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and bid an altar there to God, and offer sacrifices. Then David heard that, he did not neglect his word; but made haste to the place appointed him. And Araunah was threshing wheat; and when he saw the king and all his servants coming to him, he before, and came to him, and worshipped him: as by his likeness a Jebusite, but a particular end of David's; and for that cause it was that, in he overthrew the city, he did him no harm, we informed the reader a little before. Now unah inquired, wherefore is my lord come to servant? He answered, to buy of him the threshing-floor, that he might therein build an altar, and offer a sacrifice. He replied, that he gave him both the threshing-floor, and the oxen and a burnt-offering; and he sought God graciously to accept his sacrifice.

But the king made answer, that he took his generosity and magnanimity kindly, and accepted his good-will; but that he desired him to take the price of them all, for that it was not just to offer a sacrifice that cost nothing. And when Araunah said he would do as he pleased, he bought the threshing-floor of him for fifty shekels; and when he had built an altar, he performed divine service, and brought a burnt-offering, and offered peace-offerings also. With these God was pacified, and became gracious to them again. Now it happened that Abraham* came and offered his son Isaac for a burnt-offering at that very place; and when the youth was ready to have his throat cut, a ram appeared on a sudden, standing by the altar, which Abraham sacrificed in the stead of his son, as we have before related. Now when king David saw that God had heard his prayer, and had graciously accepted of his sacrifice, he resolved to call that entire place The Altar of the People, and to build a temple to God there; which words he uttered very appositely to that woman, who came after him; for God sent the prophet to him, and told him that there should his son build him an altar,—that son who was to take the kingdom after him.

CHAPTER XIV.

THAT DAVID MADE GREAT PREPARATIONS FOR THE HOUSE OF GOD; AND THAT UPON ADONIJAH'S ATTEMPT TO GAIN THE KINGDOM, HE APPOINTED SOLOMON TO REIGN.

§ 1. After the delivery of this prophecy, the king commanded the strangers to be numbered, and they were found to be one hundred and eighty thousand; of these he appointed fourscore to be hewers of stone, and the rest of the multitude to carry the stones, and of them he set over the workmen three thousand and five hundred. He also prepared a great quantity of iron and brass for the work, with many (and those exceedingly large) cedar-trees, the Tyrians and Sidonians sent him; for he had sent them for a supply of those trees; and he told his friends that these things were now prepared, that he might leave materials ready for the building of the temple to his son, who was to reign after him, and that he might not have them to seek then, when he was very young, and by reason of his age, unskilful in such matters, but might have them lying by him, and so might the more readily complete the work.

2. So David called his son Solomon, and charged him, when he had received the kingdom, to build a temple to God; and said, I will build God a temple myself, but he prohibited me, because I was polluted with blood and wars; but he hath foretold that Solomon, my youngest son, should build him a temple, and should be called by that name; over whom he hath promised to take the like care as a father takes over his son; and that he would make the country of the Hebrews happy under him, and that not only in other respects, but by giving it peace, and freedom from wars, and from internal seditions, which are the greatest of

* What Josephus adds here is very remarkable, that this mount Moriah was not only the very place where Abraham offered up Isaac long ago, but that God had foretold to David by a prophet, that here his son should build him a temple; which is not directly in any of the other copies, though very agreeable to what is therein, particularly xxii. 59, 60; and xxiii. 11, to which places I refer the reader.
all blessings. Since, therefore," says he, "thou wast ordained king by God himself before thou wast born, to endeavour to render thyself worthy of this his providence, as in other instances, so particularly in being religious, and righteous, and courageous. Keep thou also his commands, and his laws, which he hath given us by Moses, and do not permit others to break them. Be zealous also to dedicate to God a temple which he hath chosen to be built under thy reign; nor be thou affrighted by the vastness of thy work, nor set about it timorously, for I will make all things ready before I die: and take notice, that there are already ten thousand talents of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver* collected together. I have also laid together brass and iron without number, and an immense quantity of timber, and of stones. Moreover, thou hast many ten thousand stone-cutters, and carpenters; and if thou shalt want any thing farther, do thou add somewhat of thine own. Wherefore, if thou performest this work, thou wilt be acceptable to God, and have him, for thy patron." David also farther exhorted the rulers of the people to assist his son in this building, and to attend to the divine service, when they should be free from all their misfortunes, for that they by this means should enjoy, instead of them, peace and a happy settlement; with which blessings God rewards such men as are religious and righteous. He also gave orders, that when the temple should be once built, they should put the ark therein, with the holy vessels; and he assured them, that they ought to have had a temple long ago, if their fathers had not been negligent of God's commands, who had given it in charge, that when they had got the possession of this land they should build him a temple. Thus did David discourse to the governors, and to his son.

3. David was now in years, and his body, by length of time, was become cold and benumbed, insomuch that he could get no heat by covering himself with many clothes; and when the physicians came together, they agreed to this advice, that a beautiful virgin, chosen out of the whole country, should sleep by the king's side, and that this damsel would communicate heat to him, and be a remedy against his numbness. Now there was found in the city one woman, of a superior beauty to all other women (her name was Abishag), who, sleeping with the king, did no more than communicate warmth to him, for he was so old that he could not know her as a husband knows his wife; but of this woman we shall know more presently.

Now the fourth son of David was a beautiful young man, and tall, born to him of Haggith his wife. He was named Adonijah, and was in his disposition like to Absalom; and exalted himself, as hoping to be king, and told his friends that he ought to take the government upon him. He also prepared many chariots and horses, and fifty men to run before him. When his father saw this, he did not reprove him, nor restrain him from his purpose, nor did he go so far as to ask wherefore he did so. Now Adonijah had for his assistants, Joab, the captain of the army, and Abiathar the high-priest; and the only persons that opposed him were Zadok the high-priest, and the prophet Nathan, and

Benaiah, who was captain of the guards, and Shimei, David's friend, and all the other most mighty men. Now Adonijah had prepared a supper out of the city, near the fountain that was in the king's paradise, and had invited all his brethren except Solomon, and had taken with him Joab, the captain of the army, and Abiathar, the priest of the tribe of Judah; but had not invited to this feast either Zadok the high-priest, or Nathan the prophet, or Benaiah, the captain of the guards, nor any of those of the contrary party. This matter was told by Nathan the prophet to Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, that Adonijah was king, and that David knew nothing of it; and he advised her to save herself and her son Solomon, and to go by herself to David, and say to him, that he had indeed sworn that Solomon should reign after him; but that, in the meantime, Adonijah had already taken the kingdom. He said that he, the prophet himself, would come after her, and when she had spoken thus to the king, would confirm what she had said. Accordingly Bathsheba agreed with Nathan, and went in to the king, and worshipped him; and when she had desired leave to speak with him, she told him all things in the manner that Nathan had suggested to her; and related what a supper Adonijah had made, and who they were whom he had invited; Abiathar the high-priest, and Joab the general, and David's sons, excepting Solomon and his friends. She also said that all the people had their eyes upon him, to know whom he would choose for their king. She desired him also to consider, how, after his departure, Adonijah, if he were king, would slay her and her son Solomon.

5. Now, as Bathsheba was speaking, the keeper of the king's chambers told him that Nathan desired to see him; and when the king had commanded that he should be admitted, he came in, and asked him whether he had ordained Adonijah to be king, and delivered the government to him, or not; for that he had made a splendid supper and invited all his sons, except Solomon, and also that he had invited Joab, the captain of his host, and Abiathar the high-priest, who are feasting with applause, and many joyful sounds of instruments, and wish that his kingdom may last for ever; but he had not invited me, nor Zadok the high-priest, nor Benaiah the captain of the guards; and it is but fit that all should know whether this be done by thy approbation or not. When Nathan had said this, the king commanded that they should call Bathsheba to him, for she had gone out of the room when the prophet came; and when Bathsheba was come, David said, "I swear by Almighty God, that thy son Solomon shall certainly be king, as I formerly swore; and that he shall sit upon my throne, and that this very day also." So Bathsheba worshipped him, and wished him a long life; and the king sent for Zadok the high-priest, and Benaiah the captain of the guards; and when they were come, he ordered them to take with them Nathan the prophet, and all the armed men about the palace, and set his son Solomon upon the king's mule, and to carry him out of the city to the fountain called Gihon, and to anoint him there with the holy oil, and to make him king. This he charged Zadok the high-priest, and Nathan the prophet to do; and commanded them to follow Solomon through the midst of the city, and to sound the trumpets, and to wish aloud that Solomon the king may sit upon the royal throne for ever, that so all the people may know

* Of the quantity of gold and silver expended in the building of Solomon's temple, and whence it arose, see the description of the temple, chapter viii.
that he is ordained king by his father. He also gave Solomon a charge concerning his government, to rule the whole nation of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, religiously and righteousness.

And when Beniamin had prayed to God for forty days, favorable to Solomon, without any delay they set Solomon upon the mule, and brought him out of the city to the fountain, and anointed him with oil, and brought him into the city again, with acclamations and wishes that his kingdom might continue a long time; and when they had introduced him into the king's house, they set him upon the throne:—whereupon all the people betook themselves to make merry, and to celebrate a festival, dancing and delighting themselves with musical pipes, till both the earth and the air echoed with the multitude of the instruments of music.

Now when Adonijah and his guests perceived this noise, they were in disorder; and Joab, the captain of the host said he was not pleased with these echoes, and the sound of these trumpets. And when supper was set before them, nobody tasted of it, but they were all very thoughtful what would be the matter. Then Jonathan the son of Abiathar the high-priest, came running to them; and when Adonijah saw the young man gladly, and said to him that he was a good messenger, he declared to him the whole matter about Solomon, and the determination of king David; hereupon both Adonijah and all his guests rose hastily from the feast, and every one fled to their own homes. Adonijah so, as afraid of the king for what he had done, became a supplicant to God, and took hold of the horns of the altar, which were prominent. It was so told Solomon that he had so done; and that he desired to receive assurances from him that he would not remember the injury he had done, and it inflict any severe punishment for it. Solomon swerved very mildly and prudently that he forgave him this offence; but said withal, that if he was found out in any attempt for new innovations, it would be the author of his own punishment. He sent to him, and raised him up from the place his supplication. And when he was come to the king, and had worshipped him, the king bid him go to his own house, and have no suspicion of harm; and desired him to show himself a wise man, as what would tend to his own advantage.

But David being desirous of ordaining his son of all the people, called together their rulers, and the priests and Levites; and first numbered the Levites, he found them to thirty-eight thousand, from thirty years old to forty; out of which he appointed twenty-three thousand to take care of the building of the temple, and of the same, six thousand to be judges of the people and scribes; four thousand for porters to the house of God, and as many for singers to sing to instruments which David had prepared, as we said already. He divided them also into companies; and when he had separated the priests from them, he found of these priests twenty-eight thousand, to clean the house of Eleazar, and eight thousand of Ithamar; and he ordained that one course according to God eight days, from Sabbath to Sabbath. And thus were the courses distributed, in the presence of David, and Zadok and Ahitub the high-priests, and of all the rulers: that course which came up first, was written as first, and accordingly the second, and so on to the twenty-fourth; and this partition hath remained to this day. He also made twenty-four parts of the tribe of Levi; and when they cast lots, they came up in the same manner for the course. He also honoured the posterity of Moses, and made them the keepers of the treasures of God, and of the donations which the king dedicated: he also ordained, that all the tribe of Levi, as well as the priests, should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.

8. After this he parted the entire army into twelve parts, with their leaders [and captains of hundreds] and commanders. Now every part had twenty-four thousand, which were ordered to wait on Solomon, by thirty days at a time, from the first day to the last, with the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds: he also set rulers over every part, such as he knew to be good and courageous men; he set others also to take charge of the treasures, and of the villages, and of the fields, and of the beasts, whose names I do not think it necessary to mention. When David had ordered all these offices after the manner before mentioned, he called the rulers of the Hebrews, and their heads of tribes, and the officers over the several divisions, and those that were appointed over every work and every possession; and standing upon a high pulpit, he said to the multitude as follows:—My brethren and my people, I would have you know that I intended to build a house for God, and prepared a large quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver; but God prohibited me by the prophet Nathan, because of the wars I had on your account, and because my right hand was polluted with the slaughter of our enemies; but he commanded that my son, who was to succeed me in the kingdom, should build a temple for him. Now, therefore, since you know that of the twelve sons whom Jacob our forefather had, Judah was appointed to be king, and that I was preferred before my six brethren, and received the government from God, and that none of them were unseas at it, so do I also desire that my sons be not sedition one against another, now Solomon has received the kingdom, but to bear him cheerfully for their lord, as knowing that God hath chosen him; for it is not a grievous thing to obey even a foreigner as a ruler if it be God's will, but it is fit to rejoice when a brother hath obtained that dignity, since the rest partake of it with him. And I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled; and that this happiness which he hath promised to bestow upon king Solomon, over all the country, may continue therein for all time to come. And these promises, O son, will be firm, and come to a happy end, if thou shewest thyself to be a religious and a righteous man, and an observer of the laws of thy country; but if not, expect adversity upon thy disobedience to them.”

9. Now when the king had said this, he left off; but gave the description and pattern of the building of the temple in the sight of them all, to Solomon; of the foundations and of the chambers, in how many they were to be and how large in height and in breadth; as also determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels; moreover he earnestly excited them with words, to use the utmost anxiety about the work he exhorted the rulers also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist him, both by youth, and because God had chose care of the building of the temple,
vernment of the kingdom. He also declared to them that the work would be easy, and not very laborious to them, because he had prepared for it many talents of gold, and more of silver, with timber, and a great many carpenters and stone-cutters, and a large quantity of emeralds, and all sorts of precious stones: and he said, that even now he would give of the proper goods of his own dominion, two hundred talents, and three hundred other talents of pure gold, for the most holy place; and for the chariot of God, the cherubim, which are to stand over and cover the ark. Now, when David had done speaking, there was great charity among the rulers, and the priests, and the Levites, who now contributed and made great and splendid promises for a future contribution; for they undertook to bring of gold five thousand talents, and ten thousand drachms, and of silver ten thousand talents, and many ten thousand talents of iron: and if any one had a precious stone he brought it, and bequeathed it to be put among the treasures; of which Jachiel, one of the posterity of Moses, had the care.

And upon this occasion all the people rejoiced, as in particular did David, when he saw the zeal and forward ambition of the rulers, and the priests, and all of the rest; and he began to bless God with a loud voice, calling him the Father and Parent of the universe, and the Author of human and divine things, with which he had adorned Solomon, the patron and guardian of the Hebrew nation, and of its happiness, and of that kingdom which he hath given his Son. Besides this, he prayed for happiness to all the people; and to Solomon his son, a sound and a righteous mind, and confirmed in all sorts of virtue; and then he commanded the multitude to bless God. Upon which they all fell down upon the ground and worshipped him. They also gave thanks to David, on account of all the blessings which they had received ever since he had taken the kingdom. On the next day he presented sacrifices to God, a thousand bullocks, and as many lambs, which they offered for burnt-offerings. They also offered peace-offerings; and slew many ten thousand sacrifices; and the king feasted all day, together with all the people; and they anointed Solomon a second time with the oil, and appointed him to be king; and Zadok to be the high-priest of the whole multitude. And when they had brought Solomon to the royal palace, and had set him upon his father’s throne, they were obedient to him from that day.

CHAPTER XV.

WHAT CHARGE DAVID GAVE TO HIS SON SOLOMON AT THE APPROACH OF HIS DEATH; AND HOW MANY THINGS HE LEFT HIM FOR THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

§ 1. A LITTLE afterward, David also fell into a distemper, by reason of his age; and perceiving that he was near to death, he called his son Solomon, and discoursed to him thus:—"I am now, O my son, going to my grave, and to my fathers, which is the common way which all men that now are, or shall be hereafter, must go; from which way it is no longer possible to return, and to know any thing that is done in this world. On which ac-
count I exhort thee, while I am still alive, though already very near to death, in the same manner as I have formerly said in my discourse to thee, to be righteous towards thy subjects, and religious towards God, that hath given thee thy kingdom; to observe his commands, and his laws, which he hath sent us by Moses; and neither do thou, out of favour nor flattery, allow any lust or other passion to weigh with thee to disregard them; for if thou transgressest his laws, thou wilt lose the favour of God, and thou wilt turn away his providences from thee in all things; but if thou behave thyself as it believeth thee, and as I exhort thee, thou wilt preserve the kingdom of God, for the house will bear rule over the Hebrews, but woe tostelves for all ages. Be thou also mindful of the transgressions of Joab, the captain of the host, who hath slain two generals out of envy, and those righteous and good men, Abner the son of Ner, and Amasa the son of Jether; whose death do thou avenge as shall seem good to thee, since Joab hath been too hard for me, and more potent than myself, and so hath escaped punishment hitherto. I also commit the son of Barzillai, the Gileadite, whom, in order to gratify him in great honour, and take great care of; for we have not done good to him first, but we only repay that debt which we owe to his father, for what he did to me in my flight. There is also Shimei, the son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, who, after he had cast many reproaches upon me, when, in my flight, I was going to Mahanaim, met me at Jordan, and received assurances that he should then suffer nothing. Do thou now seek out for some just occasion, and punish him."

2. When David had given these admonitions to his son about public affairs, and about his friends, and about those whom he knew to deserve punishment, he died, having lived seventy years, and reigned seven years and six months in Hebron, over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem, over all the country. This man was of an excellent character, and was endowed with all the virtues that were desirable in a king, and in one that had the preservation of so many tribes committed to him; and he was a man of a very extraordinary degree, and very readily and first of all into dangers, when he was to fight for his subjects, as exciting the soldiers to action by his own labours, and fighting for them, and not by commanding them in a despotic way. He was also of very great abilities in understanding, and apprehension of present and future circumstances, when he was to manage any affairs. He was prudent and moderate, and kind to such as were under any calamities; he was righteous and humane, and was good qualities peculiarly fit for kings; nor was he
CHAPTER I.

HOW SOLOMON, WHEN HE HAD RECEIVED THE KINGDOM, TOOK OFF HIS ENEMIES.

1. We have already treated of David and his virtues, and of the benefits he was the author of to his countrymen; of his wars and battles, which he managed with success, and then died an old man, in the foregoing book. And when Solomon his son, who was but a youth in age, had taken the kingdom, and whom David had declared, while he was alive, the lord of that people, according to God's will; then he sat upon the throne, the whole body of the people made joyful acclamation to him, as is usual at the beginning of a reign; and wished that all his fathers might come to a blessed conclusion; and that he might arrive at a great age, and at the most happy state of affairs possible.

2. But Adonijah, who, while his father was living, appeared to gain possession of the government, me to the king's mother Bathsheba, and saluted her with great civility; and when she asked him, whether he came to her as desiring her assistance in anything, or not; and bade him tell her if that were the case, for that she would cheerfully afford him; he began to say, that she knew herself well: the kingdom was his, both on account of his age, and of the disposition of the multitude; that yet it was transferred to Solomon her son, according to the will of God. He also said that he contented to be a servant under him, and was satisfied with the present settlement; but he desired to be a means of obtaining a favour from his father; and to persuade him to bestow on him in marriage Abishag, who had indeed slept by his father, but, because his father was too old, he had not joined with her, and she was still a virgin. Solomon promised him to afford him her assistance very earnestly, and to bring him in such a thing, and because she would press it to him very earnestly. Accordingly he went away, in hopes of succeeding in this match. So Solomon's mother went presently to her son, to speak to him about what she had promised, upon Adonijah's supplication to her. And when her son came forward to meet her, and embraced her, and when he had brought her into the house where his royal throne was set, he sat thereon, and bid them set another throne on the right hand for his mother. When Bathsheba was sat down, she said, "O my son, grant me one request that I make of thee, and do not any thing to me that is disagreeable or ungrateful, which thou wilt do if thou dost deniest me." And when Solomon bid her to lay her commands upon him, because it was agreeable to his duty to grant her every thing she should ask, and complained that she did not begin her discourse with a firm expectation of obtaining what she desired, but had some suspicion of a denial,—she entreated him to grant, that his brother Adonijah might marry Abishag.

3. But the king was greatly offended at these words, and sent away his mother, and said that Adonijah aimed at great things; and that he wondered that she did not desire him to yield up the kingdom to him, as to his elder brother, since she desired that he might marry Abishag; and that he had potent friends, Joab the captain of the host, and Abiathar the priest. So he called for Benaiah, the captain of the guards, and ordered him to seize his brother Adonijah; he also called for Abiathar the priest, and said to him, "I will not put thee to death, because of those other hardships which hast endured with my father, and because thou hast borne along with him; inflict this following punishment upon thee, thou wast among Adonijah's followers, and his party. Do not thou continue any more into my sight, but go and live on thine own fields, as
life; for thou hast offended so greatly, that it is not just that thou shouldst retain thy dignity any longer." For the forementioned cause, therefore, that the house of Ithamar was deprived of the sacerdotal dignity, as God had foretold to Eli, the grandfather of Abiathar. So it was transferred to the family of Phinehas, to Zadok. Now those that were of the family of Phinehas, for but lived privately during the time that the high-priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar (of which family Eli was the first that received it) were these that follow: Buki, the son of Abishua the high-priest; his son was Joatham; Joatham's son was Meriaoth; Meriaoth's son was Arophoeus; Arophoeus' son was Ahitub; and Ahitub's son was Zadok, who was first made high-priest in the reign of David.

4. Now when Joab the captain of the host heard of the slaughter of Adonijah, he was greatly afraid, for he was a greater friend to him than to Solomon; and suspecting, not without reason, that he was in danger, on account of his favour to Adonijah, he fled to the altar, and supposed he might procure safety thereby to himself, because of the king's piety towards God. But when some told the king what Joab's supposal was, he sent Benaiah, and commanded him to raise him up from the altar, and bring him to the judgment-seat, in order to make his defence. However, Joab said he would not leave the altar, but would die there rather than in another place. And when Benaiah had reported his answer to the king, Solomon commanded him to cut off his head there*, and let him take that as a punishment for those two captains of the host whom he had wickedly slain, and to bury his body, that his sins might never leave his family, but that himself and his father, by Joab's death, might be guiltless; and when Benaiah had done what he was commanded to do, he was himself appointed to be captain of the whole army. The king also made Zadok to be alone the high-priest, in the room of Abiathar, whom he had removed.

5. But to Benaiah, Solomon commanded that he should build him a house in Jerusalem, and attend upon him, and should not have authority to go over the brook Cedron: and that if he disobeyed that command, death should be his punishment. He also threatened him so terribly that he compelled him to take an oath that he would obey. Accordingly Shimei said that he had reason to thank Solomon for giving him such an injunction; and added an oath, that he would do as he bade him; and, leaving his own country, he made his abode in Jerusalem: but three years afterwards, when he heard that two of his servants were run away from him, and were in Gath, he went for his servants in haste; and when he was come back with them, the king perceived it, and was much displeased that he had contemned his commands, and, that what was more, had no regard to the oaths he had sworn to God; so he called him, and said to him, "Didst not thou swear never to leave me, nor to go out of this city to another? Thou shalt not therefore escape punishment for thy perjury; but I will punish thee, thou wicked wretch, both for this crime, and for those wherewith thou didst abuse thy father when he was in his flight, that thou mayest know that wicked men gain no thing at last although they be not punished immediately upon their unjust practices; but that in all the time wherein they think themselves secure, because they have yet suffered nothing, their punishment increases, and is heavier upon them, and that to a greater degree than if they had been punished immediately upon the commission of their crimes." So Benaiah, on the king's command, slew Shimei.

- CHAPTER 11.

CONCERNING THE WIFE OF SOLOMON; CONCERNING HIS WISDOM AND RICHES; AND CONCERNING WHAT HE OBTAINED OF HIRAM FOR THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

§ 1. Solomon having already settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having brought his enemies to punishment, he married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and built the walls of Jerusalem much larger and stronger than those that had been before; and thenceforward he managed public affairs very peaceably: nor was it his youth any hindrance in the exercise of justice, or in the observance of the laws, or in the remembrance of what charges his father had given him at his death; but he discharged every duty with great accuracy, that might have been expected from such as are good, and of the greatest prudence. He now resolved to go to Hebron, and sacrifice to God upon the brazen altar that was built by Moses. Accordingly he offered there burnt-offerings, in numbera thousand; and when he had done this, he thought he had paid great honour to God; for, as he was asleep that very night, God appeared to him, and commanded him to ask of him some gifts which he was ready to give him as a reward for his piety. So Solomon asked of God what was most excellent, and of the greatest worth in itself, what God would give him. But God replied, Birth, that is the greatest joy, and what it was more profitable for man to receive, for he did not desire to have bestowed upon him either gold or silver, or any other riches, as a man and a youth might naturally have done, for these are the things that generally are esteemed by most men, as alone of the greatest worth, and the best gifts of God; but, said he, "Give me, O Lord, a sound mind and a good understanding, whereby I may speak and judge the people according to truth and righteousness." With these petitions God was well pleased; and promised to give him all those things that he had not mentioned in his option, riches, glory, victory over his enemies; and, in the first place, understanding and wisdom, and this in such a degree, as no other mortal man, neither kings nor ordinary persons, ever had. He also promised to preserve the kingdom to his posterity for a very long time, if he continued righteous and obedient to him, and imitated his father in those things wherein he excelled. When Solomon heard this from God, he presently leaped out of his bed; and when he had worshipped him, he returned to Jerusalem; and after he had offered great sacrifices before the tabernacle, he feasted all his own family.

* This execution upon Joab, as a murderer, by slaying him, even when he had had a sanctuary at God's altar, is perfectly agreeable to the law of Moses, which enjoins, that, "If a man slay any man, the blood of the slayer shall be sure unto him, until it be avenged: for he is guiltless of blood; until it be avenged." Exod. xxu. 18.

† This building of the walls of Jerusalem, soon after David died, illustrates the conclusion of the block in Psal. 137, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." Also 1 Kings 15. 15.
2. In these days a hard case came before him in judgment, which it was very difficult to find any end of; and I think that Solomon in all his life the greatest was, that such as light upon my writings may know what a difficult case Solomon was to determine; and those that are concerned in such matters may take this sagacity of the king for a pattern, that they may the more easily give sentence about such questions. There were two women, who were harlots in the course of their lives, that came to him, of whom she that seemed to be injured began to speak first, and said, "O king, I sed this woman’s dead child, and killed it; and then took my son out of my bosom, and removed him to herself; and as I was asleep she laid her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman’s dead child lying by me; for I considered it exactly, and found it so to be. Hence it was that I demanded my son, and when I could not obtain him, I have recourse, my lord, to thy assistance; for since we were alone, I did, I know not where there that could convict her, she could not, and I perceived in the stretch of the fact."

When this woman had told his story, the king asked the other woman what she had to say in contradiction to that story. But she denied that she had done what was argued upon her, and said that it was her child it was living, and it was her antagonist’s that was dead, and when no one could devise at judgment could be given, and the whole court be blind in their understanding, and could not how to find out this riddle, the king alone led the following way how to discover it: He brought in both the dead child and the living child: and sent one of his guards, and couched him to fetch a sword, and drew it, and to both the children into two pieces, that each of them might have half the living and half the child. Hereupon all the people privately ed at the king, as no more than a youth. But, at this time, she that was the real mother of the child cried out, that he should not do so, nower that child to the other woman, as her or she would be satisfied with the life of the and with the sight of it, although it were still the other’s child; but the other woman at to see the child divided, and was desirous, moreover, that the first woman should be torn.

When the king understood that both their proceed from the truth of their passions, diged the child to her that cried out to save that she was the real mother of it; and he sed the other as a wicked woman, who had killed her own child, but was endeavouring her friend’s child destroyed also. Now the looked on this determination as a great demonstration of the king’s sagacity and; and, after that day, attended to him as to a king.

For the captains of his armies, and officers over the whole country, were these: —

- Lot of Ephraim was Ubes; over the top —

- Bethlehem was Dioderus; Abinadab, the son of Solomon’s daughter, had the region of the sea-coast under him: the Great Plain Beniah, the son of Achish; he also governed all the country as far as Jordan; Gabari ruled over Gilead and Galanth, and had under him the sixty great and the sixty small; at Tzor, Dab met the affairs of all Galilee, as far as Sidon, and had himself also married a daughter of Solomon’s, whose name was Basima; Banace had the sea-coast about Arce; as had Shaphe posted Mount Tabor, and Carmel, and the lower Galilee as far as the river Jordan; one man was appointed over all this country; Shimee was intrusted with the lot of Benjamin; and Gabares had the country beyond Jordan, over whom there was again one governor appointed. Now the people of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, received a wonderful increase when they trusted themselves to husbandry and the cultivation of their grounds; for as they enjoyed peace, and were not distracted with wars and troubles, and having besides an abundant fruition of the most desirable liberty, every one was busy in augmenting the product of their own lands, and making them worth more than they had formerly been.

4. The king had also other rulers, who were over the land of Syria and the Philistines, which reached from the river Euphrates to Egypt, and these collected his tribute. As the king’s army was divided to the king’s table, and to his supper every day, thirty cori of fine flour, and sixty of meal; as also ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred fat lambs; all these were besides what were taken by hunting harts and buffaloes, and birds and fishes, which were brought to the king by foreigners day by day. Solomon had also so great a number of chariots, that the stalls of his horses for those chariots were forty thousand; and besides these, he had twelve thousand horsemen, the one half of whom waited upon the king in Jerusalem, and the rest were dispersed abroad, and dwelt in the royal villages; but the same officer who provided for the king’s expenses, supplied also the fodder for the horses, and still carried it to the place where the king abode at that time.

5. Now the king’s sagacity and wisdom which God had bestowed upon Solomon was so great, that he exceeded the ancients, insomuch that he was no way inferior to the Egyptians, who are said to have been beyond all men in understanding; and, indeed, it is evident that their sagacity was very much inferior to that of the king’s. He also excelled all distinguished himself in wisdom above those who were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for shrewdness: those I mean were Ethan, and Heman, and Chielol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol. He also composed books of odes and songs, a thousand and five; of parables and similitudes, three thousand; for he spake a parable upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar; and in like manner also about beasts, about all sorts of living creatures, whether upon the earth, or in the

* It may not be amiss to compare the daily furniture of king Solomon’s table, here set down, and 1 Kings iv. 22, with the daily furniture of Noah in Genesis vi. 14-15, where it was said, "Thou shalt eat of every green herb." Nor were they back from Babylon: and to remember within, that Noah might be allowing the souls of justice and malefactor, more than usual, 190 considerable men every day; and that, because the men were very poor, as in his own changes as, people at all. "And without beyond, there was prepared for me daily was and six choice sheep, also bowls were prepared for use; and days, stored of all sorts of wine; and yet for all this I required the servants: because the meals were heavy upon those dishes.

1 Kings v. 10. See the whole history, 2 Chronicles vii. 7. Some usual allowance of 60 shekels of silver a day, or money to be calculated about 8000 a year. 2 Kings) it. These things are also found in the

vii. viii. 11-12.
seas, or in the air; for he was not unacquainted with any of their natures, nor omitted inquiries about them, but described them all like a philosopher, and demonstrated his exquisite knowledge of their several properties. God also enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons, which is a science peculiar to soothsayers. He composed such incantations also by which distempers are alleviated. And he left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, by which they drive away demons, so that they never return, and this method of cure is of great force unto this day; for I have seen a certain man of my own country whose name was Eleazar, releasing people that were demoniacal in the presence of Vespassian, and his sons, and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers. The manner of the cure was this:—He put a ring that had a root of one of those scots mentioned by Solomon to the nostrils of the demons, after which he drew out the demon through his nostrils; and when the man fell down immediately, he abjured him to return to him no more, making still mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. And when Eleazar would persuade and demonstrate to the spectators that he had such a power, he set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon as he went out of the man, to overturn it, and thereby to let the spectators know that he had left the man; and when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon was shown very manifestly: for which reason it is, that all men may know the vastness of Solomon’s abilities, and how he was beloved of God, and that the extraordinary virtues of every kind with which this king was endued, may not be unknown to any people under the sun; for this reason, I say, it is that we have proceeded to speak so largely of these matters.

6. Moreover Hiram, king of Tyre, when he had heard that Solomon succeeded to his father’s kingdom, was very glad of it, for he was a friend of David. So he sent ambassadors to him, and saluted him, and congratulated him on the present happy state of his affairs. Upon which Solomon sent him an epistle, the contents of which here follow:—

SOLOMON TO KING HIRAM.

“Know thou that my father would have built a temple to God, but was hindered by wars, and continual expulsions; for he did not leave off to overthrow his enemies till he made them all subject to tribute. But I give thanks to God for the peace I at present enjoy, and on that account I am at leisure, and design to build a house to God, for God foretold to my father that such a house should be built by me; wherefore I desire thee to send some of thy subjects with mine to Mount Lebanon, to cut down timber; for the Sidonians are more skillful than our people in cutting of wood. As for wages to the heers of wood, I will pay whatsoever price than shalt determine.”

7. When Hiram had read this epistle, he was pleased with it, and wrote back this answer to Solomon:—

HIRAM TO KING SOLOMON.

“It is fit to bless God that he hath committed thy father’s government to thee, who art a wise man, and endowed with all virtues. As for myself, I rejoice at the condition thou art in, and will be subservient to thee in all that thou sendest me about; for when by my subjects I have cut down many and large trees of cedar and cypress wood, I will send them to sea, and will order my subjects to make floats of them, and so to sail to what place soever of thy country thou shalt desire, and leave them there, after which thy subjects may carry them to Jerusalem: but do thou take care to procure us corn for this timber, which we stand in need of, because we inhabit in an island.”

8. The copies of these epistles remain at this day, and are preserved not only in our books, but among the Tyrians also; insomuch that if any one would know the certainty about them, he may desire of the keepers of the public records of Tyre to see them, and he will find what is therein set down, to be in agreement with what I have said so much out of a desire that my readers may know that we speak nothing but the truth, and do not compose a history out of some plausible relations, which deceive men and please them at the same time, nor attempt to avoid examination, nor desire men to believe us immediately; nor are we at liberty to depart from speaking truth, which is the proper commendation of a historian, and yet to be objectless. But we insist upon no admission of what we say, unless we be able to manifest its truth, by demonstration and the strongest reasons.

9. Now as this epistle of the king of Tyre was brought him, commended the readiness and good-will he declared therein, and

What Josephus here puts into his copy of Hiram’s epistle to Solomon, and afterwards 1 Kings xii. 20, is not in any of the three other copies, viz. that of the King’s Chronicles, or Eusebius; nor is it in any other. I suppose the conjectural paraphrase; for when 1 Kings xii. 20 is joined to the matter, I found the state of this famous city, and of the island on which it stood, to have been very different at different times. The work of my inquiries into this matter, with the addition of certain passages, stands thus:—That the most trustworthy history relating to that, and the least reason to impugn it, Palaestina, or Old Tyre, was no other than that ancient smaller fort or city Tyre, situated on the island of Delos, in the sea. The Tyrians and Phoenicians inhabited it, and the...
it before the temple: its length was twenty cubits, and it was so ordered that it might agree with the breadth of the house of the temple. It had twenty cubits in length, and its height was raised higher than the hundred and twenty cubits. He also built round about the temple, thirty small rooms, which might include the whole temple, by their closeness one to another, and by their number and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that they might come into one through another. Every one of these rooms had five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but in height twenty. Above these were other rooms, and others above them, equal, both in their measures and number; so that these reached to a height equal to the lower part of the house; for the upper part had no buildings about it. The roof that was over the house was of cedar; and truly every one of these rooms had a roof of their own, that was connected with the other rooms; but for the other parts, there was a covered roof common to them all, and built with very long beams, that passed through the rest, and through the whole building, that so the middle walls, being strengthened by the same beams of timber, might be thereby made firmer; but as for that part of the building that was under the roof, it was made of the same materials, and was all made smooth, and had ornaments proper for roofs, and had plates of gold nailed upon them; and he enclosed the walls with boards of cedar, so he fixed on them plates of gold, which had sculptures upon them; so that the whole temple shined, and dazzled the eyes of such as entered, by the splendour of the gold that was on every side of them. Now the whole structure of the temple was made, with great skill, of polished stones, and those laid together so very harmoniously and smoothly, that there appeared to the spectators no signs of any Single piece, but as if one solid Guides, both within and without, with boards of cedar, that were kept close together by thick chains, so that this contrivance was in the nature of a support and a strength to the building.

3. Now when the king had divided the temple into two parts, he made the inner house of twenty cubits [every way], to be the most secret chamber, but he appointed that of forty cubits to be the sanctuary; and when he had cut a door-place out of the wall, he put therein doors of cedar, and overlaid them with a great deal of gold, and had sculptures upon it. He also had veils of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and the brightest and softest of linen, with the most curious flowers wrought upon them, which were to be drawn before those doors. He also dedicated for the most secret place, whose breadth was twenty cubits, and the length the same, two cherubims of solid gold; the height of each of

CHAPTER III.

OF THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

Solomon began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, in the second month, which faces the first of Artemisias, and the Hebrews five hundred and ninety-two years after the

The king laid the foundations of the temple very deeply in the ground, and the stones were strong, and as such as would withstand the force of time: these were to unite them with the earth, and become a basis and a foundation for that superstructure which was erected over it: they were to be so strong, to sustain with ease those vast superstructures, on their own weight more than the weight of those other heavenly buildings which the king designed for ornamental and magnificent. They were entirely built up to the roof, of whose height was sixty cubits, and its breadth twenty cubits. Another building erected over it, equal to its height, but of the same, and breadth twenty. As to the porch they built

of Solomon, there described by Josephus, in this and common description of the temple in works, p. 311.
them was five cubits*; they had each of them two wings stretched out as far as five cubits; wherefore Solomon set them up not far from each other, that with one wing they might touch the southern wall of the secret place, and with another the northern; their other wings, which joined to each other, were a covering to the ark, which was set between them: but nobody can tell, or even conjecture, what was the shape of these cherubims. He also laid the floor of the temple with plates of gold; and he added doors to the gate of the temple, agreeable to the measure of the height of the wall, but in breadth twice upon the pillar, and it was elevated five cubits, and, to say all in one word, he left no part of the temple, neither internal nor external, but what was covered with gold. He also had curtains drawn over these doors, in like manner as they were drawn over the inner doors of the most holy place; but the porch of the temple had nothing of that sort.

4. Now Solomon sent for an artificer out of Tyre, whose name was Hiram: he was by birth of the tribe of Naphtali, on the mother’s side (for she was of that tribe); but his father was Ur, of the stock of the Israelites. This man was skillful in all sorts of work; but his chief skill lay in working in gold, in silver, and brass; by which were made all the mechanical works about the temple, according to the will of Solomon. Moreover, this Hiram made two hollow pillars, whose outsides were of brass; and the thickness of the brass was four fingers’ breadth, and the height of the pillars was eighteen cubits, and their circumference twelve cubits; but there was cast with each of their chapiters lily-work, that stood upon the pillar, and it was elevated five cubits, round about which there was net-work interwoven with small palms, made of brass, and covered the lily-work. To this also were hung two hundred pomegranates, in two rows. The one of these pillars he set at the entrance of the porch on the right hand and called it Jackin; and the other on the left hand, and called it Booz.

5. Solomon also cast a brazen sea, the figure of which was of an hemisphere. This brazen vessel was called a sea for its largeness, for the laver was ten feet in diameter, and cast of the thickness of a palm; its middle part rested on a short pillar, that had ten spirals round it, and that pillar was ten cubits in diameter. There stood round about it twelve oxen, that looked to the four winds of heaven, three to each wind, having their hinder parts depressed, that so the hemispherical vessel might rest upon them, which itself was also depressed round about inwardly. Now this sea contained three thousand baths.

6. He also made ten brazen bases for so many quadrangular pillars; the length of every one of these bases was five cubits, and the breadth four cubits, and the height six cubits. This vessel was partly turned, and was thus contrived: There were four small quadrangular pillars, that stood one at each corner, these had the sides of the base fitted to them on each quarter; they were parted into three parts; every interval had a border fitted to support [the laver]; upon which was engraven, in one place a lion, and in another place a bull, and in eagle. The small pillars had the same animals engraven that were engraved on the sides. The whole work was elevated, and stood upon four wheels, which were also cast, which had also vases and felloes, and were a foot and a half in diameter. Any one who saw the spokes of the wheels, how exactly they were turned, and united to the sides of the bases, and with what harmony they agreed to the felloes, would wonder at them. However, their structure was this: Certain shoulders of hands stretched out, held the corners above, upon which was an short spiral pillar, that lay under the hollow part of the laver, resting upon the felloe, round the eagle and the lion, which were adapted to them, insomuch, that those who viewed them would think they were of one piece: between these were engravings of palm trees. This was the construction of the ten bases: he also made ten large round brass vessels, which were the lavers themselves, each of which contained forty baths; for it had its height four cubits, and its edges were as much distant from each other: he also placed these lavers upon the ten bases that were called Melechos: and he set five of the lavers on the left side of the temple, which was on that side towards the north wind, and as many on the right side, towards the south, but looking towards the east; the same [eastern] way he also set the sea. Now, he appointed the sea to be for washing the hands and the feet of the priests when they entered into the temple and were to ascend the altar; but the lavers to cleanse the entrails of the beasts that were to be burnt-offerings, with their feet also.

7. He also made a brazen altar, whose length was twenty cubits, and breadth as the same, and its height ten, for the burnt-offerings: he also made all its vessels of brass; the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, and besides these, the snuffers and the tongs, and all its other vessels he made of brass, and such brass as was in splendour and beauty like gold. The king also dedicated a great number of tables, but one that was large and made of gold, upon which they set the loaves of God; and he made ten thousand more that resembled them, but were not so after another manner, upon which he laid the vials and the cups: a thousand, those of silver were forty thousand. He also made ten thousand candlesticks, according to the command of Moses, one of which he dedicated for the temple, that it might burn in the day-time, according to the law; and one table with leaves upon it, on the north side of the temple, overagainst the candlestick; for this he set on the south side, but the golden altar stood between them. All these vessels were contained in that part of the holy house which was forty cubits long, and were before the vail of that most secret place wherein the ark was to be set.

* Josephus says here that the Chronicles were of solid gold, and only five cubits high; while our Hebrew copies (1 Kings vii. 20, 26) say they were of the olive-tree; and the text of the cypress-tree, and only oval with gold; and both agree that the ten cubits high, that the number here is falsely transcribed, and that Josephus wrote ten cubits high. As for these two famous pillars, Jackin, and Booz, their height could be no more than 13 cubits, as born, and 1 Kingsvii, 26, 27, and here in Josephus, 17, Jer. xxvi. 21, those 33 cubits in 1 Chron. ii. 45, being contrary to all the rules of architecture in the world.
8. The king also made pouring vessels, in number eighty thousand, and a hundred thousand golden vases, and twice as many silver vases: of golden dishes, in order therein to offer kneaded fine flour at the altar, there were eighty thousand, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures like those which Moses called the Hīn, and the measures (a tenth deal), there were twenty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures like those the holy wood, and the precious stones were a thousand; but the crown upon which Moses wore [the name of God], was only one, and had remained to this very day. He himself said should be finished, and was finished in his lifetime. He, with purple girdles, for every priest; and a hundred thousand trumpets, according to the command of Moses; also two hundred thousand arms of fine linen for the singers that were esvites; and he made musical instruments, and such as were invented for singing of hymns, called *abdo* and *chynax*, [palletries and harps], which were made of *eulup* [the finest brass], forty thousand.

9. Solomon made all these things for the honour of, with great variety and magnificence, with no cost, but using all possible liberality in adornment of the temple; and these things he dedicated to the treasures of God. He also placed a partition about the temple, which, in our tongue, we call *loupan*; but it is called *thirōcope* by the Greeks, which he raised it up to the height of three cubits; and the office for the multitude from the top of this temple, and showing that it was a that was free and open only for the priests, he built beyond this court a temple, the figure on account of their immense crowd, and erected for and broad cloisters; this was enclosed by high gates, each of which had its front to one of the four winds, and were shut with doors. Into this temple all the people that were distinguished from the rest by their garments and of the laws; but he at temple which was beyond this a wonder-need, and such as exceeds all description; nay, if I may so say, is hardly believed; for when he had filled up great temple thus, which, on account of their immense crowd, and when you looked on them, without pain, and he elevated four hundred cubits, he made it to be with the top of the mountain on which was built, and by this means the out- which was exposed to the air, was even temple itself. He encompassed this also ding of a double row of cloisters, which g stood on pillars of native stone, while the roofs were of cedar, and were polished in a manner proper for such high roofs; but he made all the doors of this temple of silver.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW SOLOMON REMOVED THE ARK INTO THE TEMPLE, AND HOW HE MADE SUPPLICATION TO GOD, AND OFFERED PUBLIC SACRIFICES TO HIM.

1. When King Solomon had finished these works, these large and beautiful buildings, and had laid up his donations in the temple, and all this in the interval of seven years, and had given a demonstration of his riches and alacrity therein; insomuch, that any one who saw it would have thought it must have been an immense time ere it could have been finished, and [would be surprised] that so much could be finished in so short a time;—short, if I mean, if compared with the greatness of the work: he also wrote to the rulers and elders of the Hebrews, and ordered all the people to gather themselves together to Jerusalem, both to see the temple which he had built, and to remove the ark of God into it; and when this invitation of the whole body of the people to come to Jerusalem was everywhere carried abroad, it was the seventh month before they came together; which month is, by our countrymen, called *Tieth*; but by the Macedonians *Hyperceterus*. The Feast of Tabernacles happened to fall at this time, which was kept by the Hebrews as a most holy and most eminent feast. So they carried the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, and all the vessels that were for ministration to the sacrifices of God, and removed them to the temple. The king himself, and all the people and the Levites, went before, rendering the ground moist with sacrifices, and drink-offerings, and the blood of a great number of oblations, and burning an immense quantity of incense; and this smoke of the very air itself, which was spread over so full of these odours, that it met, in a most agreeable manner, persons at a great distance, and was an indication of God's presence, and, as men's opinion was, of his habitation with them in this newly-built and consecrated place, for they did not grow weary, either of singing hymns, or of dancing, until they came to the temple, and in this manner did they carry the ark: but when they should transfer it into the most secret places, the rest of the multitude went away, and only those priests that carried it set it between the two cherubims, which embracing it with their wings (for so they were framed by the artificer), they covered it, as under a tent or a cupola. Now the ark contained nothing else but those two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments, which God spoke to Moses in mount Sinai, and which were engraved upon them; but they set the candlestick, and the table, and the golden altar, in the temple, before the most secret

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1 The Septuagint say, that they prepared the ark up to the temple for three years, 1 Kings vi, 10; and all present Hebrew copy, nor Josephus, directly say years, yet do they both say the building itself did not finish four years; and both speak of the preparation hand, 1 Kings vi, 19. 21, 26, 27. 1. 2. 5. 6. 6. therefore, to allow the Septuagint as above; but three years to have been the just time of the pre these three years to have been the just time of the pre sixes of the temple in building this temple. 3 This omission of the ark from the story of the awes in this present copy, is not strange. It was the distance of almost three quarters of the modern Jew, and followed to the wall, two, after a sort, one and the other, I think, very little foundation.
place, in the very same places wherein they stood till that time in the tabernacle. So they offered up the daily sacrifices; but for the brazen altar, Solomon set it before the temple, over-against the door, that when the door was opened, it might be exposed to sight, and the sacred solemnities, and the richness of the sacrifices, might be thence seen; and all the rest of the vessels were gathered together, and put them within the temple.

2. Now, as soon as the priests had put all things in order about the ark, and were gone out there came down a thick cloud, and stood there, and spread itself, after a gentle manner, into the temple: such a cloud it was as was diffused and temperate, —not such a rough one as we see full of rain in the winter season. This cloud so darkened the place, that one person could not discern another; but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image and glorious appearance of God's having ascended into this temple, and of his having gladly pitched his tabernacle therein. So these men were intent upon this thought; but Solomon rose up (for he was sitting before), and used such words to God as he thought agreeable to the divine nature to receive, and fit for him to give:—for he said, "Thou hast an eternal house, O Lord, and such as thou hast created for thyself out of thine own works:—we know it to be the heaven, and the air, and the earth, and the sea, which thou pervadest, nor art thou contained within their limits. I have indeed built this temple to thee, and thy name, that from thence, when we sacrifice, and perform sacred operations, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present, and art not remote from what is thine own; for neither when thou seest all things, and heardest all things, nor now, when it pleases thee to dwell here, dost thou leave off the care of all men, but rather thou art very near to them all, but especially thou art present to those that address themselves to thee, whether by night or by day." When he had thus solemnly addressed himself to God, he converted his discourse to the multitude, and strongly represented the power and providence of God to them:—how he had shown all things that were to come to pass to David his father, as many of those things had already come to pass, and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter; and how he had given him his name, and told to David what he should be called before he was born; and foretold, that when he should be king after his father's death, he should build him a temple, which since they saw accomplished, according to his prediction, he required them to bless God, and by believing him, from the sight of what they had seen accomplished, never to despair of any thing that he had promised for the future, in order to their happiness, or suspect that it would not come to pass.

3. When the king had thus discoursed to the multitude, he looked again towards the temple, and lifting up his right hand to the multitude, he said, "It is not possible by what men can do to return sufficient thanks of the same; for God is pleased with them, for the Deity stands in need of nothing, and is above any such requital; but so far as we have been made superior, O Lord, to other animals by thee, it becomes us to bless thy Majesty, and it is necessary for us to return thee thanks for what thou hast bestowed upon our house, and on the Hebrew people; for with what other instrument can we better appease thee, when thou art angry at us, or more properly preserve thy favour, than with our voice; which, as we have it from the air, so do we know that by that air it ascends upwards (towards thee). I therefore offered myself to return thee thanks thereby, in the first place, concerning my father, whom thou hast raised from obscurity unto so great joy; and next concerning myself, upon which thou hast performed all that thou hast promised unto this very day; and I beseech thee, for the time to come, to afford us whatever thou, O God, hast power to bestow on such as the dost esteem; and to augment our house for all ages, as thou hast promised to David my father to be both in his life-time and at his death, that our kingdom shall continue, and that his posterity shall succeed him in the inheritance of that kingdom.

Do not thou therefore fail to give us these blessings and to bestow on my children that virtue in which thou delightest! and besides all this, I humbly beseech thee, that thou wilt let some portion of thy Spirit come down and inhabit in this temple, that thou mayest appear to be with us upon earth. As to thyself, the entire heavens, and the immensity of the things that are therein, are but a small reflection on thee, much more is this poor temple; but I entreat thee to keep it as thine own house, from being destroyed by our enemies for ever, and to take care of it as thine own possession; let it be this people be found to have sinned, and be afflicted by thee with any plague, because of their sin, as with earth, or pestilence, or any other affliction which thou usest to inflict on these transgressors of thy holy laws, and if they fly from all to this temple, beseeching thee, and begging of thee to deliver them, then do thou hear their prayers, as being within thine own house, and have mercy upon them, and deliver them from their afflictions! nay, moreover, this help is what I implore of thee, not for the Hebrews only, when they are in distress, but when any shall come either from any ends of the world whatsoever, and shall return from their sins and implore thy pardon, so thou then pardon them, and hear their prayer! for hereby all shall learn that thou thyself wast pleased with the building of this house for thee, and that we are not ourselves of an unsociable nature, nor behave ourselves like enemies to such as are not of our own people, but are willing that thy assistance should be communicated by thee to all men in common, and that they may have the enjoyment of thy benefits bestowed upon them.

4. When Solomon had said this, and had cast himself upon the ground, and worshipped a long time, he rose up and brought sacrifices to the altar; and when he had filled it with unblemished victims, he most evidently discovered that God had with pleasure accepted of all that he had sacrificed to him, for there came a fire running out of the air, and rushed with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all, and caught hold of and consumed the sacrifices. Now, when this divine appearance was seen, the people supposed it to be a demonstration of God's pleasure in the sacrifices, and they blessed God with them, and fell down upon the ground, and worshipped. Upon which the king began to bless God, and exorted the multitude to do the same, as now having sufficient indications of God's favourable disposition to them; and to pray that they might always have the like indications from him, and that he would preserve in them a mind pure from all wickedness in righteousness and religious worship, and that they
might continue in the observation of those precepts which God had given them by Moses, because by that means the Hebrew nation would be happy, and indeed the blessedness of all nations among those which he had sent them also to be mindful, that by what methods they had obtained their want, they must preserve them to themselves, and make them riper, and more than they were at present; for if it was not sufficient for them to suppose that they received them on account of their piety and righteousness, but that they had no other way of serving them for the time to come; for that it was not so great a thing for men to acquire somewhat which they want, as to preserve what they have, and to be guilty of no sin, whereby it may hurt.

So when the king had spoken thus to the multitude, he dissolved the congregation, but not till he was completed his oblations, both for himself and for the Hebrews, inasmuch that he sacrificed twenty two thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep; for then it was that the temple was the first of all taste of the victuals; and all the Hebrews, with their wives and children feasted thereupon, besides the king, then observed splendid and magnificently the feast which is called the Feast of Tabernacles, before the temple, for twelve days, and he then feasted together with all the people.

When all these solemnities were abundantly performed, and nothing was omitted that concerned fine worship, the king dismissed them; and one went to their own homes, giving thanks for the care which he had taken on them, and for all he had done for them; and praying to preserve Solomon to be their king for a while. They also took their journey home rejoicing and making merry, and singing to God: and indeed the pleasure they took away the sense of the pains they all felt in their journey home. So when they lighted the ark into the temple, and had seen them, and how fine it was, and had been to some of the many sacrifices that had been made and of the festivals that had been solemnly observed every one returned to their own cities.

All that appeared to the king in his sleep, him, that God had heard his prayers; he would not only preserve the temple, I always abide in it; that is, in case his and the whole multitude would be righted for himself, it was said, that if he continued to the admonitions of his father, he would indeed to an immense degree of dignity and honor, and that then his posterity should be called a nation, of the tribe of Judah, for that still, if he should be found a betrayer of the laws, and forget them, and to the worship of strange gods, he would be. By the roads, and would neither suffer order of his family to continue, nor would he people of Israel, or perhaps the son of him in his afflictions, but would utterly destroy them.

But twenty thousand wars and misfortunes; they out of the land which he had given them, and make them sojourners in strange lands; deliver that temple which was now burnt and spoiled by their enemies; and let it be utterly overthrown by the hands of those who desire to be a proverb, and such as should very hardly be credited for their stupendous magnitude, till their neighbours, when they should hear of them, should wonder at their calumnies, and very earnestly inquire for the occasion, why the Hebrews, who had been so far advanced by God to such glory and wealth, should be so hated by their enemies. And that the answer that should be made by the remainder of the people should be, by confessing their sins, and the transgression of the laws of their country. Accordingly, we have it transmitted to us in writing, that this did God speak to Solomon in his sleep.

CHAPTER V.

HOW SOLOMON BUILT HIMSELF A ROYAL PALACE, VERY COSTLY AND SPLENDID: AND HOW HE SOLVED THE RIDDLES WHICH WERE SENT HIM BY HIRAM.

§ 1. After the building of the temple, which, as we have before said, was finished in seven years, the king laid the foundation of his palace, which he did not finish under thirteen years; for he was not equally zealous in the building of this palace as he had been about the temple; for as to that, though there was a great work, and required wonderful and surprising application, yet God, for whom it was made, so far co-operated with him, that it was finished in the forementioned number of years; but the palace, which was a building much inferior in dignity to the temple, both on account that its materials had not been so long before gotten ready, nor had been so zealously prepared, and on account that this was only a habitation for kings, and not for God; it was longer in finishing. However, this building was raised so magnificently, as suited the happy state of the Hebrews, and of the kingdom thereof; but it is necessary that I describe the entire structure and disposition of the parts, that so those that light upon this book may thereby make a conjecture, and, as it were, have a prospect of its magnitude.

2. This house was a large and curious building, and was supported by many pillars, which Solomon built to contain a multitude for hearing causes, and taking cognizance of suits. It was sufficiently spacious to contain a great body of men, who would come together to have their causes determined. It was a hundred cubits long, and fifty broad, and forty high, supported by quadrangular pillars, which were all of cedar; but its roof was according to the Corinthian order, with folding doors, and their adjoining pillars of equal magnitude, each fluted with three cavities; which building was at once firm and very ornamental. There was also another house so ordered, that its entire breadth was placed in the middle; it was quadrangular, and its breadth was thirty cubits, having a temple
over against it, raised upon many pillars; in which there was a large and very glorious room, wherein the king sat in judgment. To this was joined another house, that was built for his queen. There were other smaller edifices for diet, and for sleep, after public matters were over; and these were all floored with boards of cedar. Some of these Solomon built with stones of ten cubits, and wainscoted the walls with other stones that were sawed, and were of great value, such as are dug out of the earth for the ornaments of temples, and to make fine prospects in royal palaces, and which make the mines whence they are dug famous. The construction of the curtains and Canaanites. The thickness of these stones was in three rows, but the fourth row would make one admire its sculptures, whereby were represented trees, and all sorts of plants, with the shades that arose from their branches, and leaves that hung down from them. Those trees and plants covered the stone that was beneath them, and their leaves were wrought so prodigiously thin and subtle that you would think they were in motion; but the other part, up to the roof, was plastered over; and, as it were, embroidered with colours and pictures. He, moreover, built other edifices for pleasure; as also very long cloisters, and those situate in an agreeable place of the palace; and among them a most glorious dining-room, for feasts and com- pantions, and full of gold, and such other furniture as so fine a room ought to have for the convenience of the guests, and where all the vessels were made of gold. Now it is very hard to reckon up the magnificence of the royal apartments; how many rooms there were of the largest sort, how many of inferior sort, and how many that were subterraneous and invisible; the can- sity of those that enjoyed the fresh air; and the groves for the most delightful prospect, for the avoiding the heat, and covering of their bodies. And to say all in brief, Solomon made the whole building entirely of white stone, and cedar-wood, and gold, and silver. He also adorned the roofs and walls with stones set in gold, and beautified them thereby in the same manner as he had beautified the temple of God with the like stones. He also made himself a throne of prodigious bigness, of ivory, of Cabul; and as a seat of justice, and having six steps to it; on every one of which stood, on each end of the step, two lions, two other lions standing above also; but at the sitting place of the throne, hands came out, and received the king; and when he set backward, he rested on half a bullock, that looked towards his back; but still all was fastened together with gold.

3. When Solomon had completed all this in twenty years' time, because Hiram king of Tyre had contributed a great deal of gold, and more silver to these buildings, as also cedar-wood and pine-wood, he also rewarded Hiram with rich presents: corn he sent him also year by year, and wine and oil, which were the principal things that he stood in need of, because he inhabited an island, as we have already said. And besides these, he granted him certain cities of Galilee, twenty in number, that lay not far from Tyre; which when Hiram went to, and viewed, and did not like the gift, he sent word to Solomon that he did not want such cities as they were; and after that time those cities were called the land of Cabul, which in Cabul, if it be interpreted according to the language of the Chaldeans, denotes what does not please. Moreover, the king of Tyre sent sophisms and enigmatic sayings to Solomon, and desired he would solve them, and free them from the ambiguity that was in them. Now so sagacious and understanding was Solomon, that none of these problems were too hard for him; but he conquered them all by his reasonings, and discovered their hidden meaning, and brought it to light. Menander also, one who translated the Tyrian archives out of the dialect of the Phoenicians into the Greek language, makes mention of these two kings, where he says thus:—When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram received the kingdom for him, who, when he had lived fifty-three years, reigned thirty-four. He reigned also in the large place, and dedicated the golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple. He also went and cut down materials of timber out of the mountain called Libanus, for the roof of temples; and when he had pulled down the ancient temples, he both built the temple of Hercules and that of Astarte; and he first set up the temple of Hercules in the month Peritius; he also made an expedition against the Baebi [or Tithi], who did not pay their tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned. Under this king there was Abdonemon, a very youth in age, who always conquered the difficult problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem, commanded him to explain. He also makes mention of him, where he says thus:—When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram reigned. He raised the eastern parts of the city higher, and made the city itself larger. He also joined the temple of Jupiter, which before stood by itself, to the city, by raising a bank in the middle between them; and he ordained it with donations of gold. Moreover, he went up to mount Libanus, and cut down materials of wood for the building of the temples. He says also, that "Solomon, who was then king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and desired to receive the like from him; but that he who could not solve them should pay money to them that did solve them; and that Hiram accepted the conditions; and when he was not able to solve the riddles [proposed by Solomon], he paid a great deal of money for his fine; but that he afterward did solve the proposed riddles by means of Abdonemon, a man of Tyre; and that Hiram proposed other riddles, which, when Solomon could not solve, he paid back a great deal of money to Hiram." This is which Diodorus wrote.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW SOLOMON FORTIFIED THE CITY OF JERUSALEM, AND BUILT GREAT CITIES; AND HOW HE BROUGHT SOME OF THE CANAANITES INTO SUBJECTED, AND ENTERTAINED THE QUEEN OF EGYPT, AND OF ETHIOPIA.

§ 1. Now when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of being better secured, and made stronger (for he thought the walls that encompassed Jerusalem ought to correspond to the dignity of the city), he both repaired them and made them higher, with great towers upon them; he also built cities which might be counted among the strongest, Hazor and Megiddo, and the third Gezer, which had indeed belonged to the Philistines; but Pharan, the king of Egypt, had made an expedition.
same name, while a woman did not admit the same, he did therefore set down that her name, which she could not naturally have. As for myself, I have discovered from my own books, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, no other king of Egypt did any longer use that name; and that it was after that time that the forenamed queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon concerning whom we shall inform the reader presently; but I have now made mention of those things, that I may prove that our books and those of the Egyptians agree together in many things.

3. But king Solomon subdued to himself the remnant of the Canaanites that had not before submitted to him;—those I mean that dwelt in mount Lebanon, and as far as the city Hamath, and ordered them to pay tribute. He also chose out of them every year such as were to serve him in the meanest offices, and to do his domestic works, and to follow husbandry; for none of the Hebrews served (in such low employments); nor was it reasonable that, when God had brought so many nations under their power, they should deprive their own people to such mean offices of life, rather than those nations; but all the Israelites were concerned in warlike affairs, and were in armour, and were set over the chariots and the horses, rather than leading the life of slaves. He appointed also five hundred and fifty rulers over those Canaanites who were reduced to such domestic slavery, who received the entire care of them from the king, and instructed them in those labours and operations wherein he wanted their assistance.

4. Moreover, the king built many ships in the Egyptian Bay of the Red Sea, in a certain place called Ezion-geber; it is now called Berenice, and is not far from the city Ethol. This country belonged formerly to the Jews, and became useful for shipping, from the donations of Hiram, king of Tyre; for he sent a sufficient number of men thither for pilots, and such as were skilful in navigation; to whom Solomon gave this command: That they should go abroad with his own stewards to the king; and that was of old called Ophir, but now the Aura Chersonesus, which belongs to India, to fetch him gold. And when they had gathered four hundred talents together, they returned to the king again.

5. There was then a woman, queen of Egypt and Ethiopia; she was inquisitive into philosophy, and one that on other accounts also was to be admired. When this queen heard of the virtue and prudence of Solomon, she had a great mind to see him; and the reports that went every day abroad increased her to come to him, she being desirous to be satisfied by her own experience, and not by a bare hearing (for reports thus heard, are likely enough to comply with a false opinion, while they wholly depend on the credit of the relation); so she resolved to come to him, and that especially, in order to have a trial of his wisdom, while she proposed questions of very great difficulty, andentreated that he would solve their hidden meanings. Accordingly she came to Jerusalem with great splendour and rich furniture: for she brought with

1 That the queen of Sheba was a queen of Saba in South Arabia, and not of Egypt and Ethiopia, as Josephus here asserts, is, I suppose, now generally agreed; and since Saba is well known to be a country near the sea in the south of Arabia Felix, which lay south from Judaea also; and since the Saronic Gulf is, as Pliny assures us, so that which is called the Strait of Cimone, as is plain from the first passage where he says, "she comes from the utmost parts of the earth" (Hist. Nat. vii. 28), which descriptions agree better to this Arabia and Ethiopia, there is little occasion for doubting in this.
CHAPTER VII.

HOW SOLOMON GREW RICH, AND FELL DESPERATELY IN LOVE WITH WOMEN, AND HOW GOD, BEING INCENSED AT IT, RAISED UP ADONIJAH AND JEROBOM AGAINST HIM. CONCERNING THE DEATH OF SOLOMON.

§ 1. About the same time there were brought to the king from the Auranas Chersonesus, a country so called, precious stones and pine-trees, and trees made he use of for supporting the ceiling of his palace, as also for the materials of musical instruments, the harps and the psalteries, that the Levites might make use of them in their hymns to God. The wood which was brought to him at this time was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before; but let no one imagine that these pine-trees were like those which are now so named, and which take that their determination from the merchants, who so call them, that they may procure them to be admired by those that purchase them; for those we speak of were of the like wood the fig-tree, but were white and yet more shining. Now we have said thus much, that nobody may be ignorant of the difference between these sorts of wood, nor unacquainted with the nature of the genuine pine-tree; and we thought it both a seasonable and humane thing when we mentioned it, and the uses the king made of it, to explain this difference so far as we have done.

2. Now the weight of gold that was brought him was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not including in that sum what was brought by the merchants, nor what the toparches and kings of Arabia gave him in presents. He also sent two hundred talents of gold, each of them weighing six hundred shekels: he also made three hundred shields, every one weighing three pounds of gold, and he had them carried and put into that house which was called the Forest of Lebanon. He also made cups of gold, and of precious stones, for the entertainment of his guests, and had them adorned in the most artificial manner; and he contrived that all his other furniture of vessels should be of gold, for there was nothing then to be sold or bought for silver; for the king had many ships which lay upon the sea of Tarsus, these he commanded to carry out all sorts of merchandise into the remotest nations, by the sale of which, silver and gold were brought to the king, and a great quantity of ivory, and Ethiopian and apes; and they finished their voyage, going and returning, in three years' time.

3. Accordingly there went a great fame all around the neighbouring countries, which proclaimed the virtue and wisdom of Solomon, so much that all the kings everywhere were desirous...
to see him, as not giving credit to what was reported, or account of its being almost incredible; they also demonstrated the regard they had for him by the presents they made to him; for they sent him vessels of gold and silver, and purple garments, and many sorts of spices, and horses and chariots, and as many males for his carriages as they could find proper to please the king's eyes, by their strength and beauty. This addition that he made of those chariots and horses which he had before won those that were sent him, augmented the value of his chariots by above four hundred, for he had a thousand before, and augmented the number of his horses by two thousand, for he had twenty thousand before. These horses were also so much exercised, in order to their making a fine appearance, and running swiftly, that no others could, on the comparison, appear either finer or swifter; they were at once the most beautiful of all horses, and their swiftness was incomparable also. Their riders also were a further ornament to them, e.g., in the first place, young men in the most desirable flower of their age, and being eminent for their long hair, they had, as a custom, their hair hanging down to their calves, and adorned with diadems and ornaments of gold, silver, and precious stones; and one of their plainest and most common sorts of sesters, was a figure of a lion, and had a neck of gold and would drink of water; thither did he use to go out in the open air, sitting on high [in his chariot].

Yea Solomon had a divine sagacity in all, and was very diligent and studious to do it after an elegant manner; so he did not commit the care of his business, but he laid a causeway six stones along the roads that led to Jerusalem, was the royal city, both to render them easy and pleasant, and to manifest the grandeur of his courtiers. He also parted his chariots into two regular orders, the best of them should be in every city, still keeping with him; and those cities he called his chariots; and the king made silver as in Jerusalem as the stones in the street; multiplied cedar-trees in the plain of Judah, did not grow there before, that they were the multitude of the common sycamore-trees.

ordained the Egyptian merchants that they should merchandise, to sell him a chariot, and an horse of twenty, for six hundred drachmæ of gold he sent them to the king of Tyre, and kings that were beyond Euphrates, although Solomon was become the most of kings, and the best beloved by God, and in wisdom and riches that had been rulers of the Hebrews before him, yet did not he persevere in this happy state till he died. Nay, he foresaw the observation of the laws of his father, and came to an end no way suitable to our foregoing history of him. He grew mad in his love of women, and laid no restraint on himself in his lusts; nor was he satisfied with the women of his country alone, but he married many wives out of foreign nations: Sidonians, and Tyrians, and Ammonites, and Ammonians, and Edomites; and he transgressed the laws of Moses, which forbade Jews to marry any but those that were of their own people. He also began to worship their gods, and did, in order to the gratification of his wives, and out of his affection for them. This very thing our legislator suspected, and so admonished us beforehand, that we should not marry women of other countries, lest we should be entangled with foreign customs, and apostatize from our own; lest we should leave off to honour our own God, and should worship their gods. But Solomon was fallen headlong into unreasonable pleasures, and regarded not those admonitions; for when he had married seven hundred wives, the daughters of the daughters of Pharaoh, to glut his luxur, and to excite the lust of his heart; and also very long heads of hair hanging down, and clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their heads, that their heads sparkled with the reflection of sun-beams from the gold. The king himself upon a chariot in the midst of these men, who still in armour, and had their bows fitted to them. He had on a white garment, and used to progress out of the city in the morning, a certain place, about fifty furrows distant, and the king used to walk on his own horse, very neat; it is in fine gardens, and abounding in trees of choice, and of fruit, and of trees of all kinds of fruit, which he made him, and of water, that he used to drink; and, in short, he made him a tree-setting, up to a "pruning" out of the "as the garden enclosed," for "springing shut," to a "waste," chap. iv. 12 years of which fountains are still existent, at which he drank "vineyards," chap. vi. 6. The vineyard is a mistranslation in the Hebrew, Psal. xxiv. 12, in the Septuagint.
two tribes to David's grandson for his sake, because he loved God, and for the sake of the city of Jerusalem, wherein he should have a temple.

6. When Solomon heard this, he was grieved, and greatly confounded, upon this change of almost all that happiness which had made him to be admired, into so bad a state; and there much time passed after the prophet had foretold what was coming, before God raised up an enemy against him, whose name was Ader, who took the following occasion of his enmity to him:—He was a child of the stock of the Edomites, and of the blood royal; and when Joab, the captain of David's host, laid waste the land of Edom, and destroyed all that were men grown, and able to bear arms, for six months time, this Hadad fled away, and came to Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, who received him kindly, and assigned him a house to dwell in, and a country to supply him with food; and when he was grown up he loved him exceedingly, insomuch that he gave him his wife's sister, whose name was Taphenis, to wife, by whom he had a son, who was brought up with the king's children. When Hadad heard in Egypt that both David and Joab were dead, he came to Pharaoh, and desired that he would permit him to go to his own country: upon which the king asked what it was that he wanted, and what hardship he had met with, that he was so desirous to leave him; and when he was often troublesome to him, and entreated him to dismiss him, he did not then do it. But at the time when Solomon's affairs began to grow worse, on account of his forementioned transgressions, and God's anger against him for the same, Hadad, by Pharaoh's permission, came to Edom; and when he was not able to make the people forsake Solomon, it was kept under by many garrisons, and an innovation was not to be made with safety, he removed thence, and came into Syria; there he lighted upon one Rezon, who had run away from Hadadezer, king of Zobah, his master, and was become a robber in that country, and joined friendship with him, who had already a band of robbers about him. So he went up, and seized upon that part of Syria, and was made king thereof. He also made incursions into the land of Israel, and did it no small mischief, and spoiled it, and that in the life-time of Solomon. And this was the calamity which the Hebrews suffered by Hadad.

7. There was also one of Solomon's own nation that made an attempt against him, Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who had an expectation of rising, from a prophecy that had been made to him long before. He was left a child by his father, and brought up by his mother; and when Solomon saw that he was of an active and bold disposition, he made him the curator of the walls which he built round about Jerusalem; and he took such care of those works, and the king approved of his behaviour, and gave him, as a reward for the same, the charge of the tribe of Joseph. And when about that time, Jeroboam was once going out of Jerusalem, a prophet of the city Shilo, whose name was Ahijah, met him in a valley, and when he had taken him a little aside, to a place out of the way, where there was not one other person present, he rent the garment he had on into twelve pieces, and bid Jeroboam take ten of them; and told him beforehand, that this is the will of God; he will part the dominion of Solomon, and give one tribe, with that which is next it, to his son, because of the promise made to David for his succession, and will give ten tribes to thee, because Solomon hath sinned against him, and delivered up himself to women, and to their gods. Seeing, therefore, that he knewest the cause for which God hath changed his mind, and is alienated from Solomon, be thou righteous and keep the laws, because he hath proposed to thee the greatest of all rewards for thy piety, and the honour thou shalt pay to God, namely, to be as greatly exalted as thou knowest David to have been.

8. So Jeroboam was elevated by these words of the prophet; and being a young man, of a warm temper, and ambitions of greatness, he could not be quiet; and when he had so great a charge in the government, and called to mind what had been revealed to him by Ahijah, he endeavoured to persuade the people to forsake Solomon, to make a disturbance, and to bring the government over to himself; but when Solomon understood his intention and treachery, he sought to catch him and kill him; but Jeroboam was informed of it beforehand, and fled to Shishak, the king of Egypt, and there abode till the death of Solomon; by which means he gained them two advantages—to escape the harm from Solomon, and to be preserved for the kingdom. So Solomon died when he was already an old man, having reigned eighty years, and lived nigh fourscore. He was buried in Jerusalem, having been superior to all other kings in happiness, and riches, and wisdom, excepting that when he was growing into years he was deluded by women, and transgressed the law; concerning which transgression, and the miseries which befell the Hebrews thereby, I think proper to discourse at another opportunity.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW, UPON THE DEATH OF SOLOMON, THE PEOPLE FORSOOK HIS SON REHOBOAM, AND CHOSE JEROBOAM KING OVER THE TEN TRIBES.

§ 1. Now when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam (who was born of an Ammonite wife, whose name was Naamah,) had succeeded him in the kingdom, the rulers of the multitude sent immediately into Egypt, and called back Jeroboam; and when he was come to them to the city Shechem, Rehoboam came to it also, for he had resolved to declare himself king to the Israelites, while they were there gathered together. So the rulers of the people, as well as Jeroboam, came to him, and besought him, and said that he ought to relax, and to be gentler than his father, in the servitude he had imposed on them, because they had borne a great yoke, and that then they should be better affected to him, and be well contented to serve under his moderate government, and should do it now out of love than fear; but Rehoboam told them they should come to him again in three days, but...
when he would give an answer to their request. This delay gave occasion to a present suspicion, for he had not given them a favourable answer to their mind immediately, but they thought he should have given them a humane answer. He was, indeed, not young. However, they thought that his constitution about it, and that he did not presently give them a denial, afforded them some good hope of success.

2. Rehoboam now called his father’s friends, and advised with them what sort of answer he ought to give to the multitude: upon which they gave him the advice which became friends, and those last knew the temper of such a multitude. They advised him to speak in a way more popular than did the grander of a king, because he would not oblige them to submit to him with good- will, it being most agreeable to subjects that their king should be almost upon the level with them; but Rehoboam rejected this so good, and in general so profitable advice (it was such at least, at that time when he was to be made king), God himself opposed, causing what was most advantageous to be condemned by him. So he called for the young men who were brought up with him, and told them to advice the elders had given him, and take a speak what they thought he ought to do. He advised the multitude to go to worship God at Jerusalem, and there to celebrate the festival, they would probably repent of what they had done, and be en- tiplied by the temple, and by the worship of God there performed, and would leave him, and return to their first king; and if so, he should run the risk of losing his own life: so he invented this contrivance: He made two golden heifers, and built two little temples for them, the one in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, which last was at the foun- tains of the Lesser Jordan, and he put the heifers into both little temples, in the mentioned cities. And when he had called those ten tribes together, over whom he ruled, he made a speech to the people in these words. “I suppose my coun- trymen, that you know this, that every place hath God in it; nor is there any one determinate place in which he is, but he everywhere hears and sees him that worship him; on which account I do not think it right for you to go so long a journey to Jeru- salem, which is an enemy’s city, to worship him. It was a man that built the temple; I have also made two golden heifers, dedicated to the same God, and one of them I have consecrated in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, to the end that those of you that dwell nearest those cities, may go to them, and worship God there; and I will ordain for you certain priests and Levites from among yourselves, that you may have no want of the tribe of Levi, or of the sons of Aaron; but let him that is desirous among you of being a priest, bring to God a bullock and a ram, which they say Aaron the first priest brought also.” When Jeroboam had said this, he told them the people, and made them to revolt from the worship of their forefathers, and to transgress their laws. This was the beginning

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The text describes the historical events surrounding the reign of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, and his relationship with the tribe of Judah. It highlights the tension that arose between the king and his people, leading to a division and the establishment of different religious practices. The narrative is set in the context of ancient Israel, with references to key locations and events that are significant in Jewish history.

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1. Whether these “foundations of the Lesser Jordan” were near a place called Gath, and the fountains of the Greater near a place called Jericho, where the city was only a short distance from the lake Phialis, at first seeking under ground, and then rising near the mountain Pachon, and then running through the lake Sebaste, and at the Sea of Galilee, and so far called the Lesser Jordan, is hardly certain, even in Josephus himself, though the latter was most probable. However, the northern lake (Gilead), set up by Jeroboam, was near the place called Greater Jordan, near a place called Damascus, where Josephus elsewhere informs us, “not the War, but Protection given to the House of David”.

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The text concludes by emphasizing the importance of maintaining religious fidelity and adherence to the traditions and laws established by previous generations, reflecting a fundamental aspect of Jewish history and identity.
CHAPTER IX.

HOW JADON THE PROPHET WAS PERSUADED BY ANOTHER LYING PROPHET, AND RETURNED TO BE'THEL, AND WAS AFTERWARDS SLAIN BY A LION. AS ALSO, WHAT WORDS THE WICKED PROPHET MADE USE OF TO PERSUADE THE KING, AND THEREBY ALIENATED HIS MIND FROM GOD.

§ 1. Now there was a certain wicked man in that city, who was a false prophet, whom Jeroboam had in great esteem, but was deceived by him and his flattering words. This man was bedridden by reason of the infirmities of old age; however, he was informed by his sons concerning the prophet that was come from Jerusalem, and concerning the signs and how, when Jeroboam's right hand had been enfeebled, at the prophet's prayer he had revived it again. Whereupon he was afraid that this stranger and prophet should be in better esteem with the king than himself, and obtain greater honour from him; and he gave order to his sons to saddle his ass presently, and make all ready that he might get out. Accordingly they made haste to do what they were commanded, and he got upon the ass, and followed after the prophet; and when he had overtaken him, and was resting himself under a very large oak-tree that was thick and shady, he at first saluted him, but presently he complained of him, because he had not come into his house, and partaken of his hospitality. And when the other said, that God had forbidden him to taste of any one's provision in that city,—he replied, that 'for certain God had not forbidden that I should set food before thee, for I am a prophet as thou art, and worship God in the same manner that thou dost;' and I am come as sent by him, in order to call thee into my house to make thee my guest.' Now Jadan gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner, and merry together, God appeared to Jadan, and said, that he should suffer punishment for transgressing his commands,—and he told him what that punishment should be; for he said that he should meet with a lion as he was going on his way, by which lion he should be torn in pieces, and be deprived of burial in the sepulchres of his father's;—the thing came to pass, as I suppose, according to the will of God, that so Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jadan, as of one that had been convicted of lying. However, as Jadan was again going to Jerusalem, a lion assaulted him, and pulled him off the beast he rode on, and slew him; yet did he not at all hurt the ass, but sat by him, and kept him, as also the prophet's body. This continued till some travellers that saw it, came and told it in the city to the false prophet, who sent his sons and brought the body into the city, and made a funeral for him at great expense. He also changed his sons to bury himself with them; and said, that all which he had foretold against that city, and the altar, and priests, and false prophets, would prove true; and that if he were buried with him, he should receive no injurious treatment after death, and the bones not being then to be distinguished asunder. But now, when he had performed those funeral rites to the prophet, and had given that charge to his sons, as he was a wicked and impious man, he goes to Jeroboam, and says to him, 'And wherefore is it now that thou art disturbed at the words of this silly fellow? I am the king, and related to him what had happened about the altar, and about his own hand, and gave him the names of divine man, and an excellent prophet, endeavoured by a wicked trick, to weaken his opinion; and by using plausible words concerning what had happened, he aimed to injure the truth that was in them; for he attempted to persuade him, that his hand was enfeebled by the labour it had undergone in supporting the sacrifices, and that upon its resting a while it returned to its former nature again; and that as to the altar, it was but new, and had its abundance of sacrifices, and those large ones too, and was accordingly broken to pieces, and fallen down by the weight of what had been laid upon it. He also informed him of the death of him that had foretold these things.'
and how he perished; [whence he concluded that] he had not any thing in him of a prophet, nor any thing like any one. When he had thus spoken, he persuaded the king, and entirely alienated his mind from God, and from doing works that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to go on in his iniquous practices;* and accordingly, he was to that degree injurious to God, and so great a transgressor, that he sought for nothing every day but how he might be guilty of some new instances of wickedness, and such as would be more detestable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall at present suffice to have said concerning Jeroboam.

**CHAPTER X.**

CONCERNING REHOBOAM, AND HOW GOD INFLICTED PUNISHMENT UPON HIM FOR HIS IMPIETY, BY SHISHAK [KING OF EGYPT].

1. Now Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, who, as said before, was king of the two tribes, built strong and large cities, Bethlehem and Etam, and Ezion, and Bedethur, and Shoco, and Adullam, and an, and Maresan, and Ziph, and Adoram, and Asich, and Azekah, and Zorah, and Ajalon, and Jeroham; these he built first of all in the tribe of Judah. He also built other large cities in the tribe of Benjamin, and walled them about, and set garrisons in them all, and captains, and a great deal of corn, and wine, and oil; and he furnished every of them plentifully with other provisions that necessary for sustenance moreover, he put in shields and spears for many ten thousand.

The priests also that were in all Israel, and levites, and if there were any of the multitude were good and righteous men, they gathered themselves together to him, having left their own thing; that they might worship God. In Jerusalem they were not willing to be forced to worship which Jeroboam had made; and they the kingdom of Rehoboam for three years. And after he had married a woman of his in, and had by her three children born he married also another of his own kindred, name of Absalom by Tamar, whose was Maachah; and by her he had a son, named Abijah. He had moreover many children by other wives, but he loved Maachah and all. Now he had eighteen, and legitimate and thirty concubines, and he had born to forty-eight sons and three daughters; pointed Abijah, whom he had by Maachah, successor in the kingdom, and intrusted him with the treasures and the strongest.

I cannot but think that the greatness of a, and its change into prosperity, often occasion of mischief and of transgression and a larger and better copy Josephus had in this remarkable true prophet of Judah, and his concern with Jeroboam, his account of Abijah the son of his other copy hath, it seems, the prophet very same. Judah, or, the de- tailed, Andreas, is wanting in our other copies; and it is probable enough, that said that God revealed Judah the true, not to himself, as here, but to the false prophet. Who- ever, as some historians make use of, after all, by set against his own belief, and his own conscience, in order to persuade his people in his idiocy and wickedness, that conscience could not be interested, was interested in Jeroboam’s own author’s ancient book, named now he determined; our not one word of it.

* That this Shishak was not the same person with the famous Soce- nius, as some have very likely, in contradistinction to all antiquity, supposed, and that our Josephus did not take him to be the same, as they pretend, but that Sesostris was many centuries earlier than Shishak, see Archibald, History, Part II, page 189.
CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING THE DEATH OF A SON OF JEROBOM.

How Jerobom was Beaten by Abijah, who Died a Little Afterwards, and was Succeeded in his Kingdom by Asa. And also How, After the Death of Jerobom, Baasha Destroyed his Son Nadab, and All the House of Jerobom.

§ 1. However, God was in no long time ready to return Jerobom’s wicked actions, and the punishment they deserved, upon his own head, and upon the heads of all his house: and whereas a son of his lay sick at that time, who was called Abijah, he enjoined his wife to lay aside her robes, and to take the garments belonging to a private person, and to go to Abijah the prophet, for that he was a wonderful man in foretelling futurities, it having been he who told me that I should be king. He also enjoined her, when she came to him, to inquire concerning the child, as if she were a stranger, whether he should escape this distemper. So she did as her husband bade her, and changed her habit, and came to the city Shiloh, for there did Abijah live: and as she was going into his house, his eyes being then dim with age, God appeared to him, and informed him of two things: that the wife of Jeroboam would come to him, and that over he should make to her inquiry, as the woman was coming into the house, like a private person and a stranger, she cried out, "Come in, O thou wife of Jeroboam! Why conceal thou thyself? Thou art not concealed from God, who hath appeared to me, and informed me that thy husband cometh, and hath given me in command what I shall say to thee." So he said that she should go away to her husband, and speak to him thus:

"Since I made thee a great man when thou wast little, or rather wast nothing and art the king from the house of David, and hast made thee to thee, and thou hast been unwilling of these benefits, hast left off my worship, hast made thee molten gods, and honoured them, I will in like manner cast thee down again, and destroy all thy house, and make them food for the dogs and the fowls; for a certain king is rising up, by appointment, over all the people, who shall leave none of the family of Jeroboam remaining. The multitude also shall themselves partake of the same punishment, and shall be cut out of this good land, and shall be scattered that the places beyond Euphrates, because they have followed the wicked practices of their king, and have worshipped the gods that he made, and forsaken my sacrifices. But do thou, O woman, haste back to thy husband, and tell him this message; but thou shalt then find thy son dead, for as thou enterest the city he shall depart this life; yet shall he be buried with the lamentation of all the multitude, and honoured with a general mourning, for he is the only person of goodness of the whole family. And when the prophet had related these events, the woman went away with a disordered mind, and greatly grieved at the death of the forenamed child: so she was in lamentation as she went along the road, and mourned for the death of her son, that was just at hand. She was indeed in a miserable condition, at the unavoidable misery of his death, and went apace, but in circumstances very unfortunate, because of her son; for the greater haste she made, she would the sooner see her son dead, yet was she forced to make such haste, on account of her husband. Accordingly, when she was come hither, and found that the child had given up the ghost, as the prophet had said; and she related all the circumstances to the king.

2. Yet did not Jeroboam lay any of these things to heart, but he brought together a very numerous army, and made a warlike expedition against Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of the two tribes; for he despised him because of his age. But when he heard of the expedition of Jeroboam, he was not affrighted at it, but proved of a courageous temper and of mind, superior both to his youth and to the hope of his enemy; so he chose him an army out of the two tribes, and met Jeroboam at a place called Mount Zemarim, and pitched his camp near the other, and prepared every thing necessary for the fight. His army consisted of four hundred thousand
but the army of Jeroboam was double to it. Now, as the assize stood in array, ready for action and danger, and was just going to fight, Abijah stood upon an elevated place, and, beckoning with his hand, he desired the multitude and Jeroboam himself to hear first with silence what he had to say. And when silence was made, he began to speak, and told them,—God had conceived that David and his posterity should be their rulers for all time to come, and this ye yourselves are not unacquainted with; but I cannot but wonder how you should forsake your fathers, and join yourselves to his servant Jeroboam, and thus be enemies to fight against those who, by God's own determination, are to reign, and to deprive them of that dominion which they have still retained; and as to the greater part of it, Jeroboam is unjustly in possession of it. However, I do not suppose he will enjoy it any longer; but when he hath suffered that punishment which God thinks due to him for what is past, he will leave off the transgressions he hath been guilty of, and the injuries he hath offered to him, and feel he hath still continued to offer, and hath conspired you to do the same; yet when you were not any further unjustly treated by my father, and that he did not speak to you so as to please you, I only, in compliance with the advice of kind men, you in anger forsook him, as you pretended, but, in reality, you withdrew yourselves from God, and from his laws, although it had been for you to have forgiven a man that was young, and not used to govern people, not only some receivable words, but if his youth and unskilfulness in affairs had led him into some unfortunate actions, that for the sake of his father Solomon, he benefits you received from him, and men to excuse the sins of postercity on account of infraction of parents; but you considered of all this then, neither do you consider it out come with so great an army against us, that is it you depend upon for victory? Is it these golden heifers and the altars that you have set up, on high places, which are demonstrations of piety, and not of religious worship? Or is it the multitude of your army which gives you good hopes? Yet it is certain that there is no one in all an army of so many ten thousands, that war is unjust; for we ought to place our hope of success against our enemies in no way, and in piety towards God; we justly have, since we have kept the beginning, and have worshipped the God who was not made by hands out of corncrude; nor was he formed by a wicked art to deceive the multitude; but who is artlessness, and the beginning and end thereof; therefore give you counsel even so, and to take better advice as to prosecution of the war; to call to mind what hath advanced you so to happy a state as you are in.

As the speech which Abijah made to the multitude of Israel, so I think his speech to the army of Judah, was as weighty. The word of God was in his mouth, and he was full of that strength which comes from God. He charged himself, contrary to common sense and to humanity; perhaps the only means that he was made by human influence.

was affrighted, and their courage failed them. But Abijah encouraged them, and exhorted them to place their hopes on God, for that he was not encompassed by the enemy. So they all at once implored the divine assistance, while the priests sounded with the trumpet, and they made a shout, and fell upon their enemies, and God brake the courage, and cast down the force of their enemies, and made Abijah's army superior to them, for God vouchsafed to grant them a wonderful and very famous victory; and such a slaughter was now made of Jeroboam's army as is never recorded to have happened in any other war, whether it were of the Greeks or of the Barbarians, for they overthrew [and slew] five hundred thousand of their enemies, and they took their strongest cities by force, and spoiled them; and besides those, they did the same to Bethel and her towns, and Jeshanah and her towns. And after this defeat, Jeroboam never recovered himself during the life of Abijah, who yet did not long survive, for he reigned but three years, and was buried in Jerusalem in the sepulchres of his forefathers. He left behind him twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters, and he had also those children by fourteen wives, and Asa his son succeeded in the kingdom; and the young king was Michaiah. Under his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years.

4. And so far concerning Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, as his history hath come down to us; but Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes, died when he had governed them two-and-twenty years; whose son Nadab succeeded him, in the second year of the reign of Asa. Now Jeroboam's son governed two years, and resembled his father in impiety and wickedness: in these two years he made an expedition against Gibeah, a city of the Philistines, and continued the siege in order to take it; but he was surprised against while he was there, by a friend of his, whose name was Baasha, the son of Abijah, and was slain; which Baasha took the kingdom after the other's death, and destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam. It also came to pass, according as God had foretold, that some of Jeroboam's kindred that died in the city were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs; and that others of them that died in the fields, were torn and devoured by the fowls. So the house of Jeroboam suffered the just punishment of his impiety and of his wicked actions.

CHAPTER XII.

HOW Zerah, KING OF THE ETHIOPIANS, WAS BEATEN BY ASA; AND HOW ASA, UPON BAASHA'S MAKING WAR AGAINST HIM, INVITED THE KING OF THE DAMASCENS TO ASSIST HIM; AND HOW, ON THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF BAASHA, ZIMRI GOT THE KINGDOM, AS DID HIS SON AHAB AFTER HIM.

§ 1. Now Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was of an excellent character, and had a regard to God, and...
neither did nor designed any thing but what had relation to the observation of the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cut off whatsoever was wicked therein, and purified it from every impurity. Now he had an army of chosen men, that were armed with targets and spears; out of the tribe of Benjamin, three hundred thousand; and among the tribe of Benjamin, that bore shields and drew bows, two hundred and fifty thousand; but when he had already reigned ten years, Zerah, king of Ethiopia, made an expedition against him, with a great army of nine hundred thousand foot-men, and one hundred thousand horsemen, and three hundred chariots, and came as far as Maresah, a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zerah had passed so far with his own army, Asa met him and put his army in array against him, in a valley called Zephathah, not far from the city and when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and besought God to give him the victory, and that he might kill many tens of thousands of the enemy: "For," said he, "I depend on nothing else but that assistance which I expect from thee, which is able to make the fewer superior to the more numerous, and the weaker to the stronger; and thence it is alone that I venture to meet Zerah and fight him."  

2. While Asa was saying this, God gave him a signal victory, and joining battle cheerfully on account of the assistance he had promised to him, he slew a great many of the Ethiopians; and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them to the country of Gerar; and when they left off killing their enemies, they betook themselves to spoiling them (for the city Gerar was already taken), and to spoiling their camp, so that they carried off much gold, and much silver, and a great deal of other prey, and camels, and great cattle, and flocks of sheep. Accordingly, when Asa and his army had obtained such a victory, and such wealth from God, they returned to Jerusalem. Now, as they were coming, a prophet, whose name was Azariah, met them on the road, and bade them stop their journey a little, and began to say to them thus:—That the reason why they had obtained this victory from God was this, that they had showed themselves righteous and religious men, and had done every thing according to the will of God; that therefore, if they persevered therein, God would grant that they should always overcome their enemies, and live happily; but that if they left off his worship, all things should fall out on the contrary; and that such should come, wherein no true prophet shall be left in your whole multitude, nor a priest who shall deliver you a true answer from the oracle; but your cities shall be overthrown, and your nation scattered over the whole earth, and live the life of strangers and wanderers. So he advised them, while they had time, to be good, and not to deprive themselves of the favour of God. When the king and the people heard this, they rejoiced; and all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to leave them the life of strangers. The king also sent some to take care that those in the country should observe the laws also. 

3. And this was the state of Asa, king of the two tribes. I now return to Baasha, the king of the multitude of the Israelites, who slew Naahah, the son of Jeroboam, and reigned the government. He dwelt in the city Tirzah, having made that his habitation, and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked and impious than Jeroboam or his son. He did a great deal of mischief, and was so ungodly that he built altars that belonged to Ashtoreth, and to Milcom, and to Chemosh, and he caused his people to do after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out from before the people of Israel; and he built high places in all the cities of Judah. 

4. Whereupon Asa was afraid of the attempts of the enemy, and might make upon him; and considering with himself what mischiefs this army that was left in Ramah might do to the country over which he reigned, he sent ambassadors to the king of Damascus, with gold and silver, desiring his assistance, and putting him in mind that we had been a friendship together from the times of our fathers. So he gladly received that sum of money, and made a league with him, and broke the friendship he had with Baasha, and sent the commanders of his own forces unto the cities that were under Baasha's dominion, and ordered them to do them mischief. So they went and burnt some of them, and spoiled others: Jezon, and Dan, and Abelbonon, and many others. Now when the king of Israel heard this, he left off building and fortifying Ramah and returned presently to assist his own people.
under the distresses they were in; but Asa made use of the materials that were prepared for building that city, for building in the same place two strong cities, the one of which was called Geba, and the other Mizpah: so that after this, Baasha had no leisure to make expeditions against Asa, for he was prevented by death, and was buried in the city Tirzah; and Elah, his son, took the kingdom, who, when he had reigned two years, died, being treacherously slain by Zimri, the captain of half his army; for when he was at Arza, his steed turned aside, and persuaded some of the horsemen that were under him to assault Elah, and by that means he slew him when he was without his armed men, and his captains, for they were all busied in the siege of Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines.

3. When Zimri, the captain of the army, had slain Elah, he took the kingdom himself, and according to Jehu’s prophecy, slew all the house of Ahab; for it came to pass that Baasha’s house only perished, on account of his impiety, in the same manner as we have already described the destruction of the house of Jeroboam: but the army that was besieging Gibbethon, when they heard at had befallen the king, and that when Zimri killed him he had gained the kingdom, they Omri their general king, who drew off his y from Gibbethon, and came to Tirzah, where royal palace was, and assaulted the city, and it by force. But when Zimri saw that the city was only to defend it, he fled into the innermost part of the palace, and set it on fire, and burnt himself in, when he had reigned only seven days.

4. Which the people of Israel were presently d, and part of them would have Tibni to be and part Omri; but when those that were for ruling had beaten Tibni, Omri reigned over multitude. Now it was in the thirtieth year reign of Asa that Omri reigned for twelve six of these years he reigned in the city of, and the rest in the city called Samaria, ne by the Greeks Samaria; but he himself Semarion, from Semer, who sold him the in whereon he built it. Now Omri was no different from those kings that reigned before him, for he was a greedy man as he was for them; for all they they were not satisfied: so when he became their daily wicked practices; and on that it was that God made one of them to be another, and that no one person of their should remain. This Omri also died at and Ahab his son succeeded him.

5. By these events we may learn what conflux for the affairs of mankind, and how good men, and hates the wicked, and despises root and branch: for many of these asels, they and their families, were misused, and taken away one by another, in me, for their transgression and wickedness. Asa, who was king of Jerusalem, and of bes, attained, by God’s blessing, a long ed old age, for his piety and righteousness lived happily, when he had reigned forty years; and when he was dead, his son Je succeeded him in the government. He f Asa’s wife Azubah. And all men alhe followed the works of David his fore this both in courage and piety; but we liged now to speak any more of the af king.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOW AHAB, WHEN HE HAD TAKEN JEZEBEL TO WIFE, BECAME MORE WICKED THAN ALL THE KINGS THAT HAD BEEN BEFORE HIM. OF THE ACTIONS OF THE PROPHET ELIJAH, AND WHAT BEFELL NABOTH.

§ 1. Now Ahab, the king of Israel, dwelt in Samaria, and held the government for twenty-two years; and made no alteration in the conduct of the kings that were his predecessors, but only in such things as were of his own invention for the worse, and in his most gross wickedness. He imitated them in their wicked courses, and in their injurious behaviour towards God; and more especially he imitated the transgression of Jeroboam; for he worshipped the heifers that he had made; and he contrived other absurd objects of worship beside those heifers; he also took to wife the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose name was Zelbibel, of whom he learned to worship her own gods. This woman was active and bold, and fell into such a degree of impurity and wickedness, that she built a temple to the god of the Tyrians, which they called Baal, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. The king also himself had many such about him; and so exceeded in madness and wickedness all [the kings] that went before him.

2. There was now a prophet of God Almighty, of Thesbon, a country in Gilead, that came to Ahab, and said to him, that God foretold he would not send rain nor dew in these years upon the country but when he should appear. And when he had confirmed this by an oath, he departed into the southern parts, and made his abode by a brook, out of which he had water to drink; for as for his food, ravens brought it to him every day; but when that river was dried up for want of rain, he came to Zarephath, a city not far from Sidon and Tyre, for it lay between them, and this at the command of God, for [God told him] that he should there find a woman, who was a widow, that should give him sustenance: so when he was not far off the city, he saw a woman that laboured with her own hands, gathering of sticks: so God informed him that this was the woman who was to give him sustenance: so he came and saluted her, and desired her to bring him some water to drink; but as she was going so to do, he called to her, and would have her to bring him a loaf of bread also; whereupon she affirmed upon oath, that she had at home nothing more than one handful of meal and a little oil, and that she was going to gather some sticks, that she might knead it, and make bread for herself and her son; after which, she said, they must perish, and he consumed by the famine, for they had nothing for themselves any longer.—Hereupon he said, "Go on with good courage, and hope for better things; and first of all make me a little cake, and bring it to me, for I foretold to thee that this vessel of meal and this cruze of oil shall not fail until God send rain." When the prophet had said this, she came to him, and made him the before-named cake: of which she had part for herself, and gave the rest to her son, and to the prophet also; nor did any thing of this fail until the drought ceased. Now Menan der mentions this drought in his account of the acts.
of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians; where he says thus: "Under him, there was a want of rain from the month Hyperberetem to the moon Hyperberetem, except when her concealed supplications, there came great thunders. This Ethbaal built the city Botrya, in Phoenicia, and the city Anza, in Libya."—By these words he designed the want of rain that was in the days of Ahab; for at that time it was that Ethbaal also reigned over the Tyrians, as Menander informs us.

3. Now this woman, of whom we spake before, that sustained the prophet, when her son was fallen into a diysterem till he gave up the ghost, and appeared to be dead, came to the prophet weeping, and beating her breasts with her hands, and sending out such expressions as her passions dictated to her, and complained to him that he had come to her to reproach her for her sins, and that on this account it was that her son was dead. But he bid her be of good cheer, and deliver her son to him, for that he would deliver him again to her alive. So when she had delivered her son up to him, he carried him into an upper room, where he himself lodged, and laid him down on the bed, and cried unto God, and said, that God had not done well in rewarding the woman who had entertained him and sustained him, taking away her son; and he prayed that he would send again the soul of the child into him, and bring him to life again. Accordingly God took pity on the mother, and was willing to gratify the prophet, that he might not seem to have come to do her a mischief; and the child, beyond all expectation, came to life again. So the mother returned the prophet thanks, and said she was then clearly satisfied that God did converse with him.

4. After a little while Elijah came to king Ahab, according to God's will, to inform him that rain was coming. Now the famine had seized upon the whole country, and there was a great want of what was necessary for sustenance, insomuch that it was not only men that wanted it, but the earth itself also, which did not produce enough for the horses and the other beasts, of what was useful for them to feed on, by reason of the drought. So the king called for Obadiah, who was steward over his cattle, and said to him, that he would have him go to the fountains of water and to the brooks, that if any herbs could be found for them, they might now it down, and reserve it for the beasts. And when he had sent persons over all the habitable earth, to discover the prophet Elijah, and they could not find him, he bade Obadiah acquaint him: so it was resolved they should make a progress, and divide the ways between them; and Obadiah took one road, and the king another. Now it happened, that the same time when queen Jezebel slew the prophets, this Obadiah had hidden a hundred prophets, and had fed them with nothing but bread and water. But when Obadiah was alone, and absent from the king, the prophet Elijah met him; and Obadiah asked him who he was; and when he had learned it from him, he worshiped him. Elijah then bid him go to the king, and tell him that I am here ready to wait on him. But Obadiah replied, "We have been told that thou shalt send us thence, to see what good fortune we shall find there, and have sought over all the earth for thee." Or was he so ignorant as not to know that the king had left no place unthought of unto which he had not sent persons to bring him back, in order, if they could take him, to have him put to death? For he told him he was afraid lest God should appear to him again, and he should go away into another place; and that when the king should send for Elijah, and he should miss of him, and not be able to find him anywhere upon earth, he should be put to death. He desired him therefore to take care of his preservation; and told him how diligently he had provided for those of his own profession, and had saved a hundred prophets, when Jezebel slew the rest of them, and had kept them concealed, and that they had been sustained by him. But Elijah bade him fear nothing, but go to the king; and he assured him upon oath, that he would certainly show himself to Ahab that very day.

5. So when Obadiah had informed the king that Elijah was there, Ahab met him, and asked him in anger, "If he were the man that afflicted the people of the Hebrews, and was the occasion of the drought they lay under! But Elijah, without any flattery, said that he was himself the man; he and his house, which brought such afflictions upon them; and that by introducing strange gods into their country, and worshipping them, and by leaving their own, who was the only true God, and having no manner of regard to him. However, he bade him go his way, and gather together all the people to him, to mount Carmel, with his own prophets, and those of his wife, telling him how many there were of them, as also the prophets of the groves, about four hundred in number. And as all the men whom Ahab sent for, ran away to the forenamed mountain, the prophet Elijah stood in the midst of them, and said, "How long will you live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion?" He also exhorted them, that in case they esteemed their own country God to be the true and only God, they would follow him and his commandments; but in case they esteemed him to be nothing, but had an opinion of the strange gods, and that they ought to worship them, his counsel was, that they should follow them. And when the multitude made no answer to what he said, Elijah declared, that for a trial of the power of the strange gods and of their own God, he, who was his only prophet, while they had four hundred, might take a heifer and kill it as a sacrifice, and lay it upon pieces of wood, and not kindle any fire, and that they should do the same things, and call upon their own gods to set the wood on fire, for if that were done, they would thence learn the nature of the true God."

This proposal pleased the people. So Elijah bade the prophets to choose out a heifer first, and kill it, and to call on their gods, but when they offered no effect of the prayer or invocation, of the heifer, they were at a loss how to dispose of it, Elijah derided them, and bade them call upon their gods with a loud voice, for they might either lie on a journey or asleep; and when these prophets assembled so from morning till noon, and cut themselves with swords and lances; according to the customs of..."
that his food, he came to that mountain which is called Sinai, where it is related that Moses received his laws from God; and finding there a certain hollow cave, he entered into it, and continued to make his abode in it. But when a certain voice came to him, but from whence he knew not, and asked him, why he was so lone, and had left the city? he said, that because he had slain the prophets of the foreign gods, and had persuaded the people that he alone whom they had worshipped from the beginning was God, he was sought for by the king's wife to be punished for so doing. And when he had heard another voice, telling him that he should come out the next day into the open air, and should thereby know what he was to do, he came out of the cave the next day accordingly, when he both heard an earthquake, and saw the bright splendour of a fire; and after a silence made a divine voice exhorted him not to be disturbed with the circumstances he was in, for that none of his enemies should have power over him. The voice commanded him to return home, and to ordain Jehu, the son of Nimshi, to be king over the multitude; and Hazael, of Damascus, to be over the Syrians; and Elisha, of the city Abel, to be a prophet in his stead; and that of the impious multitude, some should be slain by Hazael, and others by Jehu. So Elijah, upon hearing this charge, returned into the land of the Hebrews. And when he found Elisha, the son of Shaphat, ploughing, and certain others with him, driving twelve yoke of oxen, he came to him, and cast his own garment upon him; upon which Elijah began to prophesy presently, and leaving his oxen, he followed Elijah. At this when he desired to leave to do that which Elijah gave him leave so to do: and when he had taken his leave of them, he followed him, and became the disciple and the servant of Elijah all the days of his life. And thus have I dispatched the affairs in which this prophet was concerned.

8. Now there was one Naboth, of the city Izar (Jezeel), who had a field adjoining to that of the king: the king would have persuaded him to sell him that field, which lay so near his own lands, at what price he pleased, that he might join them, and make them one farm; and if he would not accept of money for it, he gave him leave to choose any of his other fields in his stead. But Naboth said he would not do so, but would keep the possession of that land of his own, which he had by inheritance from his father. Upon this the king was grieved, as if he had received an injury, when he could not get another man's possession, and he would neither wash himself, nor take any food: and when Jezebel asked him what it was that troubled him, and why he would neither wash himself, nor eat that dinner of his upon which he related to her the perverseness of Naboth; and how when he had made use of gentle words to him, and such as were beneath the royal authority, he had been affronted, and had not obtained what he desired. However, she persuaded him not to be cast down at this accident, but to leave off his grief, and return to the usual care of his body, for that she would take care to have Naboth punished: and she immediately sent letters to the rulers of the Israelites [Jezeelites] in Ahab's name, and commanded them to fast, and to assemble a congregation, and to set Naboth at the head of them, because he was of an illustrious family, and to have three bold men ready to bear witness that he had blasphemed God and the
king, and then to stone him, and slay him in that manner. Accordingly, when Naboth had been thus testified against, as the queen had written to them, that he had blasphemed against God and Ahab the king, she desired him to take possession of Naboth’s vineyard on free cost. So Ahab was glad at what had been done, and rose up immediately from the bed on which he had lain, to go to Naboth’s vineyard; but God had great indignation at it, and sent Elijah the prophet to the field of Naboth, to speak to Ahab, and to say to him, that he had slain the true owner of that field unjustly. And as soon as he came to him, and the king had said that he might do with him what he pleased (for he thought it a reproach to him to be thus caught in his sin), Elijah said, that in that very place in which the dead body of Naboth was eaten by dogs, both his own blood and that of his wife’s should be shed; and that all his family should perish, because he had been so insolently wicked, and had slain a citizen unjustly and contrary to the laws of his country. Hereupon Ahab began to be sorry for the things he had done, and to repent of them; and he put on sackcloth, and went barefoot, and would not touch any food: he also confessed his sins, and endeavoured thus to appease God. But God said to the prophet, that while Ahab was living he would put off the punishment of his family, because he repented of those insolent crimes he had been guilty of, but that still he would fulfill his threatening under Ahab’s son. Which message the prophet delivered to the king.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW HADAD, KING OF DAMASCUS AND OF SYRIA, MADE TWO EXPEDITIONS AGAINST AHAB; AND WAS BEATEN.

§ 1. When the affairs of Ahab were thus, at that very time the son of Hadad, [Benhadad], who was king of the Syrians and of Damascus, got together an army out of all his country, and procured thirty-two kings beyond Euphrates, to be his auxiliaries: so he made an expedition against Ahab; but because Ahab’s army was not like that of Benhadad, he did not set it in array to fight him, but having shut up every thing that was in the country, in the strongest cities he had, he abode in Samaria himself, for the walls about it were very strong, and it appeared to be not easily to be taken in other respects also. So the king of Syria took his army with him, and came to Samaria, and placed his army round about the city, and besieged it. He also sent a herald to Ahab, and desired he would admit the ambassadors he would send him, by whom he would let him know his pleasure. So upon the king of Israel’s permission for him to send, those ambassadors came, and by their king’s command spake thus:—That Ahab’s riches, and his children, and his wives, were Benhadad’s, and if he would make an agreement, and give him leave to take as much of what he had as he pleased, he would withdraw his army, and leave off the siege. Upon this Ahab bade the ambassadors to go back, and tell their king that both he, himself, and all that he had, were his possessions. And when these ambassadors had told this to Benhadad, he sent to him again; and desired, since he confessed that all he had was his, that he would admit these servants of his which he should send the next day; and he commanded him to deliver to those who should come, whatever weapons they should bring in taking his palace and the houses of his friends and kindred, they should find to be excellent in its kind; be that what did not please them they should leave to him. At this second embassage of the king of Syria, Ahab was surprised, and gathered together the multitude to a congregation, and told them, that for himself he was ready, for their safety and peace, to give up his own wives and children to the enemy, and to yield to him all his possessions, for that was what the Syrian king required at his first embassage; but that now he desires to send his servants to search all their houses, and in them to leave nothing that is excellent in its kind, seeking an occasion of fighting against him, as knowing that I would not spare what is mine own for yea sakes, but taking a handle from the disagreeable terms he offers concerning you to bring a war upon us; however, I will do what you shall resolve is fit to be done.” But the multitude advised him to hearken to none of his proposals, but to despise him, and be in readiness to fight him. Accordingly, when he had given the ambassadors this answer, it was reported, that he still continued in the mind to comply with what terms he at first desired, for the safety of the citizens; but as for his second desire, he cannot submit to them,—he dismissed them.

2. Now when Benhadad heard this, he red invidgation, and sent ambassadors to Ahab the third time, and threatened that his army would raise a bank higher than those walls, in confidence of whose strength he despised him, and that by one man of his army taking a handful of ear, whereby making a show of the great number of his army, and aiming to affright him. Ahab was taken so far that he ought not to vaunt himself, that he had only put on his armour, but he who should have conquered his enemies in the battle. So the ambassadors came back, and found the king at supper with his thirty-two kings, and informed him of Ahab’s answer; who then immediately gave orders for proceeding thus:—To make lines round the city, and raise a bulwark, and to prosecute the siege in manner of ways. Now, as this was doing, Ahab was in a great agony, and all his people with him; but he took courage, and was freed from his fear, upon a certain prophet coming to him, and saying to him, that God had promised to him to raise up ten thousands of his enemies under him; and when he inquired by whose means the victory was to be obtained, he said, “By the sons of the princes; but under thy conduct as their leader, by reason of their maskilfulness [in war].” Upon which he called for the sons of the princes, and found them to be two hundred and thirty-two persons. So when he was informed that the king of Syria had betaken himself to feasting and repose, he opened the gates, and sent out the princes. Now when the sentinels told Benhadad of it, he sent some to meet them, and found that these men were come out for fighting, they should bind them, and bring them to him; and that if they came out peaceably they should do the same. Now Ahab had another army ready within the
walls, but the sons of the princes fell upon the outguard, and slew many of them, and pursued the rest of them to the camp; and when the king of Jerusalem said that he had the upper hand, he sent out all the rest of his army, and advanced suddenly upon the Syrians, beat them, for they did not think they would have come out; on which account it was that they assaulted them when they were asked and drunk, insomuch that they left all their armour behind them when they fled out of the camp, and the king himself escaped with difficulty, flying away on horseback. But Abah went a great way in pursuit of the Syrians; and when he spied their camp, which contained a great deal of wealth, and moreover a large quantity of food and water, he took Benhadad’s chariots and horses, and returned to the city: but as the prophet told him he ought to have his army ready, so the Syrian king would make another expedition against him the next year, Abah was busy making provision for it accordingly.

Now Benhadad when he had saved himself, as much of his army as he could, out of the battle, he consulted with his friends how he might make another expedition against the Israelites. Those friends advised him not to fight with the king of Israel, because God was potent in places, and thence it had come to pass that they had very lately been beaten; but they said, if they joined battle with them in the plain should beat them. They also gave him this advice, to send home those kings whom he had brought as his auxiliaries, but to retain their men and to set captains over it instead of kings, to raise an army out of their country, and let it stand in the place of the former who perished in the battle, together with horses and chariots. So gazed their counsel to be good, and acted accordingly to it in the management of the state.

In the beginning of the spring, Benhadad took by with him, and led it against the Hebrews; in he was come to a certain city which was Aphek, he pitched his camp in the Great Anah also went to meet him with his army, and pitched his camp over against him, although it was a very small one, if it were compared to the Syrian’s; but the prophet came again to the king, and told him, that God would give him the victory, that he might demonstrate his own power only on the mountains, but on the plains it seemed was quite contrary to the report of the Syrians. So they lay quiet in their tents for ten days; but on the last of those days, enemies came out of their camp, and put in array in order to fight, Abah also put in order his army; and when the battle was, and they fought valiantly, they put the enemy to flight, and pursued them, and pressed upon them, and slew them: nay, they were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another; nor could any more than a few of them escape to their own camp.

But Abah, the king of the Syrians, fled away, with certain others of his most faithful servants, and hid himself in a cellar under ground; and when these told him that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men, and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication, and obtain deliverance from Abah, in case he would give them leave to go to him: he gave them leave accordingly. So they came to Abah, clothed in sackcloth, with ropes about their heads (for this was the ancient manner of supplication among the Syrians), and said that Benhadad desired he would save him; and that he would ever be a servant to him for that favour. Abah replied he was glad that he was alive, and not hurt in the battle; and he further promised him the same honour and kindness that a man would show to his brother. So they received assurances upon oath from him, that when he came to him he should receive no harm from him, and then went and fought him out of the camp, and brought him and brought him to Abah as he sat in his chariot. So Benhadad worshipped him; and Abah gave him his hand, and made him come up to him into his chariot, and kissed him, and bade him be of good cheer, and not to expect that any mischief should be done to him. So Benhadad returned him thanks, and professes that he would remember his kindness to him all the days of his life; and promised he would restore those cities of the Israelites which the former kings had taken from them, and grant that he should have leave to come to Damascus, as his forefathers had come to Samaria. So they confirmed their covenant by oaths; and Abah made him many present, and sent him back to his own kingdom. And this was the conclusion of the war that Benhadad made against Abah and the Israelites.

But a certain prophet, whose name was Micah, came to one of the Israelites, and bade him smite him on the head, for by so doing he would please God; but when he would not do so, he foretold him, that since he disobeyed the commands of God, he should meet with a lion and be destroyed by him. When this sad accident hurt their heads, and smote him, and wounded his skull: upon which he bound up his head, and came to the king, and told him that he
had been a soldier of his, and had the custody of one of the prisoners committed to him by an officer, and that the prisoner being run away, he was in danger of losing his own life by the means of that officer, who had threatened him, that if the prisoner escaped he would kill him; and when Ahaz had said that he would justly die, he took off the binding that was about his head, and was known by the king to be Micaiah the prophet, who made use of this artifice as a prelude to the following words; for he said that God would punish him who had suffered Benhadad, a blasphemer against him, to escape punishment; and that he would bring it about, that he should die by the other’s means,* and his people by the cause of the army. Upon which Ahaz was very angry at the prophet, and gave commandment that he should be put in prison, and there kept; but for himself, he was in confusion at the words of Micaiah, and returned to his own house.

CHAPTER XV.

CONCERNING JEHOSHAPHAT, THE KING OF JERUSALEM; AND HOW AHAB MADE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SYRIANS, AND WAS ASSISTED THEREIN BY JEHOSHAPHAT, BUT WAS HIMSELF OVERTURNED IN BATTLE, AND PERISHED THEREIN.

§ 1. And these were the circumstances in which Ahaz was. But I now return to Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who, when he had augmented his kingdom, and had set garrisons in the cities of the countries belonging to his subjects, and had put such garrisons no less into these cities which were taken out of the tribe of Ephraim, by his grandfather Abijah, when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes [than he did into the other]. But then he had God favourable and assisting to him, as being both righteous and religious, and seeking to do somewhat every day that should be agreeable and acceptable to God. The kings also that were round about him honoured him with the presents they made him, till the riches he had acquired were immensely great, and the glory he had gained was of a most exalted nature.

2. Now, in the third year of his reign, he called together the rulers of the country, and the priests, and commanded them to go round the land, and teach all the people that were under him, city by city, the laws of Moses, and to keep them, and to be diligent in the worship of God. With this the whole multitude was so pleased, that they were not so eagerly set upon or affected with any thing so much as the observation of the laws. The neighbouring nations also continued to love Jehoshaphat, and to be at peace with him. The Philistines paid their appointed tribute, and the Arabians supplied him every year with three hundred and sixty lambs, and as many kids of the goats. He also fortified the great cities, which were many in number, and of great consequence. He prepared also a mighty army of soldiers and weapons against their enemies. Now the army of men that wore their armour, was three hundred thousand of the tribe of Judah, of whom Adoniah was the chief; but John was chief of one hundred thousand. The same man was chief of the tribe of Benjamin, and had two hundred thousand archers under him. There was another chief, whose name was Jehozabad, who had a hundred and fourscore thousand armed men. This multitude was distributed to be ready for the king’s service, besides those whom he sent to the best fortified cities.

3. Jehoshaphat took for his son Jehoram to wife, the daughter of Ahaz, the king of the ten tribes, whose name was Athaliah. And when, after some time, he went to Samaria, Ahaziah received him, and treated the army that followed him in a splendid manner, with great plenty of corn and wine, and of slain beasts; and desired that he would join with him in his war against the king of Syria, that he might recover from him the city Ramoth, in Gilead; for though it had belonged to his father, yet had the king of Syria’s father taken it away from him; and upon Jehoshaphat’s promise to afford him his assistance (for indeed his army was not inferior to the other), and his sending for his army from Jerusalem to Samaria, the two kings marched out of the city, and each took his own throne, and each gave their orders to their several armies. Now Jehoshaphat bade them call some of the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of them concerning this expedition against the king of Syria, whether they would give them counsel to make that expedition at this time, for there was peace at that time between Ahaz and the king of Syria, which had lasted three years, from the time he had taken him captive till that day.

4. So Ahaz called his own prophets, being in number about four hundred, and bade them inquire of God whether he would grant him the victory, if he made an expedition against Benhadad, and enable him to overthrow that city, for whose sake it was that he was going to war. Now these prophets gave their counsel for making this expedition; and said, that he would beat the king of Syria, and, as formerly, would reduce him under his power. But Jehoshaphat, understanding by their words that they were false prophets, asked Ahaz whether there were not some other prophet, and he belonging to the true God, that we may have surer information concerning futurities. Hereupon Ahaz said, there was indeed such one, but that he hated him, as having prophesied evil to him, and having foretold that he should be overcome and slain by the king of Syria, and that for this cause he had him now in prison, and that his name was Micaiah, the son of Imlah. But upon Jehoshaphat’s desire that he might be produced, Ahaz sent a eunuch, who brought Micaiah to him. Now the eunuch had informed him by the way, that all the other prophets had foretold that the king should gain the victory; but he said, that it was not lawful for him to lie against God; but that he must speak what he should say upon the king, whatever it were that he came to Ahaz, and he had adjured him upon oath to speak the truth to him, he said that God had shown to him the Israelites running away, and pursued by the Syrians, and dispersed upon the mountains by them, as flocks of sheep are dispersed when their shepherd is slain. He said farther, that God signified to him that those Israelites should return in peace to their own home, and that he only should fall in the battle. When Micaiah had thus
speaking, Ahab said to Jehoshaphat:—"I told thee a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he uses to prophesy evil to me." Upon which Micaiah replied, that he ought to hear all, whatever it be, that God foretells; and that in particular, they were false prophets that encouraged him to make this war in hope of victory, whereas he must fight and be killed. Whereupon he engaged in suspense with himself: but Zedekiah, one of those false prophets, came near and authorized him not to hearken to Micaiah, for he did not at all speak truth; as a demonstration of which instance in what Elisha had said, who was a greater prophet in foretelling futurities than Micaiah: for he foretold that the dogs should lick his blood in the city of Jezreel, in the field of Naboth, they licked the blood of Naboth, who by his ans was there stoned to death by the multitude; therefore it was plain that this Micaiah was a impostor, as contradicting a greater prophet than himself, and saying that he should be slain at three years' distance. He left the field; and shall I know whether he be a true prophet, and hath power of the Divine Spirit; for I will smite and let him then hurt my hand, as Jadan ed the hand of Jeroboam the king to wither he would have caught him; for I suppose hast certainly heard of that accident. So upon his smiting Micaiah, no harm happened him, Ahab took courage, and readily led his army at the king of Syria; for, as I suppose, fate was too hard for him, and made him believe that false prophets spake truer than the true one, he might take an occasion of bringing him to task. However, Zedekiah made horns of iron, and faked as Ahab, that God made those horns signals, so they should overthrow all Syria. But he replied, that Zedekiah, in a few days went from one secret chamber to another, to himself, that he might escape the punishment of fire. Then did the king give orders that could take Micaiah away, and guard him to the governor of the city, and to give him bread and water. Then did Ahab and Jehoshaphat the king of Israel, take their forces, and marched to Ha-ciro of Gilgal; and when the king of Syria this expedition, he brought out his army about them, and pitched his camp not far from Now Ahab and Jehoshaphat had agreed, who should lay aside his royal robes, but that of Jerusalem should put on his [Ahab's] instead, and stand before the army, in order, by this artifice, that Micaiah had foretold Ahab's fate found him out without his coverings of Zedekiah the false prophet, in order to persuade believe Micaiah the true prophet, are plausible; but being other words, we cannot now tell whether Josaphat had ever seen his own temple, or from some other original it a certain manner. That some such plausible subterfuges and misrepresentations Micaiah is very likely, otherwise Jehoshaphat to disbelieve such false prophets, could never have as a necessary event Ahab in these desperate circumstances. of Josephus, that Jehoshaphat put on his own hat and other garments, upon the occasion to be Ahab, whereas Ahab was without them, and proposed to wear his own, and to go by his own evil fate, and despise the divine sentence. It gives no title to judge history, and shows, that although Ahab did show less submission for him, and run the only risk of being slain in the battle, yet was he entirely disappointed, while still the cause of the good man's death; and the achievement of the bad man's death, demonstrated the great distinction that Divine Providence made between them.

We have here a very close reflection of Josephus about Divine Providence, and what is derived from it, prophecy, and the inevitable certainty of its accomplishment; and that when wicked men think they take proper means to escape what is denounced against them, and to escape the divine judgments, that it remains, they will not be able, for they are overthrown by Providence in that very way of destruction, and thereby to demonstrate the perfect reality of that kind of predictions they are able to escape. I"
BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF AHAB TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING JEHOSAPHAT AGAIN: HOW HE CONSTITUTED JUDGES, AND, BY GOD’S ASSISTANCE, OVERCAME HIS ENEMIES.

§ 1. When Jehosaphat the king was come to Jerusalem, from the assistance he had afforded Ahab, the king of Israel, when he fought with Benhadad, king of Syria, the prophet Jehu met him, and accused him for assisting Ahab, a man both impious and wicked; and said to him, that God was displeased with him for so doing, but that he delivered him from the enemy, notwithstanding he had sinned, because of his own proper disposition, which was good. Whereupon the king betook himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God; after which he presently went over all that country which he ruled round about, and taught the people, as well the laws which God gave them by Moses, as that religious worship was due to him. He also constituted judges in every one of the cities of his kingdom; and charged them to have regard to nothing so much in judging the multitude as to do justice, and not to be moved by bribes, nor by the dignity of men eminent for either their riches or their high birth, but to distribute justice equally to all, as knowing that God is conscious of every secret action of theirs. When he had himself instructed them thus, and gone over every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem. He there also constituted judges out of the priests and Levites, and principal persons of the multitude, and admonished them to pass all their sentences with care and justice. And that if any of the people of his country had differences of great consequence, they should send them out of the other cities to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such causes; and this with the greater care, because it is proper that the sentences which are given in that city wherein the temple of God is, and wherein the king dwells, be given with great care and the utmost justice. Now he set over them Amariah the priest, and Zebediah, [both] of the tribe of Judah: and after this manner it was that the king ordered these affairs.

2. About the same time the Moabites and Ammonites made an expedition against Jehoshaphat, and took with them a great body of Arabians, and pitched their camp at Engedi, a city that is situated at the lake Asphaltitis, and distant three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. In that place grows the best kind of palm-trees, and the opoponasum.† Now Jehosaphat heard that the enemies had passed over the lake, and had made an irruption into that country which belonged to his kingdom; at which news he was affrighted, and called the people of Jerusalem to a congregation in the temple, and standing over against the temple itself, he called upon God to afford him power and strength, so as to inflict punishment on those that made this expedition against them (for that those who built this his temple had prayed that he would protect that city, and take vengeance on those that were so bold as to come against it); for they are come to take from us that land which thou hast given us for a possession. When he had prayed thus, he fell into tears; and the whole multitude, together with their wives and children, made their supplications also: upon which a certain prophet, Jalahiel by name, came into the midst of the assembly, and cried out, and spake both to the multitude and to the king, that God heard their prayers, and promised to fight against their enemies. He also gave order that the king should draw his forces out the next day, for that he should find them between Jerusalem and the ascent of Engedi, at a place called The Eminence, and that he should not fight against them, but only stand still and see how God would fight against them. When the prophet had said this, both the king and the multitude fell on their faces, and gave thanks to God, and worshipped him; and the Levites continued singing hymns to God with their instruments of music.

3. As soon as it was day, and the king was come into that wilderness which is under the city of Tekoa, he said to the multitude, that they ought to give credit to what the prophet had said; and not to set themselves in array for fighting; but to set the priests with their trumpets, and the Levites with the singers of hymns, to give thanks to God, as having already delivered our country from our enemies. This opinion of the king pleased [the people], and they did what he advised them to do. So God caused a terror and a commotion to arise among the Ammonites, who thought one another to be enemies, and slew one another, insomuch that not one man out of so great an army escaped; and when Jehoshaphat looked upon that valley wherein their enemies had been encompassed, and saw it full of dead men, he rejoiced at so surprising an event as was this assistance of God, while he himself by his own power, and without their labour, had given them the victory. He also gave his army leave to take the prey of the enemy’s camp, and to spoil their dead bodies; and indeed so they did for three days together, till they were weary, so great was the number of the slain; and on the fourth day, all the people were gathered together, unto a certain hollow place or valley, and blessed God for his power...
CHAPTER II.

CERTAIN AHAZIAH, THE KING OF ISRAEL; AND
AGAIN CONCERNING THE PROPHET ELIJAH.

And now Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and in all respects like to both his parents, and to Jeroboam, who was the first of all transgressors, and began to deceive the people. In the 17th year of his reign, the king of Moab fell off from his obedience, and left off paying those tributes he before paid to Ahab, and paid them to Egypt. Now it came to pass that Ahaziah, as he was coming down his seat of his house, fell down from it, and in his fall sent to the Fly, which was the god of Syria, that for that was this god's name, to inquire about recovery; but the God of the Hebrews appointed to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to meet the messengers that were sent, and them, whether the people of Israel had not their own, that the king sent to a foreign country inquire about his recovery and to bid him and tell the king of Ahab of that thing. And when Elijah had performed what he had commanded him, the messengers heard what he said, they returned to the king, and when the king wondered, he could return so soon, and asked them the truth, they said, that a certain man met them, and led them to go on any farther; but he told them what he had heard, and they returned, and told the king of what had been said. And the king bade them describe the man that said such words, and he was a hairy man, with a girdle of leather, so the king stood by this the man who was described as Elijah, whereasupon he sent to him, with fifty soldiers, and commanded them to bring Elijah to him; and when the captain that was sent found Elijah sitting upon the top of a hill, he commanded him to come down, and come to the king, for so had he enjoined; but that in case he refused, he would carry him by force. Elijah said to him, "That you may have a trial whether I be a true prophet, I will pray that fire may fall from heaven, and destroy both the soldiers and yourself." So he prayed, and a whirlwind of fire fell [from heaven], and destroyed the captain and those that were with him. And when the king was informed of the destruction of these men, he was very angry, and sent another captain with the like number of armed men that were sent before. And when this captain also threatened the prophet, that unless he came down of his own accord he would take him and carry him away; upon his prayer against him, the fire [from heaven] slew this captain as well as the other. And when upon inquiry, the king was informed of what had happened to him, he sent out a third captain. But when this captain, who was a wise man, and of a mild disposition, came to the place where Elijah happened to be, and spake civilly to him, and said to him, that it was without his own consent, and only in submission to the king's command that he came to him; and that those that came before did not come willingly, but on the same account, he therefore desired him to have pity on those armed men that were with him; and that he would come down and follow him to the king. So Elijah accepted of his discreet words and courteous behaviour, and came down and followed him. And when he came to the king, he proffered him to him, and told him, that God had told him to bring him, and that it was not being God, and so unable to forestall the truth about thy dissembler, but hast sent to the God of Enoch to inquire of him what will be the end of this thy dissembler, know this, that thou shalt die."

2. Accordingly the king in a very little time died, as Elijah had foretold; but Jehoram his brother succeeded him in the kingdom, for he died without children: but for this Jehoram, he was like his father Ahab in wickedness, and reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all sorts of wickedness and immorality towards God; and he worshipped foreign gods; but in other respects he was an active man. Now at this time it was that Elijah disappeared from among men, and no one knows of his death to this very day; but he left behind him his disciple Elisha, as we have formerly declared. And indeed, as to Elijah, and as to Enoch, who was before the Deluge, it is written in the sacred books that they disappeared; but so that nobody knew that they died.

It is commonly esteemed a very cruel action of Elijah, when he called for fire from heaven, and consumed no fewer than two captains, and a hundred soldiers, and this for no other crime than obeying the orders of their king, in attempting to seize him; and it is owned by our Saviour, that it was an instance of greater severity than the spirit of the New Testament allows, Luke 16. 31. But then we must consider, that it is not unlikely that these captains and soldiers believed that they were sent to fetch the prophet, that he might be put to death for forecasting the death of the king, and this while they knew him to be the prophet of the true God, the supreme King of Israel (for they were still his loyal subjects), which was the last thing that was likely to happen, in the highest degree; nor would the command of a captain or officer of the king, contradicting the command of the general, when the captain and the soldiers both knew it to be so, as I suppose, justify or excuse the general's injustice and cruelty. So that when, in the same story, Saul commanded his guards to slay Ahimelech and the priests of the Lord, he knew that they were in the right, and that what he did was an act of injustice, and was sinning in an unjust cause, when they knew it to be so.
CHAPTER III.

HOW JORAM AND JEHOSHAPHAT MADE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE MOABITES; AS ALSO CONCERNING THE WONDERS OF ELISHA; AND THE DEATH OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

2. When the prophet had said this, the next day before the sun rising, a great torrent ran strongly; for God had caused it to rain very plentifully at the distance of three days' journey into Edom, so that the army and the cattle found water, for drink was abundant. But when the Moabites heard that the three kings were coming upon them, and made their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab gathered his army together presently, and commanded them to pitch their camp upon the mountains, that when the enemy should attempt to enter their country, they might not be concealed from them. But when, at the rising of the sun, they saw the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land of Moab, and that it was of the colour of blood, for at such a time the water especially looks red, by the shining of the sun upon it, they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had slain one another for thirst; and that the river ran with their blood. However, supposing that this was the case, they desired their king would send them out to spoil their enemies; whereupon they all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained, and came to the enemy's camp, as supposing them destroyed already; but their hope deceived them, for as their enemies stood round about them, some of them were cut to pieces, and others of them dispersed, and fled to their own country; and when the kings fell into the land of Moab, they overthrew the cities that were in it, and spoiled their flocks, and marred them, filling them with stones and out of the brooks, and cutting down the beasts of their trees, and stopped up their fountains of water, and overthrew their walls to their foundations; but the king of Moab, when he was pursued, endured a siege, and seeing his city in danger of being overspread by a force, made a sally, and went out with seven hundred men, in order to break through the enemy's camp with his horsemen, on the side where the watch seemed to be kept most negligently; and when, upon trial, he could not get away, for he lighted upon a place that was carefully watched, he returned into the city, and did a thing that showed despair, and the utmost distress; for he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifted him upon the wall, that he might be visible to all the enemies, he offered him as a whole burnt-offering to God, whom, when the kings saw, they commiserated the distress that was occasioned to it, and were so affected, in the way of humanity and pity, that they raised the siege, and every one returned to his own house. So Jehoshaphat came to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, and outfitted this expedition but a little time, and then died, having lived in all sixty years, and of them reigned twenty-five. He was buried in a magnificent manner in Jerusalem, for he had imitated the actions of David.

* This phrase is: "A tree, which bare..."
and exhorted him to take care of that place, for that therein were some Syrians lying in ambush to kill him. So the king did as the prophet exhorted him, and avoided his going a-hunting; and when Benhadad missed of the success of his lying in ambush, he was wroth with his own servants, as if they had betrayed him. The Lord also sent for him, and said they were the betrayers of his secret counsels; and he threatened that he would put them to death, since such their practice was evident, because he had entrusted this secret to none but them, and yet it was made known to his enemy; and when one that was present said, that he should not mistake himself, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, but that he ought to know that it was Elisha the prophet who discovered all to him, and laid open all his counsels. So he gave order that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. Accordingly, those that were sent brought word that he was in Dothan; wherefore Benhadad sent to that city a great army, with horses and chariots, to take Elisha; so they encompassed the city round about by night, and kept him therein confined; but when the prophet's servant in the morning perceived this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he came running, and crying out after a disordered manner to him, and told him of it; but he encouraged him, and bade him not be afraid, and to despire the enemy, and trust in the assistance of God, and was himself without fear; and he besought God to make manifest to his servant his power and presence, so far as was possible, in order to the inspiring him with hope and courage. Accordingly, God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made the servant see a multitude of chariots and horses encompassing Elisha, till he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived at the sight of what he supposed was come to his assistance. After this Elisha did farther entreat God, that he would dim the eyes of his enemies, and cast a mist before them, whereby they might not discern him. When this was done, he went into the midst of his enemies, and asked them who it was that they came to seek; and when they replied, "The prophet Elisha," he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he was. So these men were so darkened by God in their sight and in their mind, that they followed him very diligently; and when Elisha had brought them to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round about them; and prayed to God to clear the eyes of these their enemies, and take the mist from before them. Accordingly, when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies; and as the Syrians were strangely amazed and distressed, as was but reasonable, at an action so divine and surprising; and as king Joram asked the prophet if he would give him leave to shoot at them, Elisha forbade him so to do; and said, that it is just to kill those that are taken in battle; but that these men had done the country no harm, were doing no mischief; the Divine Power had cast another of these, that his counsel was to treat them in an hospitable manner at his table, and then send them away without hurting them. Wherefor

1 Upon occasion of this stratagem of Elisha, in Josephus, we may take notice, that although it was one of the greatest wiles of truth in the world; yet, in a just war, he seems to have had no manner of example from him, by such stratagems possible, to destroy public enemies. See this Josephus's account of Jerusalem's imposition on the great run

2 See also ch. 14, 24. This is the permutation for being partisan in idolatry itself, which was dehanced to the court.
Joram obeyed the prophet; and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he let them go to Benhadad their king.

4. Now when these men were come back, and had showed Benhadad how strange an accident hadbefallen them, and what an appearance and power they had experienced of the God of Israel, he wondered at it, as also at that prophet with whom God was so evidently present; so he determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha, but resolved to make open war with them, as supposing he could be too hard for his enemies by the multitude of his army and power. So he made an expedition with a great army against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for him, shut himself up in Samaria, and depended on the strength of its walls; but Benhadad supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet that he should overcome the Samaritans by famine, and the want of necessaries, and brought his army upon them, and besieged the city. Joram, the king of Judah, marched up with an army, and met with Joram, the king of Israel, that from the extremity of want, an ass's head was sold in Samaria for four score pieces of silver; and the Hebrews bought a sextary of dove's dung, instead of salt, for five pieces of silver. Now Joram was in fear lest somebody should betray the city to the enemy, by reason of the famine, and went every day round the walls and the guards, to see whether any such were concealed among them; and by being thus seen, and taking such care, he deprived them of the opportunity of contriving any such thing; and if they had a mind to do it, he by this means prevented them; but upon a certain woman's crying out, "Have pity on me, my Lord," while he thought that she was about to ask for somewhat to eat, he imprecated God's curse upon her, and said, he had neither thrashing-floor nor wine-press, whence he might give her any thing at her petition. Upon which she said, she did not desire his aid in any such thing, nor trouble him about food, but desired that he would do his justice as to another woman; and when he bade her say on, and let him know what she desired, she said, she had made an agreement with the woman that lived near her and her friend, that because the famine and the want was intolerable, they should kill their children, each of them having a son of their own, and we will live upon them ourselves for two days — the one day upon one son, and the other day upon the other; and, she said, I have killed my son the first day, and we lived upon my son yesterday; but this other woman will not do the same thing, but hath broken her agreement, and hath hid her son. So Joram and his captains mightily sought Joram when he heard it; so he rent his garments, and cried out with a loud voice, and conceived great wrath against Elisha the prophet, and set himself eagerly to have him slain, because he did not pray to God to provide them some exit and way of escape out of the miseries with which they were surrounded; and sent one away immediately to cut off his head, who made haste to kill the prophet; but Elisha was not unacquainted with the wrath of the king against him; for as he sat in his house by himself, with none but his disciples about him, he told them that Joram, who was the son of a murderer, had sent one to take away his head; "But," said he, "when he is commanded to do this, come not, that you do not let him come in, but press the door against him, and hold him fast there, for the king himself will follow him, and come to me, having altered his mind." Accordingly, they did as they were bidden, when he that was sent by the king to kill Elisha came; but Joram repented of his work against the prophet; and for fear he that was commanded to kill him should have done it before he came, he made haste to hinder his slaughter, and to save the prophet; and when he came to him, he accused him that he did not pray to God for their deliverance from the miseries they lay under, but saw them so sadly destroyed by them. Hereupon Elisha promised, that the very next day, at the very same hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two sheals of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour should be sold for a shekel. This prediction was fulfilled, and those that were sent to inquire of the prophet believed the matter, to their great joy, for they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had of the truth of his former predictions; and the expectation of plenty made the want they were in that day, with the uneasiness that accompanied it, appear a light thing to them; but the captain of the third band, who was a friend of the king, and on whose hand the king leaned, said, "Thou talkest of incredible things, O prophet; for as it is impossible for thee to pour down torrents of barley, or fine flour out of Heaven, so is it impossible that what thou sayest should come to pass." To which the prophet made this reply: — "Thou shalt see these things come to pass, but thou shalt not be in the least a partaker of them." 5. Now what Elisha had thus foretold came to pass in the manner following: — There was a host at Samaria, that those that had the leprosy, and whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should abide without the city. And there were found on this account abode before the gates, while nobody gave them any food, by reason of the extremity of the famine; and as they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and they considered that if they were permitted to eat, they would miserably perish by the famine; as also, that if they stood where they were, they should suffer in the same manner, — they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, that in case they should spare them, they should live; but if they should be killed, that would be an easy death, when they had confirmed this their resolution, they came by night to the enemy's camp. God had begun to afflict and disturb the Syrians, so as to bring noise of chariots and armour to their ears, as though an army were coming upon them, and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer to them. In short, they were in such a dread of this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said, that Joram, the king of Israel, had hired for auxiliaries both the king of Egypt and the king of the Libyans, and led them against them; for they heard the
might not endanger one another to perish, by treating one another in the press, he suffered himself in that very way, and died in that very manner, as Elisha had foretold this his death, when he alone of them all disbelieved what he said concerning that plenty of provisions which they should have soon.

6. Hereupon, when Benhadad, the king of Syria, had escaped to Damascus, and understood that it was God himself that cast all his army into this fear and disorder, and that it did not arise from the invasion of enemies, he was mightily cast down at his having God so greatly for his enemy, and fell into a distemper. Now it happened that Elisha, the prophet, at that time, was gone out of his own country to Damascus, of which Benhadad was informed; he sent Hazael, the most faithful of all his servants, to meet him, and to carry him presents; and bade him inquire of him about his distemper, and whether he should escape the danger that it threatened. So Hazael came to Elisha with forty camels, that carried the best and most precious fruits that the country of Damascus afforded, as well as those which the king’s palace supplied. He presented them kindly to Elisha, and went home by the king Benhadad, and brought presents with him, in order to inquire concerning his distemper, whether he should recover from it or not. Whereupon the prophet bade him tell the king no melancholy news; but still he said he would die. So the king’s servant was troubled to hear it; and Elisha wept also, and his tears ran down plentifully at his foresight at what miseries his people would undergo after the death of Benhadad; and when Hazael asked him what was the occasion of this confusion he was in, he said, that he went out of communion for the mortification of his nation, and of the people and miseries they will suffer by these; “for thou wilt slay the strongest of them, and wilt burn their strongest cities, and wilt destroy their children, and dash them against the stones, and wilt rip up their women with child.” And when Hazael said, “How can it be that I should have power enough to do such things?!” the prophet replied, that God had informed him that he should be king of Syria. So when Hazael was come to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his distemper;* but on the next day he spread a wet cloth, in the nature of a net, over him, and strangled him, and took his dominion. He was an active man, and had the good-will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus, to a great degree; by whom both Benhadad himself, and Hazael, who ruled after him, were honored to this day as gods, by reason of their benefactions, and their building them temples, by which they adorned the city of the Damascans. They also every day do with great pomp pay their worship to these kings,* and value

*Since Elisha did not lie to anoint Hazael king of Syria himself, as he was empowered to do {I Kings xix. 16}, it was most probably now done, in his name, by his servant and successor Elisha; nor does it seem to me otherwise but that Benhadad immediately recovered of his disease, as the prophet foretold, and that Hazael was anointed to succeed him, though he might have said till he died by the course of nature, and was murdered many years, or even other events, without divine punishment; but he shewed it many years in the like case, was too impatient, and the very next day murdered or strangled him, in order to come directly to power. That M. Le Clerc protests, that it is incredible that Hazael and his son were worshipped by the Syrians and people of Damascus till the days of Josephus, therefore Benhadad and Hazael, because under Benhadad they had greatly suffered, and because it is almost incredible to think that a king and that kind oforer should not have been in the same way as some Spaniards, in little force against these records, out of which Josephus gives this history, especially when it is known that Benhadad died of the distemper he suffered under, and not by Hazael’s teaching. Besides, the reason that Josephus gives for this admission, that these two kings had been great benefactors to the public of Damascus, and had built them temples, is too repugnant from the private
themselves upon their antiquity; nor do they know that these kings are much later than they imagine, and that they are not yet eleven hundred years old. Now when Joram, the king of Israel, heard that Jehoram, his brother, was dead, he arose out of the terror and dread he had been in on his account, and was very glad to live in peace.

CHAPTER V.
CONCERNING THE WICKEDNESS OF JEHORAM, KING OF JERUSALEM: HIS DEFEAT, AND DEATH.

§ 1. Now Jehoram, the king of Jerusalem, for we have said before that he had the same name with the king of Israel, as soon as he had taken the government upon him, betook himself to the slaughter of his brethren and his father's friends, who were governors under him, and thence made a beginning and a demonstration of his wickedness; nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who at first transgressed against the laws of their country, and of the Hebrews, and against God's worship; and it was Athalia, the daughter of Ahab, whom he had married, who taught him to be a bad man in other respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out this family, because of the promise he had made to David. However, Jehoram did not leave off the introduction of new sorts of customs to the propagation of impiety, and to the ruin of the customs of his own country. And when the Edomites about that time had revolted from him, and slain their former king, who was in subjection to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Jehoram fell upon the land of Edom, with the horsemen that were about him, and the chariots, by night, and destroyed those that lay near to his own kingdom; but did not proceed farther. However, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, with those that dwelt in the country of Libnah. He was indeed so mad as to compel the people to go up to the high places of the mountains, and worship foreign gods.

2. As he was doing this, and had entirely cast his own country laws out of his mind, there was brought him an epistle from Elijah the prophet, which declared, that God would execute judgments upon him, because he had not imitated his own fathers, but had followed the wicked courses of the kings of Israel; and had compelled the tribe of Judah and the citizens of Jerusalem to leave the holy worship of their own God, and to worship idols, as Ahab had compelled the Israelites to do, and because he had slain his brethren, and the men that were good and righteous. And the prophet gave him notice in this epistle what punishment he should under go for these crimes, namely, the destruction of his people, with the corruption of the king's own wives and children; and that he should himself die of a distemper in his bowels, with long torments, those his bowels falling out by the violence of the inward rottenness of the parts, insomuch that, though he see his own misery, he shall not be able at all to help himself, but shall die in that manner. This it was which Elijah announced to him in that epistle.

3. It was not long after this that an army of those Arabsians that lived near to Edom, and of the Philistines, fell upon the kingdom of Jehoram, and spoilt the country and the king's house: moreover, they slew his sons and his wives; as only of his sons was left him, who escaped the enemy, his name was Ahaziah; after which calamity, he himself fell into that disease which was foretold by the prophet, and lasted a great while (for God inflicted this punishment upon him in his belly, out of his wrath against him), and so he died miserably, and saw his own bowels fall out. He also abused his dead body; I suppose it was because they thought that such his death came upon him by the wrath of God, and that therefore he was not worthy to partake of such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly, they neither buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers, nor vouchsafed him any honours, but buried him like a private man, and this when he had lived forty years, and reigned eight; and the people of Jerusalem delivered the government to his son Ahaziah.

CHAPTER VI.
HOW JEHU WAS ANOINTED KING, AND Slew ETT JORAM AND AHAZIAH; AS ALSO WHAT HE DID FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF THE WICKED.

§ 1. Now Joram, the king of Israel, after the death of Benhadad, hoped that he might now take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians. Accordingly, he made an expedition against it, with a great army; but as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians, but the wound was not mortal; so he returned to have his wound healed in Jezebel, but left his whole army in Ramoth,—and Jehu, the son of Nimshi, for their general; for he had already taken the city by force; and he proposed, after he was healed, to make war with the Syrians; but Elisha the prophet sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him holy oil to anoint Jehu, and to tell him that God had chosen him to be their king. He also sent him to say other things to him, and bade him to take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape the knowledge of all men. So when he came to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisha had foretold he should find him. So he came up to him, and said that he desired to speak with him about certain matters; and when he was arisen, and had followed him into an inward chamber, the young man took the oil, and poured it on his head, and said the God ordained him to be king, in order to destroy the house of Ahab, and that he might revenge the blood of the prophet that was unjustly slain by Jezebel, that so their house might utterly perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Ner and of Baasha had perished for their wickedness, and to seed might remain of Ahab's family. So when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the chamber, and endeavoured not to be seen by any of the army.

2. But Jehu came out, and went to the place where he before sat with the captains; and when
they asked him, and desired him to tell them where-1o.

For if he was that young man come to him, and

and added that he was mad,—he replied, “You
guess right; for the words he spake were the words of a madman, when they are eager about the
matter, and desired he would tell them, they
answered, that God had said he had chosen him
The king over the multitude. When he had said
that, every one of them put off his garment,* and
and waved it under him, and blew with trumpets, and
and we notice that Jehu was king. So when he had
arrested the army together, he was preparing to set
it immediately against Joram, at the city of Jez-
zel, in which city, as we said before, he was healed
of the wound which he had received in the siege
of Ramoth. It happened also that Ahab, king of
Jerusalem, was now come to Jezreel, for he was
the sister’s son, as we have said already, to see how
that his body was moved, and this upon account of
a kindred: but as Jehu was desirous to fall upon
them and those with him on the sudden, he desired
none of the soldiers might run away and tell
Joram what had happened, for that this would an
evident demonstration of their kindness to
and would show that their real inclinations
to make him king.

So they were pleased with what he did, and
left the road, lest somebody should privately
be thing to those that were at Jezreel. Now
took his choice horsemen, and sat upon his
and went on for Jezreel; and when he was
near, the watchman whom Joram had set
out of his way, as he came to the city, saw Jehu
coming, and told Joram that he saw a troop of
men marching on. Upon which he immedi-
ately ordered, that one of his horsemen should
out to meet them, and to know who he was
coming. So when the horseman came up
left him in what condition the army
that the king wanted to know it; but Jehu
was not to all to meddle with such matters
allow him. When the watchman saw this,
Joram that the horseman was mingled
the company, and came along with them.
the king had sent a second messenger,
amended him to do as the former did: and
and the watchman told the king also to Joram, he
upon his chariots himself, together with
the king of Jerusalem; for, as we said,
was there to see how Joram did, after he
wounded, as being his relation. So he
met Jehu, who marched slowly, and
der; and when Joram met him in the
abode, he asked him if all things were
right; but Jehu reproached him bitterly,
red to call his mother a witch and a har-
this the king fearing what he intended;
ting he had no good meaning, turned his
as soon as he could, and said to Aha-
be are fought against by deceit and
Bart. Jehu drew his bow, and shot
row going through his heart: so Joram
immediately on his knee, and gave up the

ghost. Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain
of the third part of his army, to cast the dead body
of Joram into the field of Naboth, putting him in
mind of the prophecy which Elijah prophesied to
his father, when he had slain Naboth, that
both he and his family should perish in that place;
for that as they sat behind Ahab’s chariot, they
heard the prophet say so, and that it was now come
to pass according to his prophecy. Upon the fall
of Joram, Ahab was afraid of his own life, and
turned his chariot into another road, supposing
he should not be seen by Jehu; but he followed
him, and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and
drew his bow, and wounded him; so he left his
chariot, and got upon his horse, and fled from Jehu
to Megiddo; and though he was under care, in a
little time he died of that wound, and was carried
to Jerusalem, and buried there, after he had reigned
one year, and had proved a wicked man, and worse
than his father.

4. Now when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel
adorned herself and stood upon a tower, and said,
he was a fine servant that had killed his master.
And when he looked up to her, he asked who she
was, and commanded her to come down to him.
At last he ordered the eunuchs to throw her down
from the tower; and being thrown down, she
sprinkled with blood, and was trodden upon by the
horses, and so die. When this was done, Jehu came
to the palace with his friends, and
and took some refreshment after his journey, both
with other things, and by eating a meal. He also
bade his servants to take up Jezebel and bury her,
because of the nobility of her blood, for she was
descended from kings; but those that were appointed
to bury her found nothing else remaining but the
extreme parts of her body, for all the rest were
eaten by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he admired
the prophecy of Elijah, for he foretold that she
should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

5. Now Ahah had prepared to return up in
Samaria. So Jehu sent two epistles, the one to
them that brought up the children, the other to the
rulers of Samaria, which said, that they should set
up the most valiant of Ahab’s sons for king, for
that they had abundance of chariots, and horses,
and armour, and a great army, and fenced cities,
and that by so doing they might avenge the murder
of Ahab. This he wrote to try the intentions of
these of Samaria. Now when the rulers, and those
that had brought up the children, had read the
letters, they were afraid; and considering that they
were not at all able to oppose him, who had already
subdued two very great kings, they returned him
this answer:—That they owned him for their lord,
and the heads of Ahab’s sons, and send them to him.
Accordingly the rulers sent for those that brought
up the sons of Ahab, and commanded them to slay
them, to cut off their heads, and send them to Jehu.
So they did whatever they were commanded,
without omitting anything at all, and put them in
brickier baskets, and sent them to the king. And
when Jehu, as he was at supper with his friends,
was informed that the heads of Ahab’s sons were
brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of
them, one before each of the gates; and in the
morning he went out to take a view of them, and
when he saw them, he began to say to the people
that were present, that he did himself make an expedition against his master [Joram], and slew him; but that it was not that he slew all these: and he desired them to take notice, that as to Ahab's family, all things had come to pass according to God's prophecy, and his house was perished, according as Elijah had foretold. And when he had farther destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that were found in Jezreel, he went to Samaria; and as he was upon the road, he met the relation of Ahab, king of Jerusalem, and asked them, whither they were going: they replied, that they came to salute Joram, and their own king Ahabiah, for they knew not that he had slain them both. So Jehu gave orders that they should catch these, and kill them, being in number forty-two persons.

6. After these, there met him a good and a righteous man, whose name was Jehonadab, and who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jehu, and began to commend him, because he had done every thing according to the will of God, and that he destroyed the house of Ahab. And when he came into his chariot, he made his entry with him into Samaria; and told him that he would not spare one wicked man, but would punish the false prophets and false priests, and those that deceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the worship of God Almighty, and to worship foreign gods; and that it was a most excellent and a most pleasing sight to a good and a righteous man to see the wicked punished. So Jehonadab was persuaded by these arguments, and came up into Jehu's chariot, and came to Samaria. And Jehu sought out for all Ahab's kindred, and slew them. And being desirous that none of the false prophets, nor the priests of Ahab's god, might escape punishment, he caught them deceitfully by this wife: for he gathered all the people together, and said, that he would worship twice as many gods as Ahab worshipped, and desired that his priests, and prophets, and servants, might be present, because he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's god; and that if any of his priests were wanting, they should be punished with death. Now Ahab's son was called Bael; and when he had appointed a day on which he would offer these sacrifices, he sent messengers through all the country of the Israelites, that they might bring the priests of Bael to him. So Jehu commanded to give all the priests vestments; and when they had received them, he went into the house of Bael, with his friend Jehonadab, and gave orders to make search whether there were not any foreigner or stranger among them, for he would have no one of a different religion to mix among them according to the will of God. And when he had said that there was no stranger there, and they were beginning their sacrifices, he set four-score men without, that they being such of his soldiers as he knew to be most faithful to him, and bade them slay the prophets, and now vindicate the laws of their country, which had been a long time in disuse. He also threatened, that if any one of them escaped, their own lives should go for them. So they slew them all with the sword; and burnt the house of Bael, and by that means purged Samaria of foreign customs [ idolatrous worship]. Now this Bael was the god of the Tyrians; and in order to gratify his father-in-law, Ethbaal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshipped him with all sorts of worship, although, when this god was demolished, Jehu permitted the Israelites to worship the golden beifers. However, because he had done thus, and taken care to punish the wicked God foretold by his prophet, that his sons should reign over Israel for four generations: and in this condition was Jehu at this time.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW ATHALIAH REIGNED OVER JERUSALEM FOR FIVE [SIX] YEARS, WHEN JEHIOADA THE HIGH-PRIEST SLEW HER, AND MADE JEHOSH, THE SON OF AHAZIAH, KING.

§ 1. Now when Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahabiah, and of the royal family, she envoys and that none of the house of David might be left alive, but that the whole family might be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it after her; and, as she thought, she had actually done it; but one of Ahabiah's sons was preserved, who escaped death after the manner following: Ahabiah had a sister by the same father, whose name was Jehosheba, and she was married to the high-priest Jehoiada. She went into the king's palace, and found Jehoash, for that was the little child's name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed with his nurse; so she took him with her into a secret bed-chamber, and shut him up there; and she and her husband, Jehoiada brought him up privately in the temple six years, during which time Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem and the two tribes.

2. Now, on the seventh year, Jehoiada communicated the matter to certain of the captains of hundreds, five in number, and persuaded them to be assisting to what attempts he were making against Athaliah, and to join with him in ascending the kingdom to the child. He also received some oaths from them as are proper to secure those that assist one another from the fear of discovery; and he was then of good hope that they should dethrone Athaliah. Now those men whom Jehoiada the priest had taken to be his partners, went into all the country, and gathered together the priests and the Levites, and the heads of the tribes out of it, and came and brought them to Jerusalem, to the high-priest. So he demanded the security of an oath of them, to keep private whatsoever he should discover them, which required both their silence and their assistance. So when they had taken the oath, and had thereby made it safe for him to speak, he produced the child that he had brought up, of the family of David, and said to them, This is your king, of that house of which you know God hath foretold should reign over you for all time to come: I exhort you, therefore, that one-third part of you guard him in the temple, and that a fourth part keep watch at all the gates of the temple, and that the next part of you keep guard at the gate which opens and leads to the king's palace, and let the rest of the multitude be unarmed in the temple, and let no armed person go into the temple, but the priest only, in order to the following: "That a part of the priests and the Levites should be about the king himself, and be a guard to him, with their drawn swords, and to kill that man immediately, whoever he be, that should be
o hold as to enter armed into the temple; and made them be afraid of nobody, but persevere in the worship of the king." So these men obeyed what was high priests advised them to, and declared the sylph of their resolution by their actions. Jehoiada also opened that armory which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captains hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, all spears and quivers, and what kind of weapons it contained, and set them armed round the temple, so as to touch one another's hands, by that means excluding those from entering that ought not to enter. So they brought the child, the midwife of them, and put him on the royal bed, and pawned him with the priest-king; and he was his king; and the multitude rejoiced, and a noise, and cried, "God save the king!"

When Athaliah unexpectedly heard the tumult, she was greatly disturbed in mind, and suddenly issued out of the royal palace, with her own army: and when she was come to the temple, the priests received her, but as for that stoned round about the temple, as they were by the high priest to do, they hindered the men that followed her from going in. But Athaliah saw the child standing upon the royal crown upon his head, she saw that he was dead, and cried out vehemently, and commanded guards to kill him that had lain snares for him; endeavoured to deprive of her of deceased. Jehoiada called for the captains of the army, and commanded them to bring Athaliah to the temple of Cedron, and slay her there, for he had the temple defiled with the punishment of this pernicious woman; and he gave orders if any one came near to help her, he should be slain also; wherefore those that had the chariot to take hold of her, and led away the gate of the king's mules, and slew her as soon as what concerned Athaliah was, stratagem, after this manner, dispatched, called together the people and armed men, and made them take an oath that they should obey the king, and take care of his safety of his government; after the king to give security upon being killed, and worship God, and not to oppress Moses. They then ran to the house of Balaam, Athaliah, and her husband Jehoram had built, on the top of the God of their fathers, to the name of Abin, and demolished it, and slew that had his priesthood. But Jehoiada the care and custody of the temple to the Levites, according to the appointment given, and enjoined them to bring their re-offerings twice a day, and to offer in the law. He also ordained some keepers, with the priests, to be a guard to the law, that no one that was ordered might enter. when Athaliah had set these things in the hands of captains of hundreds, and the people, took Athaliah out of the king's palace, and when he was set on the king's throne, the people shouted for joy, took themselves to feasting, and kept many days; but the city was quiet under Athaliah. Now Jehoshaphat was old, when he took the kingdom; his wife was Zibiah, of the city Beersheba.

And all the time that Jehoiada lived, Jehoshaphat was careful that the laws should be kept, and very zealous in the worship of God; and when he was of age, he married two wives, who were given to him by the high-priest, by whom were born to him both sons and daughters. And thus much shall suffice to have related concerning king Jehoshaphat, how he escaped the treachery of Athaliah, and how he received the kingdom.

CHAPTER VIII.


§ 1. Now Hazael, king of Syria, fought against the Israelites and their king Jehoram, and invaded the eastern parts of the country beyond Jordan, which belonged to the Reubenites and Gadites, and to half the tribe of Manassites; as also Gilead and Bashan, burning and spoiling, and offering violence to half that tribe of Manasseh, and the inhabitants of Samaria. He also laid his hands on, and this without any infringement from the king, who made no haste to defend the country when it was about this distress; nay, he was become a contemptor of religion, and a despot of holiness, and of the laws, and died when he had reigned over the Israelites twenty-seven years. He was buried in Samaria, and left Jehoahaz his son his successor in the government.

2. Now Jehoshaphat, king of Jerusalem, had an inclination to repair the temple of God; so he called Jehoiada, and bade him send the Levites and priests through all the country, to require half a shekel of silver for every head, towards the rebuilding and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Jehoram, and Athaliah and her sons. But the high-priest did not do this, as concluding that no one would willingly pay that money; but in the twenty-third year of the reign of Hazael, the king sent for him and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed what he enjoined them, and still commanded them to take care of the rebuilding of the temple, he used this stratagem for collecting the money, with which the multitude was pleased. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast on all sides, but opened one hole in it; he then set it in the temple beside the altar, and desired every one to cast into it, through the hole, what he pleased, for the repair of the temple. This contrivance was acceptable to the people; and they strove one with another, and brought in jointly large quantities of silver and gold; and when the scribe and priest that were over the treasuries had emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place, and thus did they every day. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much as was wanted, the high-priest Jehoiada, and king Joash, sent to hire masons and carpenters, and to buy large pieces of timber, and of the most curious sort; and when they had repaired the temple, they made use of the remaining gold and silver, which was not a
little, for bowls, and basins, and cups, and other vessels, and they went on to make the altar every day fat with sacrifices of great value. And these things were taken care of as long as Jehu lived.

3. But as soon as he was dead (which was when he had lived one hundred and thirty years, having been a righteous man, and in every respect a very good man, and was buried in the king's sepulchres at Jerusalem, because he had recovered the kingdom to the family of David), king Joash betrayed his care about God. The principal men of the people were corrupted also together with him, and offended against their duty, and what they had done; and the constitution determined to be lost for their good. Hereupon God was displeased with the change that was made on the king, and on the rest of the people, and sent prophets to testify to them what their actions were, and to bring them to leave off their wickedness: but they had gotten such a strong affection, and so violent an inclination to it, that neither could the examples of those that had suffered affronts and punishes, and their entire families; nor could the fear of the prophets now foretell bring them to repentance, and turn them back from their course of transgression to their former duty. But the king commanded that Zechariah, the son of the high-priest Jehoiada, should be stoned to death in the temple, and forgot the kindnesses he had received from his father; for when God had appointed him to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the multitude, and gave this counsel to them and to the king: That they should act righteously; and forswear to them, that if they would not hearken to his admonitions, they should suffer a heavy punishment: but as Zechariah was ready to die, he appealed to God as a witness of what he suffered for the good counsel he had given them, and how he perished, after a most severe and violent manner, for the good deeds his father had done to Joash.

4. However, it was not long before the king suffered punishment for his transgressions; for when Hazael, king of Syria, made an irruption into his country, and when he had overthrown Guth, and spoiled it, he made an expedition against Jerusalem; upon which Jehoahaz was taken, and emptied all the treasures of God, and of the king [before him], and took down the gifts that had been dedicated [in the temple], and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so much by them, that he was not besieged, nor his kingdom quite endanger ed; but Hazael was induced, by the greatness of the sum of money, not to bring his army against Jerusalem; yet Jehoahaz fell into a severe distemper, and was set up by his friends, in order to revenge the death of Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada. These laid snares for the king, and slew him. He was indeed buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchres of his forefathers, because of his impiety. He lived forty-seven years; and Ama ziah his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

5. In the one-and-twentieth year of the reign of Jehoahaz, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, took the government of the Israelites in Samaria, and held it seventeen years. He did not [properly] imitate his father, but was guilty of as wicked practices as those that first had God in contempt. But the king of Syria brought him low, and, by expeditions against him, did so greatly reduce his forces, that there remained no more of so great an army than ten thousand armed men, and fifty horsemen. He also took him from his great cities, and made of them also, and destroyed his army. And these were the things that the people of Israel suffered, according to the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazael should kill his master, and reign over the Syrians and Damascenes. But when Jehoahaz was under such unavoidable miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of the hands of Hazael, and not overlook him, and give him up into his hands. Accordingly, God accepted of his repentance instead of his virtues, and being desirous not to determine that they should be utterly destroyed, he granted him deliverance from war and dangers. So the country having obtained peace, returned again to its former condition, and flourished as before.

6. Now after the death of Jehoahaz, his son Joash took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoahaz, the king of the tribe of Judah. This Joash then took the kingdom of Israel in Samaria, of the hands of his father, and reigned in the city of Jerusalem, and he reigned the kingdom sixteen years. He was a good man,* and in his disposition was not at all like his father. Now at this time it was that when Elisha the prophet, who was already very old, and was now fallen into a disease, the king of Israel came to visit him; and when he had him very near death, he began to weep in his sight, and lament, to call him his father, and his weapons, because it was by his means that he never made use of his weapons against his enemies, but that he overcame them by his own art and the power of prophecies, without fighting; and that he was now to quit this life, and leaving him to the Syrians, that were already armed, and to other enemies of his that were under their power; so he said it was not safe for him to live any longer, but that it would be well for him to hasten to his end, and depart out of this life with him. As the king was thus bemoaning himself, Elisha comforted him, and bade the king bend a bow that was brought him; and when the king had fitted the bow for shooting, Elisha took hold of the bow of the king of Israel, and said, If I had but shot this one arrow, and left it, it had been sufficient, it would have overcome all the hosts of the Syrians. So Joash shot the three arrows, and then left off. Elisha said, If thou hadst shot more arrows, thou hadst cut the kingdom of Syria up by the roots; but since thou hast been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight and beat the Syrians no more times than three, that thou mayest recover that country which they cut off from thy kingdom indeed, and reign in thy kingdom in the place of thy father. So when the king had heard that, he departed; and a little while after, the prophet died. He was a man celebrated for his wisdom, and in eminent favour with God. He also performed wonderful and surprising works.

* This character of Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, that * he was a good man, and in his disposition not at all like his father,* comes from a direct contradiction to our ordinary copies, which say 12 Kings, 11, that * he did evil in the sight of the Lord; and that he departed from all the sages of Jerusalem, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sue; he walked therein.* Which copies are here the truest, it is hardly possible to determine. Josephus's he traced a good king over the ten tribes; if the other be true, we have one example of a new prophet chosen by the Lord, who prophesied for him, and his concern for the king, greatly increase the evidence of the copy mentioned above, and so farther, with which God's prophets used not to be so rashly judged. It is likely in the wrong, but it appears to us that it is right, in this great account, that Joash, the good king of Judah, while he was a good king, but not a good prophet, was led to make use of the 50,000 arrows he had before his eyes; and that both he, and this prophet, were the greater fool, if he and the prophet were both fools. And, according to some copies, he was at first a wicked king, and was afterwards, and became a good king, according to Josephus.
nations before mentioned; and when he had beaten them in battle, he slew of them ten thousand, and took as many prisoners alive, whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia, and threw them down from it headlong. He also brought away a great deal of prey and vast riches from those nations; but while Amaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired and then dismissed, were very much at it, and taking their discharge for their aforesaid wages (as this would not have been done to them but out of contempt), they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to spoil the country as far as Beth-horon, and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

2. Now upon the victory which Amaziah had gotten, and the great acts he had done, he was puffed up, and began to overlook God, who had given him the victory, and proceed to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him, and said, that he wondered how he could esteem them to be gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people who paid them honours, nor had delivered them from his hands, but had overlooked the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried captive, for that they had been carried to Jerusalem in the same manner as any one might have taken some of the enemy alive, and led them thither. This reproved provoked the king to anger, and he commanded the prophet to hold his peace, and threatened to punish him if he meddled with his conduct. So he replied, that he should indeed hold his peace; but foretold withal, that God would not overlook his attempts for innovation; but Amaziah was not able to contain himself under that prosperity which God had given him, although he had affronted God therewith; but in a vein of insolence he wrote to Joash, the king of Israel, and commanded that he and all his people should be obedient to him, as they had formerly been obedient to his progenitors, David and Solomon; and he let him know, that if he would not be so wise as to do what he commanded him, he must fight for his dominion. To which message Joash returned this answer in writing: - "King Joash to king Amaziah, There was a vastly tall cypress-tree in mount Lebanon, as also a thistle; this thistle sent to the cypress-tree to give the cypress-tree's daughter in marriage to the thistle's son; but as the thistle was saying this, there came a wild beast, and trode down the thistle: and this may be a lesson to thee, not to be so ambitious, and to have a care, lest upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites, thou shouldst so proud, as to bring dangers upon thyself, and upon thy kingdom."

3. When Amaziah had read this letter, he was more eager upon this expedition: which, I suppose, was by the impulse of God, that he might be punished for his offences against him. But as soon as he led his army against Joash, and they were going to join battle with him, there came such a fear and consternation upon the army of Amaziah, as God, when he is displeased, sends upon men, and discomfited them, even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, that as they were scattered about by the terror that was upon them, Amaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy: whereupon Joash threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the children of Jerusalem to open their gates to him, and receive him...
and his army into the city. Accordingly Amaziah was so distressed, and in such fear of his life, that he made his enemy to be received into the city. So Joash overthrew a part of the wall, of the length of four hundred cubits, and drove his chariot through the breach into Jerusalem, and led Amaziah captive, together with his sons, by which means he became the master of Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of God, and carried off all the gold and silver that was in the king’s palace, and then freed the king from captivity, and returned to Samaria. Now these things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, who after this had a conspiracy made against him by his friends, and fled to the city Lachish, and was there slain by the conspirators, who sent men thither to kill him. So they took his dead body, and carried it to Jerusalem, and made a royal funeral for him. This was the end of the life of Amaziah, because of his innovations in religion, and his contempt of God, when he had lived fifty-four years, and had reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, whose name was Uzziah.

CHAPTER X.

CONCERNING JEROBOAM, KING OF ISRAEL, AND JONAH, THE PROPHET; AND HOW, AFTER THE DEATH OF JEROBOAM, HIS SON ZECHARIAH TOOK THE GOVERNMENT. HOW UZZIAH, KING OF JERUSALEM, SUBDUED THE NATIONS THAT WERE ROUND ABOUT HIM; AND WHAT BEFLIEF HIM WHEN HE ATTEMPTED TO OFFER INCENSE TO GOD.

§ 1. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam the son of Joash reigned over Israel in Samaria forty years. This king was guilty of contumely against God, and became very wicked in worshipping of idols, and in many undertakings that were absurd and foreign. He was also the cause of ten thousand misfortunes to the people of Israel. Now one Jonah, a prophet, foretold to him that he should make war with the Syrians, and conquer their army, and enlarge the bounds of his kingdom on the northern parts, to the city Hamath, and on the southern, to the lake Asphaltites; for the bounds of the Canaanites originally were these, as Joshua their general had determined them. So Jeroboam made an expedition against the Syrians, and overran all their country, as Jonah had foretold.

2. Now I cannot but think it necessary for me, who have promised to give an accurate account of our affairs, to describe the actions of this prophet, so far as I have found them written down in the Hebrew books. Jonah had been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Nineveh; and, when he was there, to publish in that city, how it should lose those lands which he had over the nations. But he went not, out of fear: but he ran away from God to the city of Joppa, and finding a ship that was going into it, and sailed to Tarshish, to Cushia;*

* What I have above noted concerning Jochob, seems to me to have been true also concerning his son Jeroboam, viz. that although he began wickedly, as Josephus agrees with other copies, and as he adds, those his first years the particulars of which are unhappily wanting both in Josephus and in all our copies; so does it seem to me that he was afterwards reformed, and became a good king, and was encouraged by the prophet Jonah to exercise his reign irreproachably, when God had taken the Israelites by the hand of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, King six and twenty years, and had made him a king each of the fourteen years which were after, when Joash had ruled the Israelites by the hand of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, King six and twenty years; and, according to Josephus, and in the other copies.

1 When Jonah

and upon the rise of a most terrible storm, which was so great that the ship was in danger of sinking, the mariners, the master, and the pilot himself, made prayers and vows, in case they escaped the sea. But Jonah lay still and covered (in the ship, without imitating any thing that the others did); but as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent, and the winds, they suspected, as usual in such cases, that some one of the ships that sailed with them was the occasion of this storm, and agreed to discover by lot which of them it was. When they had cast lots, the lot fell upon the prophet; and when they asked him whence he came, and what he had done; he replied, that he was a Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of Almighty God; and he persuaded them to cast him into the sea, that they would escape the danger they were in, for he was the occasion of the storm which was upon them. Now at the first they durst not do so, esteeming it a wicked thing to cast a man, who was a stranger, and who had committed his life to them, into such manifest perdition; but at last, when their misfortunes overcame them, and the ship was just going to be drowned, and when they were engaged to do it by the prophet himself, and by the fear concerning their own safety, they cast him into the sea; upon which the sea became calm. It is also related that Jonah was swallowed down by a whale, and that when he had been there three days and three nights, he was vomited out upon the Euxine Sea, and this alive: and when he got upon his body; and there, on his prayer to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city Nineveh, where he stood so as to be heard, and preached, that in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Ashur; and when he had published this, he returned. Now, I have given the account about him, as I found it written in our books.

3. When Jeroboam the king had passed his life in great happiness, and had reigned forty years, he died, and was buried in Samaria; and Zechariah took the kingdom. After the same manner did Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, begin to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. He was born of Jezo-

lishiah, his mother, who was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was a good man, and by nature righteous and magnanimous, and very laborious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jannah, and brake down their walls; after which expedition he assaulted those Arabs that joined to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison into it. He after this overthrew the Aramities, and appointed that they should pay tribute.
was infected with the leprosy, they told him of the calamity he was under, and commanded that he should go out of the city as a polluted person. Hereupon he was so confounded at the sad distemper, and sensible that he was not at liberty to contradict, that he did as he was commanded, and underwent this miserable and terrible punishment for an intention beyond what befitted a man to have, and for that impiety against God which was implied therein. So he abode out of the city for some time, and lived a private life, while his son Jotham took the government; after which he died with grief and anxiety at what had happened to him, when he had lived sixty-eight years, and reigned of them fifty-two; and was buried by himself in his own gardens.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW ZECHARIAH, SHALLUM, MENAHEM, PEKAHIAH, AND PEKAH, TOOK THE GOVERNMENT OVER THE ISRAELITES; AND HOW PUL AND TIGLATH-PILESER MADE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ISRAELITES. HOW JOTHAM, THE SON OF UZIAH, REIGNED OVER THE TRIBE OF JUDAH; AND WHAT THINGS NAHUM PROPHESIED AGAINST THE ASSYRIANS.

§ 1. Now when Zechariah, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned six months over Israel, he was slain by the treachery of a certain friend of his, whose name was Shallum, the son of Jabesh, who took the kingdom afterward, but kept it no longer than thirty days; for Menahem, the general of his army who was at that time in the city of Tirzah, and heard of what had befallen Zechariah, removed thereupon with all his forces to Samaria, and joining battle with Shallum, slew him; and when he had made himself king, he went thence, and came to the city Tiphsah; but the citizens that were in it shut their gates, and barred them against the king, and would not admit him; but in order to avenged on them, he burnt the country round about it, and took the city by force, upon a siege; and being very much displeased at what the inhabitants of Tiphsah had done, he slew them all, and spared not so much as the infants, without omitting the utmost instances of cruelty and barbarity; for he used such severity upon his own countrymen, as would not be pardonable with regard to strangers who had been conquered by him. And after this manner it was that this Menahem continued to reign with cruelty and barbarity for ten years; but when Pul, king of Assyria, had made an expedition against him, he did not think meet to fight or engage in battle with the Assyrians, but he persuaded him to accept of a thousand talents of silver, and to go away, and so put an end to the war. This sum the multitude collected for Menahem, by exacting fifty drachmas as poll-money for every head after which he died, and was buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekahiah his successor in the kingdom, who followed the barbarity of his father, and so ruled

[1 Dr. Wall, in his Critical Notes on 2 Kings, xxv. 0, observes, "that when this Menahem is said to have exacted the money of Israel of all the mighty men of wealth, of such men fifty shekels of silver, to give Pul, the king of Assyria, a thousand talents; this is the first time any king of such name is raised by any [Israelite] king by bar or the people; that they used the money of the Israelites, as if it were to raise it out of the treasury of the kingdom. 2 Kings, iv. 24. In which prophecy mention is made of this very circumstance, as well as many others, which are peculiar to the history of this period; so that there seems to have been correspondence between those historical and prophetical events."]
but two years only, after which he was slain with his friends at a feast, by the treachery of one Pekah, the general of his horse, and the son of Remioliah, who had laid snares for him. Now this Pekah held the government twenty years, and proved a wicked man and a transgressor. But the king of Assyria, whose name was Tiglath-Pileser, when he had made an expedition against the Israelites, and had over-run all the land of Gilland, and the region beyond Jordan, and the adjoining country, which is called Galilee, and Kadesh, and Hazor, he made the inhabitants prisoners, and transplanted them into his own kingdom. And so much shall suffice to have related here concerning the king of Assyria.

2. Now Jotham, the son of Uzziah, reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, being a citizen thereof by his mother, whose name was Jerusha. This king was not defective in any virtue, but was religious towards God, and righteous towards men, and careful of the good of the city (for what part soever wanted to be repaired or adorned, he magnificently repaired and adorned them). He also took care of the foundations of the choisters in the temple, and repaired the walls that were fallen down, and built very great towers, and such as were almost impregnable; and if anything else in his kingdom had been neglected, he took great care of it. He also made an expedition against the Ammonites, and overcame them in battle, and ordered them to pay tribute, a hundred talents, and ten thousand cori of wheat, and as many of barley, every year, and so augmented his kingdom that his enemies could not despise it; and his own people lived happily.

3. Now there was at that time a prophet, whose name was Nahum, who spoke after this manner concerning the overthrow of the Assyrians and of Nineveh:—"Nineveh shall be a pool of water in motion;* so shall all her people be troubled, and tossed, and go away by flight, while they say one to another, Stand, stand still, seize their gold and silver, for there shall be no one to wish them well; for they will rather save their lives than their money; for a terrible contention shall possess them one with another, and lamentation, and loosing of the members, and their contemnements shall be perfectly black with fear. And there will be the den of the lions, and the mother of the young lions! God says to thee, Nineveh, that they shall desecrate thee, and the lion shall no longer go out from thee to give laws to the world." And indeed this prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nineveh, which I do not think necessary to repeat, and I here omit them, that I may not appear to trouble my readers; all which things happened about Nineveh a hundred and fifteen years afterward;—so this may suffice to have spoken of these matters.

* This passage is taken out of the prophet Nahum, ch. I. 2-13, and is the principal, or rather the only one that is given us among orientals, but a little abridged, in all Josephus's known writings; by which question we learn what he himself always meant, viz., that he made use of the Hebrew original, and not of the Greek version; as also we learn, that his Hebrew copy considerably differed from one. See all these texts particularly set down, and compared together in the Essay on the Old Testament, page 197.

CHAPTER XII

NOW, UPON THE DEATH OF JOTHAM, AHAZ BECAME IN HIS STEAD; AGAINST WHOM REZIN, KING OF SYRIA, AND PEKAH, KING OF ISRAEL, MADE WAR; AND HOW TIGLATH-PILESER, KING OF ASSYRIA, CAME TO THE ASSISTANCE OF AHAI, AND LEST SYRIA WASTE, AND REMOVING THE DAMNERS INTO MEDIA, PLACED OTHER NATIONS IN THEIR ROOM.

§ 1. Now Jotham died when he had lived forty years, and of them reigned sixteen, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings; and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who proved most impious towards God, and a transgressor of the laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifice upon them to idols; to which also he offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites. His other actions were also of the same sort. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin, the king of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah, the king of Israel, were now at amity one with another, made war with him: and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long while, making but a small progress, on account of the strength of its walls; and when the king of Syria had taken the city, Elath, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians: and when he had slain those in the (other) garrisons, and the Jews in their neighbourhood, and had driven away their prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus. Now when the king of Jerusalem knew that the Syrians were returned home, he, supposing himself a match for the king of Israel, drew out his army against him, and joining battle with him was worsted, and this happened because God was angry with him on account of his many and great enormities. Accordingly, there were slain by the Israelites one hundred and twenty thousand of his men that day, whose general, Amaziah by name, slew Zachariah, the king's son in his conflict with Ahaz, as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was Africanus. He also carried Ekanah, the general of the troops of the tribe of Judah, into captivity. They also carried the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin captives; and when they had gotten a great deal of prey, they returned to Samaria.

2. Now there was one Obed, who was a prophet at that time in Samaria; he met the army before the city walls, and with a loud voice told them that they had brought the victory into the kingdom of their own strength, but by reason of the anger God had against king Ahaz. And he complained that they were not satisfied with the good success they had had against him, but were so bold as to make captives out of their kinmen the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He also gave them counsel to let them go into the cities without doing them any harm, for that if they did not obey God herein, they should be punished. So the people of Israel came together to their assembly, and considered of these matters, when a man by whose name was Bezechiah, and who was one of chief reputation in the government, stood up, and three others with him, and said,—"We will not suffer the citizens to bring these prisoners into the city, lest we be all destroyed by God; we have also..."
enough of our own that we have committed against him, as the prophets assure us; nor ought we therefore to introduce the practice of new crimes. When the soldiers heard that, they permitted them to do what they thought best. So the forenamed men took the captives and let them go, and took care of them, and gave them provisions, and sent them to their own country, without doing them any harm. However, these four went along with them, and conducted them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and returned to Jerusalem.

3. Herodion king Abaz, having been so thoroughly beaten by the Israelites, sent to Tithagathcles, king of the Assyrians, and sued for assistance from him in this war against the Israelites, and Syrians, and Damascus, with a promise to send him much money; he sent him also great presents of the same kind. Now this king, upon the reception of these ambassadors, came to assist Abaz, and made war upon the Syrians, and laid their country waste, and took Damascus by force, and slew Rezin, the king, and transplanted the people of Damascus to the Upper-Media, and brought a colony of Asians, and planted them in Damascus. He also seized the land of Israel, and took many captives of it. While he was doing thus with the Syr,

ig king took all the gold that was in the king's treasures, and the silver, and what was in the temple of God, and what precious gifts were, and he carried them with him, and came toascus, and gave it to the king of Assyria, acting in his agreement. So he confessed that he had in all that he had done for him, returned to Jerusalem. Now this king was so shrewd and thoughtless of what was for his own interest that he would not leave off worshipping the gods when he was beaten by them, but he went on in worshipping them, as though they would give him the victory; and when he was beaten, he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians; and it seemed more desirable to him to sacrifice to other gods than to his own paternal and true God, whose was the cause of his defeat: nay, he professed to such a degree of dejection and contempt of worship, that he shut up the temple and forbade them to bring in the appointed sacrifices, and took away the gifts that had been paid to God, and when he had offered these indignities, he died, having lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned sixteen; and he left his son Jehoahaz for his successor.

CHAPTER XIII.

HE DIED BY THE TREACHERY OF HOSEHA,

A LITTLE AFTER SUBDUED BY SHALMANESER; AND HOW HEZEKIAH REIGNED INSTEAD OF HIM, AND WHAT ACTIONS OF FIERY AND FEW HE DID.

The same time Peah the king of Israel by the treachery of a friend of his, whose name was Hoshea, who retained the kingdom nine years; but he was a wicked man, and a despiser of the worship: and Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, and took him (which must have been because he had no favourable nor assistant to him), and put him to submission, and ordered him to pay an appointed tribute. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Abijah, a citizen of Jerusalem. His nature was good, and righteous, and religious; for when he came to the kingdom, he thought that nothing was prior, or more necessary, or more advantageous, to himself and to his subjects, than to worship God. Accordingly, he called the people together, and the priests, and the Levites, and made a speech to them, and said—"You are not ignorant how, by the sins of my father, he trespassed against that sacred honour which was due to God, you have had experience of many and great miseries, while you were corrupted in your mind by him, and were induced to worship those which he supposed to be gods: I exhort you, therefore, who have learned by sad experience how dangerous a thing impiety is, to put that immediately out of your memory, and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions, and to open the temple to these priests and Levites who are here convened, and to cleanse it with the accustomed sacrifices, and to recover all to the ancient honour which our fathers paid to it: for by this means we may render God favourable, and he will remit the anger he hath had to us."

2. When the king had said this, the priests opened the temple; and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and cast out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent to the country that was under him, and called the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the forementioned kings. He also sent to the Israelites, and exhorted them to leave off their present way of living, and to return to their ancient practices, and to worship God, for that he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate; all in one body, the feast of unleavened bread; and this he said was by way of invitation only, and to be done of their own good will, and for their own advantage, and not out of obedience to him, because it would make them happy. But the Israelites, upon the coming of the ambassadors, and upon their laying before them what they had in charge from their own king, were so far from complying therewith, that they laughed the ambassadors to scorn, and mocked them as fools: as also they affirmed the prophets who gave them the same exhortations, and foretold what they would suffer if they did not return to the worship of God, insomuch that at length they caught them, and slew them; nor did this degree of transcrossing suffice them, but they had more wicked conduct: they had seen that they had been described: nor did they leave off, before God, as a punishment for their impiety, brought them under their enemies—but of that more hereafter. However, many there were of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zebulon, and of Issachar, who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do, and returned to the worship of God. Now all these came running to Jerusalem, to Hezekiah, that they might worship God [there].
about them. So they both slew the sacrifices and burnt the burnt-offerings while the Levites stood round about them, with their musical instruments, and sang hymns to God, and played on their reeds, for they were instructed by David to do, and this while the rest of the priests returned the music, and sounded the trumpets which they had in their hands: and when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their faces, and worshipped God. He also sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. He also granted the multitude sacrifices to feast upon six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle; and the priests performed all things according to the law. Now the king was so pleased therewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God: but as the feast of unleavened bread was now come, when they had offered that sacrifice which is called the Passover, they after that offered other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, besides what they sanctified of themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle, the same was done by the rulers; for they gave them a thousand bulls, and a thousand and forty other cattle. Not that this festival been so well observed from the days of king Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendour and magnificence; and when the festival was ended, they went out into the country, and purged it; and cleansed the city of all the pollution of the idols. The king also gave order that the daily sacrifices should be offered, at his own charges, and according to the law; and appointed that the tithes and first-fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, that they might constantly attend upon divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude brought together all sorts of their fruits to the priests and the Levites. The king also made garnerers and receptacles for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of the priests and Levites, and to their children and wives; and thus did they return to their old form of divine worship. Now when the king had settled these matters after the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the enemy's cities, from Gaza to Gath; and having sallied out of Ashkelon, he threatened to overturn all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid him formerly; but king Hezekiah was not concerned at his threatening; but depended on his piety towards God, and upon Isaiah the prophet, by whom he inquired, and accurately knew all future events — and thus much shall suffice for the present concerning this king Hezekiah.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW SHALMANESER TOOK SAMARIA BY FORCE, AND HOW HE TRANSPLENED THE TEN TRIBES INTO MEDIA, AND BROUGHT THE NATION OF THE CITIZENS INTO THEIR COUNTRY [IN THEIR ROOM].

§ 1. When Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, had it told him, that [Hoshea] the king of Israel had sent privately to So, the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against him, he was very angry, and made an expedition against Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hoshea; but when he was not admitted [into the city] by the king, he besieged Samaria three years, and took it by force in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, and quite demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia, among whom he took king Hoshea alive; and when he had removed these people out of this their land, he transplanted other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called (for there is [still] a river of that name in Persia), into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judah, and forty-seventy years after, when the fathers of the cities of the outland of Egypt, and possessed themselves of this country, but eight hundred years after Joshua had been their leader, and, as I have already observed, two hundred and forty years, seven months, and seven days, after they had revolted from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, and had given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such a conclusion overtook the Israelites, when they had transgressed the laws, and would not hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this came upon them upon this account. If the king should not leave off their evil doings. What gave birth to these evil doings, was that sedition which they raised against Rehoboam, the grandson of David, when they set up Jeroboam, his servant, to be their king, who, by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy, while Jeroboam underwent that punishment which he justly deserved.

2. And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phoenicia in a hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre, for he made an expedition against Tyre in the reign of Eileoles; and Menander attests to it, who, when he wrote his Chronology, and translated the Archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gives us the following history: — One whose name was Eileoles, reigned thirty-six years: this king, upon the revolt of the Citeans, sailed to them, and reduced them again to a submission. Against these did the king of Assyria send an army, and in a hostile manner overran all Phoenicia, but soon conceded peace with them, and set aside Sidon, and Ascalon, and Gebal, and Rehob, and Zidon, and Tyre, and Latmuses, and for a long time lived in peace with them. But when Pekites revolted; and many other cities there were which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them again, while the Phoenicians had furnished him with treescore ships, and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Tyrians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemy's ships were dispersed, they took five hundred prisoners; and the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased; but the king of Assyria sent ships, and placed guards at their rivers and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years; and still the Tyrians bore the siege, and drank of the water they had out of the wells they dug. And

* This siege of Samaria, though not given a particular account of, either in our Hebrew or Greek Bible, or in Josephus, was no less than three years, that it was no way irascible but that its inhabitants, and particularly mothers, might there lie reduced to two children, as the law of Moses had threatened upon their disobedience (Lev. xxi. 21; Deut. xxiv. 21-23); and was accompanied with famine, and a pestilence which made one billow of ten thousand people. The town was afterwards reduced by the Assyrians, for the Romans under Sulla, the former mentioned Jer. xxxi. 6; Amos. vi. 1, 2, 3, 4; and the latter, 2 Kings vi. 20-24.
this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria.

3. But now the Cuthians, who removed into Samaria (for that is the name they have been called by to this time, because they were brought out of the country called Cuthah, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it), each of them, according to their nations, which were in number five, brought their own gods into Samaria, and by worshipping them, as was the custom of their own countries, they provoked Almighty God to be angry and displeased at them, for a plague seized upon them, by which they were destroyed; and when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by the oracle that they ought to worship Almighty God, as the method for their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive.

And when he thereupon sent them, and the people were by them taught the laws, and the holy worship of God, they worshipped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased immediately; and indeed they continue to make use of the very same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cuthians; but in the Greek Samaritans. And when they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are changed, and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means an original alliance with them; but when they see them falling into a low condition, they say they are no way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindred from them, but they declare that they are sojournersthat come from other countries. But of these we shall have a more seasonable opportunity to discourse hereafter.

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BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO YEARS AND A HALF.

FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES TO THE FIRST OF CYRUS.

CHAPTER I.

HOW SENNACHERIB MADE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST HEBEZKIAH; WHAT THEIRVENGE RABB(route)MADE TO HEBEZKIAH WHEN SENNACHERIB WAS GONE AGAINST THE EGYPTIANS; HOW ISAAC THE PROPHET ENCOURAGED HIM; HOW SENNACHERIB, HAVING FAILED OF SUCCESS IN EGYPT, RETURNED HENCE TO JERUSALEM; AND HOW, UPON HIS FINDING HIS ARMY DESTROYED, HE RETURNED HOME; AND WHAT BEFELL HIM A LITTLE AFTERWARDS.

§ 1. It was now the fourteenth year of the government of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Sennacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin by force; and when he was ready to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him beforehand, and promised to submit, and pay what tribute he should appoint. Hereupon Sennacherib, when he heard of what offers the ambassadors made, resolved not to proceed in the war, but to accept of the proposals that were made him: and if he might receive three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner; and he gave security upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do him no harm, but go away as he came. So Hezekiah submitted, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money, as supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any farther distress about his kingdom. Accordingly, the Assyrian king took it, and yet had no regard to what he had promised; but while he himself went to the war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other of his principal commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tartan and Rabshcab.

2. Now as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messengers to Hezekiah, and desired that they might speak with him; but he did not himself come out to them for fear, but he sent three of his most intimate friends; the name of the one was Eliakim, who was over the kingdom, and Shebna, and Joash the recorder. So these men came out, and stood over against the commanders of the Assyrian army; and when Rabshakeh saw them, he bade them go and speak to Hezekiah in the manner following:—That Sennacherib, the great king, desires to know of him, on whom it is that he relies and depends, in flying from his lord, and will not hear him, nor admit his army into the city! Is it on account of the Egyptians, and in hopes that his army would be beaten by them? Whereupon he lets him know, that if this be what he expects, he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed; while such a one will not only fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it. That he ought to know he makes this expedition against him by the will of God, who hath granted this favour to him, that he shall overthrow the kingdom of Israel, and that in the very same manner he shall destroy those that are his subjects also. When Rabshakeh had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was skilful in that language, Eliakim was afraid lest the multitude that heard him should be disturbed; so he desired him to

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* This title of Great King, both in our Bible (2 Kings xvii. 10), and in our Greek, is given to him by Josephus; and he is called, in 1 Kings xix. 4, and here in Josephus, the very same that Herodotus gives to this Sennacherib; and so Spanheim takes notice on this place.
about them. So they both slew the sacrificial victims and burnt the burnt-offerings while the Levites stood round about them, with their musical instruments, and sang hymns to God, and played on their psaltery, as they were instructed by David to do, and this while the rest of the priests returned the music, and sounded the trumpets which they had in their hands; and when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their faces, and worshipped God. He also sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. He also granted the multitude sacrifices to feast upon six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle; and the priests performed all things according to the law. Now the king was so pleased therewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God: but as the feast of unleavened bread was now come, when they had offered that sacrifice which is called the Passover, they after that offered other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, besides what they sanctified of themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle, the same was done by the rulers; for they gave them a third part of the bulls, and a thousand and forty other cattle.

Nob had this festival been so well observed from the days of king Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendour and magnificence; and when the festival was ended, they went out into the country, and purified it; and cleansed the city of all the pollution of the idols. The king also gave order that the daily sacrifices should be offered, at his own charges, and according to the law; and appointed that the tithes and first-fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, that they might constantly attend upon divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude brought together all sorts of their fruits to the priests and the Levites. The king also made garners and receptacles for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of the priests and Levites, and to their children and wives; and thus did they return to their old form of divine worship. Now when the king had settled these matters after the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the enemy's cities, from Gaza to Gath: but the king of Assyria sent him and threatened to overturn all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid him formerly; but king Hezekiah was not concerned at his threatenings, but depended on his piety towards God, and upon Isaiah the prophet, by whom he inquired, and accurately knew all future events:—and thus much shall suffice for the present concerning this king Hezekiah.

CHAPTER XIV.

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§ 1. When Shalmaneser, the King of Assyria, had it told him, that [Hoses] the king of Israel had sent privately to So, the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against him, he was very angry, and made an expedition to Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hoesah; but when he was not admitted into the city by the king, he besieged Samaria three years, and took it by force in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, and quite demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia, among whom he took king Hoshea alive; and when he had removed these people out of this their land, he transplanted other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called (for there is [still] a river of that name in Persia), into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judaea, nine hundred and forty years after their forefathers were come out of the land of Egypt, and possessed themselves of this country, but eight hundred years after Joshua had been their leader, and, as I have already observed, two hundred and forty years, seven months, and seven days, after they had revolted from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, and had given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such a conclusion overtook the Israelites, when they had transgressed the laws, and would not hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this calamity should come upon them: and the king would not leave off their evil doings. What gave birth to these evil doings was that sedition which they raised against Rehoboam, the grandson of David, when they set up Jeroboam, his servant, to be their king, who, by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy, while Jeroboam underwent that punishment which he justly deserved.

2. And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phoenicia in a hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre, for he made an expedition against Tyre in the reign of Euteles; and Menander attests to it, who, when he wrote his Chronology, and translated the Archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gives us the following history:—One whose name was Euteles, reigned thirty-six years: this king, upon the revolt of the Cittaeans, sailed to them, and reduced them again to a submission. Against these did the king of Assyria send an army, and in a hostile manner overran all Phoenicia, but soon made peace with them all. And the cities of Sidon, Tyre, Adoni, and Palaestrus, revolted; and many other cities there were which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them again, while the Phoenicians had furnished him with threescore ships, and eight hundred men to row them: and when the Tyrians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemy's ships were dispersed, they took five hundred men prisoners; and the reputation of all the cities of Tyre was thereby increased; but the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their rivers and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years; and still the Tyrians bore the siege, and drank of the water they had out of the wells they dug."
this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria.

3. But now the Cuthaeans, who removed into Samaria (for that is the name they have been called by to this time, because they were brought out of the country called Cathah, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it), each of them, according to their nations, which were in number five, brought their own gods into Samaria, and by worshipping them, as was the custom of their own countries, they provoked Almighty God to be angry and displeased at them, for a plague seized upon them, by which they were destroyed; and when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by the oracle that they ought to worship Almighty God, as the method for their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive.

And when he thereupon sent them, and the people were by them taught the laws, and the holy worship of God, they worshipped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased immediately; and indeed they continue to make use of the very same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cuthaeans; but in the Greek Samaritans. And when they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are changed, and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means an original alliance with them; but when they see them falling into a low condition, they say they are no way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindness from them, but they declare that they are sojourner, that come from other countries. But of these we shall have a more seasonable opportunity to discourse hereafter.

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BOOK X.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO YEARS AND A HALF.

FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES TO THE FIRST OF CYRUS.

CHAPTER I.

Sennacherib Made an Expedition Against Zekiah; What Threatenings Rabshakeh De To Hezekiah When Sennacherib Was Gone Against the Egyptians; How Isaiah the Prophet Encouraged Him; How Sennacherib, Having Failed of Success in Egypt, Returned to Jerusalem; and How, Upon His Seeing His Army Destroyed, He Returned; and What befl Jerusalem.

It was now the fourteenth year of the government of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Sennacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribes of Judah and in by force; and when he was ready to make war against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him beforehand, and promised to pay what tribute he should appoint. But Sennacherib, when he heard of what officer ambassadors made, resolved not to proceed, but to accept of the proposals that were made; and if he might receive three hundred silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised he would depart in a friendly manner; and having security upon oath to the ambassadors, would then do him no harm, but go away. So Hezekiah submitted, and emptied his treasure, and sent the money, as supposing he freed from his enemy, and from any fear about his kingdom. Accordingly, the king took it, but yet had no regard to what was promised; but while he himself went against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other of his principal commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tarten and Rabaskar.

2. Now as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messengers to Hezekiah, and desired that they might speak with him; but he did not himself come out to them for fear, but he sent three of his most intimate friends; the name of the one was Eliakim, of the name of the one was Eliakim, of the name of the other was Shema, and of the name of the other was Joah; the recorder. So these men came out, and stood over against the commanders of the Assyrian army; and when Rabshakeh saw them, he bade them go and speak to Hezekiah in the manner following:

—That Sennacherib, the great king, desires to know of him, on whom it is that he relies and depends, in flying from his lord, and will not hear him, nor admit his army into the city! Is it on account of the Egyptians, and in hopes that his army would be beaten by them! Whereupon he lets him know, that if this be what he expects, he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed; while such a one will not only fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it. That he ought to know he makes this expedition against him by the will of God, who hath granted this favour to him, that he shall overthrow the kingdom of Israel, and that in the very same manner he shall destroy those that are his subjects also. When Rabshakeh had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was skilful in that language, Eliakim was afraid lest the multitude that heard him should be disturbed; so he desired him to leave him alone; and then made a further speech to him, as followeth.

* This title of Great King, both in our Bible (2 Kings xvii, 19; Isa. xxxvii, 4), and here in Josephus, is the very same that Herodotus gives to Sennacherib; as Spaulding takes notice on this place.
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Speak in the Syrian tongue. But the general understanding what he meant, and perceiving the fear that he was in, he made his answer with a greater and a louder voice, but in the Hebrew tongue; and said, that since they had heard what the king's commands, they would consult their own advantage in delivering up themselves to us; for it is plain that both you and your king dissemble the people from submitting by vain hopes, and so induce them to resist; but if you be courageous, and think to drive our forces away, I am ready to deliver to you two thousand of these horses that are with me for your use, if you can set as many horsemen on their backs, and shew your strength; but what you have not, you cannot produce. Why, therefore, do you delay to deliver up yourselves to a superior force, who can take you without your consent? although it will be safer for you to deliver yourselves voluntarily, while a forcible capture, when you are beaten, must appear more dangerous, and will bring farther calamities upon you.

3. When the people, as well as the ambassadors, heard what the Assyrian commander said, they related it to Hezekiah, who thereupon put off his royal apparel, and clothed himself with sackcloth, and took the habit of a mourner, and, after the manner of his country, he fell upon his face, and kneeled down before the altar, and entreated him to assist them, now they had no other hope. He also sent some of his friends, and some of the priests, to the prophet Isaiah, and desired that he would pray to God, and offer sacrifices for their common deliverance, and so put up supplications to him, that he would have indignation at the expectations of their enemies, and have mercy upon his people. And when the prophet had done accordingly, an oracle came from God to him, and encouraged the king and his friends that were about him; and foretold, that their enemies should be beaten without fighting, and that God would destroy them in an ignominious manner, and not with that insulce which they now show, for that God would take care that they should be destroyed. He also foretold that Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, should fail of his purpose against Egypt, and that when he came home, he should perish by the sword.

4. About the same time also the king of Assyria wrote an epistle to Hezekiah, in which he said he was a foolish man, in supposing that he should escape from being his servant, since he had already brought under many and great nations; and he threatened, that, when he took him, he would utterly destroy him, unless he now opened the gates, and willingly received his army into Jerusalem. When he had read this epistle, he despaired it, on account of the trust that he had in God; but he rolled up the epistle, and laid it up within the temple; as he made his father's prayers to God for the city, and for the preservation of all the people, the prophet Isaiah said, that God had heard his prayer, and that he should not at this time be besieged by the king of Assyria; that, for the future, he might be secure of not being at all disturbed by him; and that the people might go on peacefully, and without fear, with their husbandry and other affairs; but after a little while, the king of Assyria, when he had failed of his treacherous design against the Egyptians, returned to Nineveh without success on the following occasion:—He spent a long time in the siege of Pelusium; and when the king that had raised over against the walls were of a great height, and when he was ready to make an immediate assault upon them, but heard that Tarkha, king of the Ethiopians, was coming, and bringing great forces to aid the Egyptians, and was resolved to march through the desert, and so to fall directly upon the Assyrians, this king Sennacherib was disturbed of the news; and, as I said before, left Pelusium, and returned back without success. Now concerning this Sennacherib, Herodotus also says, in the second book of his histories how this king came against the Egyptian king, who was the priest of Vulcan; and that as he was besieging Pelusium, he broke up the siege on the following occasion:—This Egyptian priest prayed to God, and God heard his prayer, and sent a judgment upon the Arabian king. But in this Herodotus was mistaken when he called this king not king of the Assyrians, but of the Egyptians; for he said, that "a great mass of pieces in one night both the bows and the rest of the armour of the Assyrians; and that it was on that account that the king, when he had no bows left, drew off his army from Pelusium." And Herodotus does indeed give us this history; but, and Berosus, who wrote of the affairs of Chaldea, makes mention of this king Sennacherib, and that he ruled over the Assyrians, and that he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt; and says thus:—

5. Now when Sennacherib was returning from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found his army under Rabshakeh his general in danger [by a plague], for God had sent a pestilential distemper upon his army; and on the very first night of the siege, a hundred fourscore and five thousand, with their captains and generals, were destroyed. So the king was in a great dread, and in a terrible agony at this calamity; and being in great fear for his whole army, he fled with the rest of his forces to his own kingdom, and to his city Nineveh; and when he had abode there a little while, he was treacherously assassinated, and died by the hands of his elder sons. Z Kiramaelech and Senasar, and was slain in his own temple, which was called Arkish. Now these sons of his were driven away, on account of the murder of their father, by the citizens, and went into Armenia, while Assarachodds took the kingdom of Sennacherib. And this proved to be the conclusion of this Assyrian expedition against the people of Jerusalem.

* What Josephus says here, how Isaiah the prophet soared Hezekiah, that "at this time he should not be-hold King of Assyria, that for the future he might be secure of not being at all disturbed by him; and that all the people might go on peacefully, and without fear, with their husbandry and other affairs," is certainly and frequently foretold by the Jewish prophets; and that is certainly and unanimously accomplished, see Amos 5:6, page 502.

† We are to take notice, that those two sons of Sennacherib that ran away into Armenia, are those to whom the baby was given, in the name of the Aramaic and Gondiuth, of which see the particular histories in Moses Churcnotes, p. 59.
CHAPTER II.

HEZEKIAH WAS SICK, AND READY TO DIE, AND OF GOD RESTORATION UPON HIM FIFTEEN YEARS OVER LIFE [AND SECURED THAT PROMISE], BY THE GOING BACK OF THE SHADOW TEN DEGREES.

Now Hezekiah being thus delivered, after a lying manner, from the dread he was in, of thank-offerings to God, with all his people; as nothing else had destroyed some of their ties, and made the rest so fearful of undergoing same fate, that they departed from Jerusalem, but that divine assistance: yet, while he was jealous and diligent about the worship of God, a soon afterwards fall into a severe distemper; so much so that the physicians despaired of, and expected no good issue of his sickness, as did his friends: and besides the distemper there was a very melancholy circumstance ordered the king, which was the consideration it was childless, and was going to die, and his house and his government without a successor of his own body: so he was troubled at the thought of this his condition, and lamented himself entreated of God that he would prolong for a little while till he had some children, suffer him to depart this life before he was a father. Hereupon God had mercy upon him, and consented to his supplication, because the king was under at his supposed death was not that he was soon to leave the advantages he had to his kingdom; nor did he on that account, the might have a longer life afforded him, that he might have sons, that might receive the out after him. And God sent Isaiah the prophet to him to inform Hezekiah, in three days' time he should get clear of fever, and should survive it fifteen years, he should have children also. Now upon his saying this, as God had commanded him, he could hardly believe it, both on account of his being under, which was very sore, of the surprising nature of what was he so he desired that Isaiah would give him or wonder, that he might believe him in said, and be sensible that he came for things that are beyond expectation, than our hopes, are made credible by the like nature. And when Isaiah had what sign he desired to be exhibited, he would make the shadow of the sun, and already made to go down ten steps [or his house, to return again to the same to make it as it was before. And when the prophet prayed to God to exhibit this sign to the king, he saw what he desired to see, and was freed from his distemper, and went up to the temple, where he worshipped God and made vows to him.

2. At this time it was that the domination of the Assyrians was overthrown by the Medes: but of these things I shall speak elsewhere. But the king of Babylon, whose name was Baladon, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah with presents, and desired he would be his ally and his friend. So he received the ambassadors gladly, and made them a feast, and showed them his treasures, and his armory, and the other wealth he was possessed of, in precious stones, and in gold, and gave them presents to be carried to Baladon, and sent them back to him. Upon which the prophet Isaiah came to him, and inquired of him whence those ambassadors came: to which he replied, that they came from Babylon, from the king; and that he had shown them all he had, that by the sight of his riches and forces he might thereby, as he said, to be able to inform the king of it. But the prophet rejoined, and said, "Know thou, that, after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon, and thy posterity shall be made enmities there, and lose their manhood, and be servants to the king of Babylon; for that God foretold such things would come to pass." Upon which words Hezekiah was troubled, and said, that he was himself unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities; yet, since it is not possible to alter what God had determined, he prayed that there might be peace while he lived. Berosus also makes mention of this Baladon, king of Babylon. Now as to this prophet [Isaiah], he was, by the confession of all, a divine and wonderful man in speaking truth; and out of the assurance that he had never written what was false, he wrote down all his prophecies, and left them behind him in books, that their accomplishment might be judged of from the events by posterity. Nor did this prophet do so alone; but the others, which were twelve in number, the same. And whatsoever is done among us, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to their prophecies; but of every one of these we shall speak hereafter.

CHAPTER III.

HOW MANASSEH REIGNED AFTER HEZEKIAH: AND HOW, WHEN HE WAS IN CAPTIVITY, HE RETURNED TO GOD, AND WAS RESTORED TO HIS KINGDOM, AND LEFT IT TO [HIS SON] AMON.

§ 1. When king Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt all that time in peace, he died, having completed fifty-five years of his age. And when all his former friends, the princes of his kingdom, the chief of his officers, the presidents, the commanders of the people, the sons of Sennacherib's army, because it appears to have been after this, as he was going into Arabia and Egypt, where he was instructed by the angel of the Lord, in order to dismiss him, sent him away: and he passed this story down, as he had been; and to the present day the record is kept of the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign. Now it was in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign that Manasseh came to power over the people; and after this Manasseh reigned twenty-one years and five months; whereas his biographer, Jeremias, who wrote in the fifteenth year of his reign, since chronology does not acknowledge twenty-one years and five months; whereas the figures do not correspond, yet they happened in those days the child birth. Now will the fifteen years' prolongation of Manasseh's reign, that he might have been reckoned to have been born in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign. This is advanced by Josephus, who gives this account, that Manasseh was aged fifteen when he came to power. And then, upon their destruction of the Assyrian army, "overthrew" the Assyrian empire, seems to be too strong; for although they humblycast off the Assyrian yoke, and set up Darius, a king of their own, yet it was some time before the Medes and Babylonians overthrew Nineveh; and some generations before the Medes and Persians, under Cyaxares and Cyrus, overthrew the Assyrian or Babylonian empire and took Babylon.
four years of his life, and reigned twenty-nine. But when his son Manasseh, whose mother's name was Hephzibah, of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father, and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto, and showed himself in his manner most wicked in all respects, and omitted no sort of impiety, but imitated those transgressions of the Israelites, by the commission of which against God, they had been destroyed; for he was so hardy as to defile the temple of God, and the city, and the whole country by sinful courses. From a consideration of God, he barbaramly slew all the righteous men that were among the Hebrews; nor would he spare the prophets, for he every day slew some of them, till Jerusalem was overflowed with blood. So God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to the king, and to the multitude, by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them which their brethren the Israelites upon the like affronts offered to God, were now under. But these men would not believe their words, by which belief they might have reaped the advantage of escaping all those miseries; yet did they in earnest learn what the prophets had told them was true.

2. And when they persevered in the same course of life, God raised up war against them from the king of Babylon and Chaldea, who sent an army against Judea, and laid waste the country; and caught king Manasseh by treachery, and ordered him to be brought to him, and had him under his power to inflict what punishment he pleased upon him. But then it was that Manasseh perceived what a miserable condition he was in, and esteeming himself the cause of all, he besought God to render his enemy humane and merciful to him. Accordingly, God heard his prayer, and granted him what he prayed for. So Manasseh was released by the king of Babylon, and escaped the danger he was in; and when he came to Jerusalem, he endeavoured, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory those his former sins against God, of which he now repented, and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple and the city, and for the remainder of his days he was intent on nothing but to return his thanks to God for his deliverance, and to preserve him propitious to him all his life long. He also instructed the multitude to do the same, as having very nearly experienced what a calamity he was fallen into by a contrary conduct. He also rebuilt the altar, and offered the legal sacrifices, as Moses commanded; and when he had re-established what concerned the divine worship, as it ought to be, he took care of the security of Jerusalem: he did not only repair the old walls with great diligence, but added another wall to the former. He also built very lofty towers, and the garrisoned places before the city he strengthened, not only in other respects, but with provisions of all sorts that they wanted; and indeed, when he had changed his former course, he so led his life for the time to come, that from the time of his return to piety towards God, he was deemed a happy man, and a pattern for imitation. When therefore he had lived sixty-seven years, he departed this life, having reigned fifty-five years, and was buried in his own garden; and the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mother's name was Meshullemeth, of the city of Jotbah.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW AMON REIGNED INSTEAD OF MANASSEH; AND AFTER AMON, REIGNED JOSIAH; HE WAS BOTH RIGHTEOUS AND RELIGIOUS. AS ALSO CONCERNING Huldah the Prophetess.

§ 1. Thus Amon imitated those works of his father which he so insolently did when he was young; as he had a conspiracy made against him by his own servants, and his own sons were slain with his own sword, he had lived twenty-four years, and of them he had reigned two; but the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom to his son Josiah, who was eight years old. His mother was of the city of Boscath, and her name was Jechidah. He was of a most excellent disposition, and naturally virtuous, and followed the actions of king David, as a pattern and a rule to him in the whole conduct of his life; and when he was twelve years old he grew increasing in virtue of his religious and righteous behaviour; for he brought the people to a sober way of living, and exhorted them to leave off the opinion they had of their idols, because they were not gods, but to worship their own God; and by reflecting on the actions of his progenitors, he prudently corrected what they did wrong, like a very elderly man, and like one abundantly able to understand what was fit to be done; and what he found they had well done, he observed all the country over, and imitated the same; and thus he acted in following the wisdom and sanctity of his own nature, and in compliance with the advice and instruction of the elders; far by following the laws it was that he succeeded so well in the order of his government, and in piety with regard to the divine worship; and this happened because the transgressions of the former kings were seen no more, but quite vanished away; for the king went about the city, and the whole country, and cut down the groves, which were devoted to strange gods, and overthrew their altars; and if there were any gifts dedicated to them by his forefathers, he made them ignominious, and impaled them down; and by this means he brought the people back from their opinion about them to the worship of God. He also offered his accustomed sacrifices and burnt-offerings upon the altar. Moreover, he ordained certain judges and overseers, that they might order the matters to them severally, and have regard to justice above all things, and distribute it with the same concern they would have about their own soul. He also sent over all the country, and desired such as pleased to bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, and the temple vessels, and the temple furniture, and other gifts and necessities; and when the money was brought in, he made one Masseiah the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Josiah the recorder, and Eliakim the high-priest, curators of the temple, and of the charges contributed thereto; who made no delay, nor put the work off at all, but provided architects, and whatsoever was proper for those repairs, and set closely about the work. So the temple was repaired by this means, and became a public demonstration of the king's piety.

2. But when he was now in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent to Eliakim the high-priest, and gave order, that out of what money was overplus, he should cast cups, and dishes, and vials, for the ministration [in the temple]; and besides, that they
of the false prophets upon that altar which Jeroboam first built; and, as the prophet [Jadon], who came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifice, and when all the people heard him, foretold what would come to pass, viz. that a certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should do what is here mentioned. And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.

5. After these things, Josiah went also to such other Israelites as had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honours they paid to strange gods, but to worship rightly their own Almighty God, and adhere to him. He also searched the houses, and the villages, and the cities, out of a suspicion that somebody might have one idol or other in private; and, indeed, he took away the chariots [of the Sun] that were set up in his royal palace,* which his predecessors had framed, and what thing soever there was besides which they worshipped as a god. And when he had thus purged all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened bread, and that called the Passover. He also gave the people for paschal sacrifices, young kids of the goats, and lambs, thirty thousand, and three thousand oxen for burnt-offerings. The principal of the priests also gave to the priests against the passover two thousand and six hundred lambs; the principal of the Levites also gave to the Levites five thousand lambs, and five hundred oxen, by which means there was great plenty of sacrifices; and they offered these sacrifices according to the laws of Moses, while every priest explained the matter, and ministered to the multitude. And indeed there had been no other festival thus celebrated by the Hebrews from the times of Samuel the prophet; and the plenty of sacrifices now was the occasion that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the custom of their forefathers. So when Josiah had after this lived in peace, nay, in riches and reputation also, among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

CHAPTER V.

HOW JOSIAH Fought WITH NECO [KING OF EGYPT], AND WAS WOUNDED, AND DIED IN A LITTLE TIME AFTERWARDS: AS ALSO HOW NECO CARRIED JEROAHAZ, WHO HAD BEEN MADE KING, INTO EGYPT, AND DELIVERED THE KINGDOM TO JEHIOHARIM: AND [LASTLY], CONCERNING JEREMIAH AND EZEKIEL.

§ 1. Now Necho, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the dominions of the Assyrians; for

*It is hard to reconcile the account in the second book of Kings (ch. xxiv. 10, 11) with this account in Josephus, and to translate the passage truly in Josephus, whose copies are supposed to be here imperfect. However, the general sense of both seems to be this—That there were certain chariots, with the horses, dedicated to the idol of the Sun, or to Molech: which idol might be carried about in procession, and worshipped by the people; which chariots were now "taken away," as Joseph says, or, as the book of Kings says, "burnt with fire, by Josiah." This is a remarkable passage of chronology. Josephus, that about the latter end of the reign of Josiah, the Medes and Babylonians overthrow the empire of the Assyrians, or, in the words of Tischendorf continuator, that "before Tobitas dies, he heard of the destruction of Niniveh, which was taken by Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonian, and Assyria the Medes." Book xiv. 16. See Dean Paley's Disquisition, at the year 609.
he had a desire to reign over Asia. Now when he was come to the city Mende, which belonged to the kingdom of Josiah, he brought an army to his dethronement through his own country, in his expedition against the Medes. Now Neeco sent a herald to Josiah, and told him, that he had not made his expedition against him, but was making haste to Euphrates; and desired that he would not provoke him to fight against him, because he obstructed his march to the place whither he had resolved to go. But Josiah did not admit of this advice of Neeco, but put himself into a posture to hinder him from his intended march. I suppose it was fate that pushed him on to this conduct, for it might take an effect against him; for when he was setting his army in array, and rode about in his chariot, from one wing of his army to another, one of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness for fighting; for, being sorely wounded, he commanded a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of that wound; and was magnificently buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, when he had lived thirty-nine years, and of them had reigned thirty-one. But all the people mourned greatly for him, lamenting and grieving on his account; many days; and Jeremiah the prophet composed an elegy to lament him, which is extant till this time also. Moreover, this prophet denounced beforehand the sad calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing a description of that destruction of our nation which has lately happened in our days, and the taking of Babylon; nor was he the only prophet who delivered such predictions beforehand to the multitude; but so did Ezekiel, who was the first person that wrote, and left behind him in writing two books, concerning these events. Now these two prophets were priests by birth, but of them Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. However, as to what befell this prophet, we will relate it in its proper place.

2. Upon the death of Josiah, which we have already mentioned, his son, Jehoahaz by name, took the kingdom, being about twenty-three years old. He reigned in Jerusalem; and his mother was Hamutal by name, and was an impure woman, and impure in his course of life; but as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, lit sent for Jehoahaz to come to him to the city called Hamath, which belongs to Syria; and when he was come, he put him in bands, and delivered the kingdom to a brother of his by the father's side, whose name was Eliakim, and changed his name to Jehoiakim, and laid a tribute upon the land of a hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold; and this sum of money, was by the action of Jehoiakim, and the hand of the king of Egypt, taken from the land. But Neeco carried away Jehoahaz into Egypt, where he died, when he had reigned three months and ten days. Now Jehoiakim's mother was called Zebudiah, of the city Ramah. He was of a wicked disposition, and ready to do mischief; nor was he either religious towards God, or good-natured towards men.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW NEBUCHADNEZZAR, WHEN HE HAD CONQUERED THE KING OF EGYPT, MADE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE JEWS, AND KILLED JEHOIACHIN, AND MADE JEHOLACHIM, HIS SON, KING.

§ Now in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army to the city Carchemish, which was at Euphrates, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with Neeco, king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Neeco understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not desist his attempt, but made haste with a great band of men to Euphrates to defend himself from Nebuchadnezzar; and when they had joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many ten thousands of his soldiers in the battle. So the king of Babylon passed over Euphrates, and took all Syria, as far as Pessusium, excepting Judea. But when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, which was the eighth of Jehoiakim's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war against him. He was afflicted at his threatening, and brought his peace with money, and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years.

2. But on the third year, upon hearing that the king of the Babylonians made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his tribute; yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians dared not fight at this time. And indeed the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day how vainly they relied on their hopes from Egypt, and how the city would be overthrown by the king of Babylon, and Jehoiakim the king would be subdued by him. But what he thus spake proved to be of no advantage to them, because there were none that should escape; for both the multitude, and the rulers, when they heard him, had no concern about what they heard; but being displeased at what was said, as if the prophet were a diviner against the king, they accused Jeremiah; and bringing him before the court, they required that a sentence and a punishment might be given against him. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation, but the elders refused, who presently sent away the prophet from the court [of the prison], and persuaded the rest to do Jeremi- 

an harm; for they said that he was not the only person who foretold what would come to the city, but that Micaiah signed the name before him, as well as many others, none of whom suffered any thing of the kings that then reigned, but were honoured as the prophets of God. So they modified the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah from the punishment to which he was condemned. Now when this prophet had written all his prophecies, and the people were fasting, and assembled at the temple, on the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, he read the book he had written.
composed of his predictions of what was to befall the city, and the temple, and the multitude; and when the rulers heard of it, they took the book from him, and bid him and Baruch the scribe to go their ways, lest they should be discovered by one or other but they carried the book, and gave it to the king; so he gave order in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry and tore it, and cast it into the fire, where it was consumed. He also commanded that they should seek for Jeremiah and Baruch the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However, they escaped his anger.

2. Now Zedekiah was twenty-and-one years old when he took the government; and had the same mother with his brother Jehoiakim, but was a despiser of justice and of his duty, for truly those of the same age with him were wicked about him, and the whole multitude did what unjust and insolent things they pleased; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah came often to him, and protested to him, and insisted that he must leave off his impieties and transgressions, and take care of what was right, and neither give ear to the rulers (among whom were wicked men) nor give credit to their false prophets who deluded them, as if the king of Babylon would make no more war against him, and as if the Egyptians would make war against him, and conquer him, since what they said was not true; and the events would not prove such [as they expected]. Now as to Zedekiah himself, while he heard the prophet speak, he believed him, and agreed to every thing as true, and supposed it was for his advantage; but then his friends perverted him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and obliged him to do what they pleased.

3. Now a little time afterwards, the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, whom he received into the city, and this out of fear of the foregoing predictions of this prophet, as supposing that he should suffer nothing that was terrible, cause he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him; yet when he was come into the city, he did observe the covenants he had made; but he was not such as were in the flower of their age, and was as were of the greatest dignity, together with the king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be own before the walls, without any burial; and his son Jehoiachin king of the city and the city; he also took the principal persons in the city for captives, three thousand in number, and them away to Babylon; among whom was the son Ezekiel, who was then but young. And was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven.

Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom; his mother's name was Nehushta; she was a daughter of Jerusalem. He reigned three months and days.

CHAPTER VII.

A terror seized on the king of Babylon, given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, and that by; he was afraid that he should bear a terror, because of his killing his father, and should make the country revolt from him; he sent an army, and besieged Jerusalem; but because he was of a gentle disposition, he did not desire to see the terror on his account, but he took his measures, and delivered them to the command by the king of Babylon, and accepted them, that neither should they suffer any city; which agreement they did not keep. A single year, for the king of Babylon took it, but gave orders to his generals to be in the city captives, both the king, and the handicraftsmen, and bring them; their number was ten thousand red and thirty-two; as also Jehoiachin,
among them, and prophesied what contradicted those predictions, and what proved to be true, that they did not, and declared the king; that the Egyptians would be of no advantage to them, but that the king of Babylon would renew the war against Jerusalem, and bring them to ruines, and make the people by famine, and carry away those that remained into captivity, and would take away what they had as spoils, and would carry off those riches that were in the temple; nay, that, besides this, he would burn it, and utterly overthrow the city, and that they should serve him and his posterity seventy years; and then the Persians and the Medes should put an end to their servitude, and overthrow the Babylonians; and that we shall be dismissed, and return to this land, and rebuild the temple, and restore Jerusalem.*—When Jeremiah said this, the greater part believed him; but the rulers, and those that were wicked, despised him, as one disorderly in his senses. Now he had resolved to go elsewhere, to his own country, which was called Anathoth, and was twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and as he was going, one of the rulers met him, and seized upon him, and accused him falsely, as though he were going as a deserter to the Babylonians; but Jeremiah said that he accused him falsely, and added, that he was only going to his own country; but Jered did not believe him, but seized upon him, and led him away to the rulers, and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of torments and tortures, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered what I have already described unjustly.

4. Now, in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and lay before it eighteen months, and besieged it with the utmost application. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities, at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and a pestilential distemper, and made great havoc of them: and though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for that, if they did so, they should be preserved, along with their whole families; but if they did not so, they should be destroyed; and he foretold, that if any one stood in the city, he would certainly perish by one of these ways,—either be consumed by the famine, or slain by the enemy's sword; but that if he would fly to the enemy he should escape death; yet did not these rulers who heard believe him, even when they were in the midst of their sore calamities; but they came to the king, and, in their anger, informed him what Jeremiah said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as of a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and, by the denunciation of miseries, weakened the splendor of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for him, and for their country, while he, in a way of threatening, warned them to fly to the enemy, and told them that the city should certainly be taken, and be utterly destroyed.

5. But for the king himself, he was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet, that he might not engage in a quarrel with those rulers at such a time, by opposing what they intended, he left them do with the prophet whatever they would; whereas, if he had had the experience of earlier permission, they presently came into the prison and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire, which was all about him, and so continued: but there was one of the king's servants, who was in esteem with him, an Ethiopian by descent, who told the king what a state the prophet was in, and that his friends and his rulers had done evil in putting the prophet into the mire, and by that means contriving against him that he should suffer death more bitter than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and made the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and cords with them, and whatsoever else they understood to be necessary for the prophet's preservation, and to draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men that he was ordered to take, and drew up the prophet out of the mire, and left him in liberty in the prison.

But other works had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present circumstances, and desired him to inform him of it. Jeremiah replied, that he had somewhat to say; but he said, that he should not be believed, nor, if he disdained them, should he be hearten; to which he said, "Thy friends have determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of some wickedness, and where are now those men who deceived us, and said that the king of Babylon would not come and fight against us any more? but I am afraid more to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to die." And when the king had assured him upon oath that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bound upon that assurance that was given him, and gave him this advice:—That he should deliver the city up to the Babylonians; and he said, that it was God who prophesied this by him, that he must so, and if he would be preserved, and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither the city fall to the ground, nor should the temple be burned; but that if he disobeyed, he would die. And the cause of these miseries coming upon the city, and of the calamity that would befal his whole house. When the king heard this, he said, that he would willingly do what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to his advantage, but that he was afraid of those of his own country that had fallen away to the Babylonians, lest he should be accused by them to the king of Babylon, and be punished. But the prophet encouraged him, and said he had no cause to fear such punishment, for that he should not have the experience of any such fortune, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians; neither himself, nor his children, nor his wives, and that the temple should then continue unhurt. So when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and charged him to betray what they had resolved upon to none of the citizens, nor to tell any of these matters to any of the rulers, if they should have learned what he had been sent for, and should inquire of him what it was that he was sent.
CHAPTER VIII.

W THE KING OF BABYLON TOOK JERUSALEM AND BURNED THE TEMPLE, AND REMOVED THE PEOPLE OF BABYLON AND ZEDEKIAH TO BABYLON. AS ALSO, WHO THEY WERE THAT HAD SUCCEEDED IN THE HIGH-PRIESTHOOD UNDER THE KINGS.

Now the king of Babylon was very intent and set upon the siege of Jerusalem; and he erected towers upon great banks of earth, and from them he see all those that stood upon the walls: he also had a great number of such banks round about the whole city, the height of which was equal to the walls. However, those that were within bore siege with courage and alacrity, for they were defended, either by famine or by the pastoral distemper, but were of cheerful minds in the execution of the war, although those miseries oppressed them also; and they did not suffer selves to be terrified, either by the contrivances of enemies, or by their engines of war, but could still devise methods to oppose all the other sides, and indeed there seemed to be an entire peace between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem, who had the greater capacity and the former party supposing they should be too hard for the other, for the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such sallies, in opposition to the other, as might deter the enemy's engines were useless to them; and since they endured for eighteen months, they were destroyed by the famine, and by the arts which the enemy threw at them from the tower.

Now the city was taken on the ninth day of the month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. They were indeed only generals of Babylon, to whom Nebuchadnezzar had the care of the siege, for he abode in the city of Riblah. The names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any knew them, were these: Nergal Shamar, Nebo, Rabsaris, Sarsaschim, and Zedekiah; and when the city was taken about midnight, the enemy's generals were entered into it; and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, his wives and his children, and his captains ended, and with them fled out of the city, the fortified ditch, and through the desert; and certain of the deserters had informed the Babylonians of this, at break of day, they made a pursuit after Zedekiah, and overtook him from Jericho, and encompassed him about. Those friends and captains of Zedekiah who not out of the city with him, when they saw enemies near them, they left him and dispersed to them; some way one and some another, and he resolved to save himself; so the enemies of Zedekiah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was come, Nebuchadnezzar began to call him a wicked wretch, and a covenant-breaker, and one that had forgotten all his former words and sworn to keep the country for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude, that when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jehoiachin, and given it him, he had made use of the power he gave him against him that gave it: "but," said he, "God great, who hateth that conduct of thine, and hath brought thee under us." And when he had used these words to Zedekiah, he commanded his sons and his friends to be slain, while Zedekiah and the ten thousand of the captains looked on; after which he put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And these things happened to him, as Jeremiah and Ezekiel had foretold to him, that he should be caught, and brought before the king of Babylon, and should speak to him face to face, and should see his eyes with his own eyes; and thus far did Jeremiah prophesy. But he was also made blind, and brought to Babylon, but did not see it, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.

3. We have said thus much, because it was sufficient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it, that it is various, and acts many different ways, and that all events happen to us after a regular manner, in their proper season, and that it foretells what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to show the ignorance and incredulity of men, whereby they are not permitted to foresee anything that is future, and are, without any guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of those calamities.

4. And after this manner have the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty-one, until the last king, who all together reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months, and ten days: of whom Saul, who was their first king, retained the government twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.

5. And now it was that the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradan, the general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple; who had it also in command to burn it and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transplant the people into Babylon. Accordingly he came to Jerusalem, in the eleventh year of King Zedekiah, passed the temple, and carried out the vessels of God, both gold and silver, and particularly that large laver which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass, and their chapisters, with the golden tables and the candlesticks: and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, the first day of the month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the palace, and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days, after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days, from the departure out of Egypt. Deluge to the destruction of the temple, the whole interval was one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven years, six months, and ten days; but from the
generation of Adam, until this befall the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, sixty months, and ten days; so great was the number of years hereto belonging; and what actions were done during these years, we have particularly related. But the general of the Babylonian king now overthrew the city to the very foundations, and removed all the people, and took for prisoners the high-priest Seraiah, and Zephaniah the prophet that was next to him, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number and the cunuch who was over the armed men, and seven friends of Zechariah, and his serjeants, and sixty other rulers; all whom, together with the vessels they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the high-priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but he himself led all the captives and Zekiah to Babylon. He also led Josedek, the high-priest away bound. He was the son of Seraiah the high-priest, whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we just now related.

6. And now, because we have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high-priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high priesthood under the kings. The first high-priest then at the temple which Solomon built was Zadok; after him his son Achima received that dignity; after Achima was Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Isus; after him was Axiaramus; his son was Phidace, and Phidace's son was Sudaes, and Sudaes' son was Dacius, and Dacius' son was Jotham, and Jotham's son was Nerias, and Nerias' son was Odess, and his son was Sallumus, and Sallumus' son was Eclias, and his son [was Azarias, and his son] was Sareas, and his son was Josedek, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high-priesthood by succession, the sons from their father.

7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zechariah in prison until he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, but freed the high-priest from his bonds.

CHAPTER IX.

HOW NEBUZARADAN SET GEDALIAH OVER THE JEWS THAT WERE LEFT IN JUDEA, WHICH GEDALIAH WAS A LITTLE AFTERWARDS SLAIN BY ISMAEL; AND HOW JOHANAN, AFTER ISMAEL WAS DRIVEN AWAY, WENT DOWN INTO EGYPT WITH THE PEOPLE; WHICH PEOPLE NEBUCHADNEZZAR, WHEN HE MADE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE EGYPTIANS, TOOK CAPTIVE AND BROUGHT THEM AWAY TO BABYLON.

§ 1. Now the general of the army, Nebuzaradan, who had carried the people of the Jews into captivity, left the poor, and those that had deserted, in the country; and made one, whose name was
meal to kill him by treachery, and secretly that he might have the dominion over the Israelites, as being of the royal family; and they said that he ought deliver himself from this treacherous design. He would give them leave to slay Ishmael, and body should know it, for they told him they were sold that when he was killed by the other, then the entire ruin of the remaining strength of the Israelites would ensue. But he professed that he did not believe what they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design, in a man that had been well used by him; because it was not probable that a who, under such a want of all things, had failed nor was necessary for him, should be so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor, that when he would be an instance of wickedness in him to save him had he been treacherously assaulted by others, to endeavour, and that easily, to kill him with his own hand: that, after, if he ought to suppose this information true, it was better for himself to be slain by thine, than destroy a man who fled to him for e, and entrusted his own safety to him, and himself to his disposal. So then, and the rulers that were with him, being able to persuade Gedaliah, went away: for the interval of thirty days was over, Ish came again to Gedaliah, to the city of Mispar, men came with him: and when he had Ishmael, and those that were with him, in and manner at his table, and had given them is, he became disordered in drink, while he cured to be very merry with them: and when I saw him in that case, and that he was in his cups to the degree of insensibility, when asleep, he rose up on a sudden, with his and, and slew Gedaliah and those that were at the feast: and when he had slain them, out by night, and slew all the Jews that he city, and those soldiers also which were in by the Babylonians; but the next day men came out of the country with pre-Gedaliah, none of them knowing what had him: when Ishmael saw them, he invited Gedaliah, and when they were come in, up the court and slew them, and cast their ses down into a certain deep pit, that they be seen; but of these fourscore men Ish those that entreated him not to kill they had delivered up to him what riches concealed in the fields, consisting of their and garments, and corn: but he took people that were in Mispar, with their children; among whom were the daugh-Zedekiah, whom Nebuzaradan, the ge-army of Babylon, had left with Gedali-they had done this, he came to the Ammonites. Then Johanan and the rulers with him it was done at Mispar by Ishmael, and Gedaliah, they had indignation at it, of them he took his own armed men, idly to fight with Ishmael, and over the fountain in Hebron: and when re carried away captives by Ishmael, and the rulers, they were very glad, on them as coming to their assistance: him that had carried them captives, and Johanan; then Ishmael, with eight the king of the Ammonites; but Jo- hose whom he had rescued out of the hands of Ishmael, and the eunuchs, and their wives and children, and came to a certain place called Mandara, and there they abode that day, for they had determined to remove from thence and go into Egypt, out of fear, lest the Babylonians should slay them, in case they continued in the country, and that out of anger at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been by them set over it for governor.

6. Now while they were under this deliberation, Johanan, the son of Karesah, and the rulers that were with him, came to Jeremiah the prophet, and desired that he would pray to God, that because they were at an utter loss what they are to do, he should discover something to them, that they would do whatsoever Jeremiah should say to them: and when the prophet said that he would be their intercessor with God, it came to pass, that after ten days God appeared to him, and said, that he should inform Johanan and the other rulers and all the people, that he would be with them while they continued in that country, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt by the Babylonians, of whom they were afraid; but that he would desert them if they went into Egypt; and, out of his wrath, that they would not escape the judgments upon them which they knew their brethren had already endured. So when the prophet had informed Johanan and the people that God had foretold these things, he was not believed, when he said that God commanded them to continue in that country; but they imagined that he said so to gratify Baruch, his own disciple, and belied God, and that he persuaded them to stay there, that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. Accordingly, both the people and Johanan dis obeyed the counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Baruch along with them.

7. And when they were there, God signified to the prophet that the king of Babylon was about making an expedition against the Egyptians, and commanded him to foretell to the people that Egypt should be taken, and the king of Babylon should slay some of them, and should take others captive, and bring them to Babylon; which things came to pass accordingly; for on the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-first of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Cœle syria; and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all those nations under subjection, he fell upon Egypt, in order to overthrow it; and he slew the king that then reigned, and set up another: and he took those Jews that were there captives, and led them away to Babylon; and such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews, as it hath been delivered down to us, it having twice gone beyond Euphrates; for the people of the ten tribes were carried out of Samaria by the Assyrians in the days of king Hosea; after which the people of the two tribes that remained after Jerusalem was taken were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon and Chaldea. Now as to Shalmaneser, he removed the Israelites out of their country, and placed therein the nation of the Cuthians, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and

* Diodorus says, this king of Egypt (Pharaoh Hopsare, or Apries), was slain by the Egyptians, as Jeremiah foretold his slayer by his omens (Jer. xlix. 29, 30) and that as a sign of the destruction of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. Josephus says this king was slain by Nebuchadnezzar himself.
Medin, but were then called Stuaritians, by taking the name of the country to which they were removed; but the king of Babylon, who brought out the two tribes, placed no other nation in their country, by which means all Judea and Jerusalem, and the temple, continued to be a desert for seventy years; but the entire interval of time which passed from the captivity of the Israelites, to the carrying away of the two tribes, proved to be a hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days.

CHAPTER X.
CONCERNING DANIEL, AND WHAT BEFELL HIM AT BABYLON.

§ 1. But now Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, took some of the most noble of the Jews that were children and the offspring of the kingdom. Such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered them into the hands of tutors, and to the improvement to be made by them. He also made some of them to be eunuchs; which course he took also with those of other nations whom he had taken in the flower of their age, and afforded them their diet from his own table, and had them instructed in the institutes of the country, and taught the learning of the Chaldeans; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in that wisdom which he had ordered they should apply themselves to. Now among these there were four of the family of Zedekiah, of most excellent dispositions; the one of whom was called Daniel, another Ananias, another Misael, and the fourth Azarias; and the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that they should make use of other names. Daniel he called Baltasar; Ananias, Shadrach; Misael, Meshach; and Azarias, Abednego. These the king had in esteem, and continued to love, because of the very excellent temper they were of, and because of their application to learning, and the progress they had made in wisdom.

2. Now Daniel and his kinsmen had resolved to use a severe diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king's table, and entirely to forbear to eat of all living creatures: so he came to Ashpenaz, who was that eunuch to whom the care of them was committed, and desired him to take and spend what was brought for them from the king; but to give them pulse and dates for their food, and any thing else, besides the flesh of living creatures, that the king commanded them to do. They advised him not to use the vegetable diet, but to use the flesh. This the king said should be done, that the king's command was followed; and that he despised the other. He replied, that he was ready to serve them in what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by the king, from their meagre bodies, and the alteration of their countenances; because it could not be avoided but their bodies and colours must be changed with their diet, especially while they would be clearly discovered by the finer appearance of the other children, who would fare better, and thus they should bring him into danger, and occasion him to be punished: yet did they persuade Arioich, who was thus fearful to give them what food they desired for ten days, by way of trial; and in case the habit of their bodies were not altered, to go on in the same way, expecting that they should not be hurt thereby afterwards; but if he saw them look meagre, and worse than the rest, he should reduce them to their former diet. Now when it appeared that they were so far from becoming worse by the use of this food, that they grew plumper and fuller in body than the rest, insomuch, that he thought those who fed as what came from the king's table seemed less plump and full, while those that were with Daniel looked as if they had lived in plenty, and in a sort of luxury, Arioich, from that time, secretly took him part of the king sent every day from his supper, according to custom, to the children, but gave them the forementioned diet, which they had in their souls in some measure more part and less burdened, and so fitter for learning, had their bodies in better tune for hard labour; for they neither had the former oppressed and heavy with variety of meats, nor were the other afterwards on the same account; so they really understood all the learning that was among the Hebrews, and among the Chaldeans, as especially did Daniel, who being already skilled in wisdom, was very well about the interpretation of dreams: and God manifested himself to him.

3. Now two years after the destruction of Egypt, king Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream, the accomplishment of which God showed him in his sleep; but when he arose out of his bed, he forgot the accomplishment: so he sent for the Chaldeans, and magicians, and the prophets, and told them that he had seen a dream, and informed them that he had forgotten the accomplishment of that which he had seen, and he enjoined them to tell him both what the dream was, and what its significations; and they said that this was a thing impossible to be discovered by men; but they promised him, that if he would explain to them what dream he had seen, they would tell him its significations. Hereupon he threatened to put them to death, unless they told him his dream: and he gave command to have them all put to death, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded to do. Now when Daniel heard that the king had given a command that all the wise men, and all the learning men, and all the magicians, should be slain. So when he had learned that the king had a dream, and he had forgotten it, and that when they were enjoined to inform the king of it, they had said they could not do it, and that he had thereby provoked him to anger, he desired of Arioich that he would go to the king, and desire respite for the magicians for one night, and to put off their slaughter so long, for that he hoped within that time to obtain, by prayer to God, the knowledge of the dream. Accordingly Arioich informed the king of what Daniel desired: so the king bid them
delay the slaying of the magicians till he knew what Daniel’s promise would come to; but the young man retired to his own house, with his kins- men, and besought God that whole night to discover the dream, and thereby deliver the magicians and Chaldeans, with whom they were themselves to perish, from the king’s anger, by enabling him to declare his vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had fully the Aver agenty, God, of pity to those that were in danger, and out of regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that the king might understand by him its signification also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God, he rose very joyful, and told it his brethren, and made them glad, and to hope well that they should preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of nothing but the sounds of dying. So when he had with them upon the image and the ivy down, in their youth, when it was day he came to Arioch; I desired him to bring him to the king, because would discover to him that dream which he had in the night before. When Daniel was come in to the king, he exed him first, that he did not pretend to be or than the other Chaldeans and magicians, in, upon their entire inability to discover the lin, he was undertaking to inform him of it; his was not by his own skill, or on account of wise better cultivated his understanding more than rest; but he said, “God hath had pity upon when we were in danger of death, and when I for the life of myself, and of those of my nation, hath made manifest to me both the i and the interpretation thereof; for I was as concerned for thy glory than for the sorrow e were by thee condemned to die, while thou so unjustly command men, both great and st in themselves, to be put to death, when joinedst them to do what was entirely above ch of human wisdom, and requiredst them as only the work of God, therefore not thy sleep was solicitous concerning those sold succeed thee in the government of the world, God was desirous to show thee all at should reign after thee, and to that end d to thee the following dream:—Thou to see a great image standing before thee, of which proved to be of gold, the shoulders i of silver, and the belly and the thighs of f the legs and the feet of iron; after which est a stone broke off from a mountain, and with it threw it down, and to pieces, and did not permit any part of ain whole; but the gold, the silver, the d the iron, became smaller than meal, upon, the blast of a violent wind, was by lied away, and scattered abroad; but the increase to such a degree, that the whole death it seemed to be fulfilled therewith. dream which thou sawest, and its on is as follows:—The head of gold de, and the kings of Babylon that have re and iron, and the stone, but the two hands and arms of iron are divided, and show thee two kings; but another king that shall the west, armed with brass, shall de-government; and another government, be like unto iron, shall put an end to the power of the former, and shall have dominion over all the earth, on account of the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold, of silver, and of brass.” Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king; but I do not think proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to de- scribe things past or present, but not things that are future; yet if any one be so very desirous of knowing truth, as not to wave such points of curious- ity, and cannot curst his inclination for under- standing the uncertainties of futurity, and whether they will happen or not, let him be diligent in reading the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

5. When Nebuchadnezzar heard this, and recollected his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel, and fell upon his face, and saluted Da- niel in the manner that men worship God, and gave command that he should be sacrificed to as a god. This was not all, for he also imposed the name of his own god upon Daniel (Bel- tarsel), and made him and his kinsmen rulers of his whole kingdom; which kinsman of his hap- pened to fall into great danger by the envy and malice of their enemies; for they offended the king upon the occasion following:—He made an image of gold, the height of which was sixty cubits, and its breadth six cubits, and set it in the great plain of Babylon; and when he was going to dedicate the image, he invited the principal men out of all the earth that were under his dominions, and commanded them, in the first place, that when they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should then fall down and worship the image; and he threatened, that those who did not so, should be cast into a fiery furnace. When, therefore, all the rest, upon the hearing of the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the image, they relate that Daniel’s kinsmen did not do it, because they would not transgress the laws of their country: so these men were convicted, and cast immediately into the fire, but were saved by Divine Providence, and after a surprising manner escaped death; for the fire did not touch them, and the flame did not touch them not, as if it reasoned with itself that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs, and that, therefore, it was too weak to burn the young men when they were in it. This was done by the power of God, who made their bodies so far superior to the fire that it could not consume them. This it was which recommended them to the king as righteous men, and men beloved of God; on which account they continued in great esteem with him.

6. A little after this the king saw in his sleep again another vision; how he should fall from his dominion, and feed among the wild beasts; and that, when he had lived in this manner in the desert for seven years, he should recover his domi-

a Of this most remarkable passage in Josephus concerning the “stone cut out of the mountain, and destroying the image,” we cannot explain, but it is long to be a prophet of futurity, and probably was so intended. For he explains, and assigns for the king, that regarding to the time when he should recover his empire by Jesus Christ, the true Messiah of the Jews, take the words of, the prophecy (ch. 2, sect. 7), that “he would not be the conqueror of the world, but would take the kingdom and the glory of the whole world;” but he gave no more notice of anything, and that only. rod of Rome, by Jesus Christ, the true Messiah of the Jews, take the words of the prophecy (ch. 2, sect. 7), that “he would not be the conqueror of the world, but would take the kingdom and the glory of the whole world;” but he gave no more notice of anything, and that only.
nion again. When he had seen his dream, he called the magicians together again, and inquired of them about it, and desired them to tell him what it signified; but when none of them could find out the meaning of the dream, nor discover it to the king, Daniel was the only person that explained it; and as he foretold, so it came to pass; for after he had continued in the wilderness the forementioned interval of time, while no one dared attempt to seize his kingdom during those seven years, he prayed to God that he might recover his kingdom, and he returned to it. But let no one blame me for writing down every thing of this nature, as I found it in the ancient books; for as to that matter, I have plainly assured those that think me defective in any such point, or complain of my management, and have told them, in the beginning of this history, that I intended to do no more than translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised them to explain those facts, without adding any thing to them of my own, or taking any thing away from them.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING NEBUCHADNEZZAR AND HIS SUCCESSORS, AND HOW THEIR GOVERNMENT WAS DISSOLVED BY THE PERSIANS; AND WHAT THINGS BEFELL DANIEL IN MEDIA; AND WHAT PROPHECIES HE DELIVERED THERE.

§ 1. Now when king Nebuchadnezzar had reigned forty-three years, he ended his life. He was an old man, and very sick, and was sick for one year before that which was before him. Now Berosus makes mention of his actions in the third book of his Chaldaic History, where he says thus:—When his father Nebudodinus [Nabopolassar] heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and the places about Cæsarea and Phœnicia, had revolted from him, while he was not himself able any longer to undergo the hardships [of war], he committed to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was still but a youth, some parts of his army, and sent them against him. So when Nebuchadnezzar had given him the command, and Phœnicia and Cæsarea were taken and reduced the country from under his subjection, and made it a branch of his own kingdom; but about that time it happened that his father Nebudodinus [Nabopolassar] fell ill, and ended his life in the city of Babylon, when he had reigned twenty-one years; and when he was made sensible, as he was in a little time, that his father, Nebuchadnezzar [Nabopolassar], was dead, and having settled the affairs of Egypt, and the other countries, as also those that concerned the captive Jews, and Phœnicians, and Syrians, and those of the Egyptian nations, and having committed the sovereignty of them to Babylon to certain of his friends, together with the gross of his army, and the rest of the ammunition and provisions, he went himself hither, accompanied with a few others, over the desert, and came to Babylon. So he took upon him the management of public affairs, and of the whole kingdom, which he had obtained for him by one that was the principal of the Chaldeans, and he received the entire dominions of his father, and appointed, that when the captives came, they should be placed as colonies, in the most proper places of Babylon; but then he adorned the temple of Belus, and the rest of the temples, in a magnificent manner, with the spoils he had taken in the war. He also built another city to that which was there of old, and rebuilt it, that such as would besiege it henceforth might no more turn the course of the river, and thereby knock the city itself, for there were three walls round about the inner city, and three others about that which was the outer, and he did with burnt brick. And after he had, after becoming a city, walled the city, and adorned the gates gloriously, he built another palace before his father's palace, but so that they joined to it; and subscribed the vast height and immense riches of which it would perhaps be too much for me to attempt, as large and lofty as they were, they were completed in fifteen days. He also erected elevat ed places for walking, of stone, and made it resemble mountains, and it is said that it might be planted with all sorts of trees. He also erected what was called a penitential paradise, because his wife was desirous to have trees like her own country, she having brought up in the palaces of Media. Megasthenes also, in his fourth book of his accounts of India, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavors to show that this king [Nebuchadnezzar] succeeded Hecatenes in fortitude, and in the granting of his actions; for he said, that he conquered a great part of Libya. Diodorus also, in the second book of his Accounts of Persia, mentions this king, and shows that he had a dominion of India and Phœnicia, say, that this king besieged Tyre three years, while at the same time Ecbatana reigned at Tyre. These are all the histories that I have not concerning this king.

2. But now, after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach his son succeeded in the kingdom, who immediately set Jeconiah at liberty, and esteemed him amongst his most intimate friends. He also gave him many presents, and made him honourable above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon; for his father had not kept his faith with Jeconiah, when he voluntarily delivered himself to him, with his wives and children.

That Nebuchadnezzar must have been a common subject of all those persons that in their respective places, of God, and the Jews, and the holy temple, and all that the king could, Assy. B.c. xvi. ch. vii. And I doubt not that the temple was not destroyed.
Antiquities of the Jews.

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Fren, and his whole kindred, for the sake of his country, that it might not be taken by siege, and utterly destroyed, as we said before. When Evilmerodach was dead, a reign of eighteen years, his son the government, and retain it forty years, and then ended his life. In the succession in the kingdom came to his son Belshazzar, who continued in it in all his gifts; and when he was dead, it came to Balthasar, who by the Babylonians was called Nabonassar: against his times, the king of Persia, and in he was besieged in Babylon, there happened wonderful and prodigious visions. He was sat at supper in a large room, and there were several vessels of silver, such as were made for entertainments, and he had with him his counsel and his friends: whereupon he came to an answer, and commanded that those vessels of which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered out of them, and had not made use of, but had put into his own temple, should be brought out into a temple. He also gave so haughty as to command them in the midst of his cups, pouring out of them, and blaspheming against God. He meant, he saw a hand proceed out of all, and writing upon the wall certain syllables at which being disturbed, he called the Chaldeans and Chaldeans together, and all that sort that are among these barbarians, and were interpreters of dreams, and that they might the writing to him. But when the magi they could discover nothing, nor did un- it, the king was in great disorder of mind, a great trouble, at this surprising accident; used it to be proclaimed through all the land, and promised, that to him who could explain, and give the signification couched he would give him a golden chain for his leave to wear a purple garment, as did of Chaldea, and would bestow on him the of his own dominions. When this promise was made, the magicians ran to one another, and were very ambitious to find out the sense of the writing: but still hesitated much as before. Now when the king saw him cast down at this accident, to encourage him, and to say, that there in captivity who came from Judea, a Jew brought away thence by Nebuchad- he had destroyed Jerusalem, whose Daniel, a wise man, and one of great sagacity out what was impossible for others to what was known to God alone; who right and answered such questions as Nebuchadnezzar as no one else was able to answer when they were consulted. She therefore desired that he would send for him, and inquire of him concerning the writing, and to condemn the unskillful of those that could not find their meaning, and this, although what God signified thereby should be to a melancholy nature.

3. When Balthasar heard this, he called for Dal- ian: and when he had disclosed to him what he had learned concerning him and his wisdom, and how a divine spirit was with him, and that he alone was fully capable of finding out what others would never have thought of, he desired him to declare to him what this writing meant: that if he would do so, he would give him leave to wear purple, and to put a chain of gold about his neck, and would bestow on him the third part of his kingdom, as an honorary reward for his wisdom, that thereby he might become illustrious to those who saw him, and who inquired upon what occasion he obtained such honours. But Daniel desired that he would keep his gifts to himself; for what is the effect of wisdom and of divine revelation admits of no gifts, and be- stows its advantages on petitioners freely; but still he would explain the writing to him: which denoted that he should soon die, and this because he had not learnt to honour God, and not to admit things above human nature, by what punishments his predecessor had undergone for the injuries he had offered to God; and because he had quite forgotten how Nebuchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts for his impieties, and did not recover his former life among men and his kingdom, but upon God's mercy to him, after many supplications and prayers; who did thereupon praise God the all the days of his life, as one of almighty power, and who takes care of mankind. [He also put him in mind] how he had greatly blasphemed against God, and made use of his vessels amongst his concubines: that therefore God saw this, and was angry with him, and declared by his writing beforehand what a sad conclusion of his life he should come to. And he explained the writing thus: — "Mane. This, if it be expounded in the Greek language, may signify a number, because God hath numbered so long a time for thy life, and for thy government, and that there remains but a small portion. Turneth. This signifies a weight, and means that God hath weighed thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going down already. Pertaineth. This also, in the Greek tongue, denotes a frequent. God will therefore break thy kingdom in pieces, and divide it among the Medes and Persians."

4. When Daniel had told the king that the writing upon the wall signified these events, Balthasar was in great sorrow and affliction, as was to be expected, when the interpretation was so heavy upon him. However, he did not refuse what he had promised Daniel, although he were become a forerunner of misfortunes to him, but bestowed it all upon him: as reasoning thus, that what he was to reward was peculiar to himself, and to fate, and did not belong to the prophet, but that it was the part of a good and just man to give what he had promised, although the events were of a melancholy nature. Accordingly, the king determined so to do. Now, after a little while, both himself and the city were taken by Cyrus, the king of Persia, who fought against him; and it was Balthasar, under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this is the end of the posterity of king
and without sleep, being in great distress for Daniel; but when it was day, he got up, and came in the den, and found the seal entire, which he had left the stone sealed withal; he also opened the seal, and cried out, and called to Daniel, and asked him if he were alive; and as soon as he heard the king’s voice, and said that he had suffered no harm, the king gave order that he should be drawn up out of the den. Now when his enemies saw that Daniel had suffered nothing which was terrible, they would not own that he was preserved by God, and by his providence; but they said, that the lions had been filled full with food, and on the account it was, as they supposed, that the hem would not touch Daniel, nor come to him; and that they alleged to the king; but the king, out of an abhorrence of their wickedness, gave order that they should throw in a great deal of flesh to the lions; and when they had filled themselves, he gave farther order that Daniel’s enemies should be cast into the den, that he might learn whether the lions, now they were full, would touch them or not. And when it appeared that they had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel, for the lions spared none of them, but tore them all to pieces, as if they had been very hungry, and wanted food. I suppose, therefore, it was not their hunger, which had been a little before satisfied with abundance of flesh, but the wickedness of these men that provoked them [to destroy the princes]; for if it so please God, that wickedness might, by even these irrational creatures, be esteemed a plain foundation for their punishment in him. 

7. When, therefore, those that had intended to destroy Daniel by treachery were themselves destroyed, king Darius sent letters over all the country, and praised that God whom Daniel worshipped, and said that he was the only true God, and had all power. He had also Daniel in very great esteem, and made him the principal of his friends. Now when Daniel was become so illustrious and famous, on account of the opinion men had that he was beloved of God, he built a tower at Ecbatana, in Media, it was a most elegant building, and wonderfully made; and is so still, so that the people are wont to gather and preserve this day; and to such as see it, it appears to have been lately built, and to have been no colder than that very day when any one looks upon it, it is so fresh, so flourishing, and beautiful, and so grown old in so long a time; for buildings suffer the same as men do, they grow old as well as they, and by numbers of years their strength is dissolved, and their beauty withered. Now they bury the king of Media, of Persia, and Parthia, in this tower this day; and he who was intrusted with the care of it, was a priest, and it is also observed to this day. But it is fit to give an account of what this man did, which is most admirable to hear; for he was so happy as to have strange re

* It is no way improbable that Daniel’s enemies might suspect the reason of the king, why the lions did not(pointer needed) -A friend...

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relations made to him, and these as to one of the greatest of the prophets, insomuch, that while he was alive he had the esteem and applause both of the kings and of the multitude; and now he is dead, he retains a remembrance that will never die, for the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us till this time; and in them we believe that Daniel conversed with God for he did not only prophecy of future events, but prophesied. In his prophecies, he also determined the time of their accomplishment; and while the events foretold did not take place in his lifetime, the event of his prophecies, he procured the good-will and of all men; and by the accomplishment of these prophecies, he procured the belief of their truth, and the opinion of a sort of divinity for himself, and the multitude. He also wrote and left behind him what made manifest the accuracy and veracity of his prophecies; for he related, that when he was in Susa, the metropolis of Persia, and went out into the field with his companions, and was on the sudden, a motion and commotion of the earth, and that he was left alone by all his friends flying away from him, and that he was disturbed, and fell on his face, and in his distress, and that a certain person touched him, the same time, bade him rise, and see what befell his countrymen after many generations. He related also, that when he stood up, he saw a great ram, with many horns growing out of his head, and that the last was higher than the rest; that after this he looked to the west, and a goat carried through the air from that direction. As soon as he stood up, he saw a very great horn out of the head of the goat; and that was broken off, four horns grew up that opposed each of the four winds, and he said, waxed great; and that God said to him, that it should fight against his nation, and make them the city by force, and bring the ship to confusion, and forbid the sacrifice offered for one thousand two hundred sixty days. Daniel wrote that he saw them in the plain of Susa; and he bade them God interpreted the appearance of the goat and the horns. He said that God interpreted the appearance of the goat and the horns as the kings of the Medes and Persia, and the horns those kings that were after them; and that the last horn signifies the last king, and that he should come in riches and glory; and that the he-goat signified that he should reign; that the he-goat should reign over all the world; and that the great horn which sprang out of the forehead of the he-goat was the first king; and that the springing up of four horns upon its falling off, and the conversion of every one of them to the four quarters of the earth, signified the successors that should arise after the death of the first king, and the partition of the kingdom among them, and that they should be neither his children nor of his kindred that should reign over the habitable earth for many years; and that from among them there should arise a certain king that should overcome our nation and their laws, and should take away our political government, and should spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for three years' time. And indeed it came to pass, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and what he wrote many years before they came to pass. In the same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did this man leave in writing, as God had shown them to him, in such as he had read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel; and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in error, who cast providence out of human life, and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that the universe is governed and continued in being by that blessed and immortal nature, but say that the world is carried along of its own accord, without a ruler and a curator; which, were it destitute of a guide to conduct, as they imagine, it would be like ships without pilots, which we see drowned by the winds, or like chariots without drivers, which are overturned; so would the world be dashed to pieces by its being carried without a Providence, and so perish and come to nought. So that, by the aforementioned predictions of Daniel, those men seem to me very much to err from the truth, who determine that God exercises no providence over human affairs; for if that were the case, that the world went on by mechanical necessity, we should not see that all things would come to pass according to his prophecy. Now, as to myself, I have so described these matters as I have found them and read them; but if any one is inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his different sentiments without any blame from me.
CHAPTER I.

HOW CYRUS, KING OF THE PERSIANS, DELIVERED THE JEWS OUT OF BABYLON, AND SUFFERED THEM TO RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY, AND TO BUILD THEIR TEMPLE; FOR WHICH WORK HE GAVE THEM MONEY.

§ 1. In the first year of the reign of Cyrus, which was the seventieth from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of these poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city, that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and after they had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity; and these things God did afford them; for he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write this throughout all Asia:—

"Thus saith Cyrus the King:—Since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is that God which the nation of the Israelites worship; for indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him a house at Jerusalem, in the country of Judea."

2. This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Isaiah left behind him of his prophecies; for this prophet said that God had spoken thus to him in a secret vision:—

"My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, send back my people to their own land, and build my temple." This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to fulfill what was so written; so he called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said to them, that he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild their city Jerusalem, and the temple of God, for that he would be their assistant, and that he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the neighbourhood of their country of Judea, that they should contribute gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides, that beasts for their sacrifices.

3. When Cyrus had said this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites and priests, went in haste to Jerusalem, yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions; and when they were come thither, all the king's friends assisted them, and brought in, for the building of the temple, some gold, some silver, and some great many cattle and horses. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifices that had been accustomed of old time; I mean being upon the rebuilding of their city, and the renewal of the ancient practice relating to the worship. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of gold which king Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged out of the temple, and carried to Babylon. So he commanded these things to be sent away, with an order to give them to Sanballat, that he might keep them till the temple was built; and when it was finished, he might deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria, the contents whereof here follow:—

"KING CYRUS TO SISINNES AND SATRAPS: BENEATH GREETING.

"I have given leave to as many of the Jews that dwell in my country as please to return to their own country, and to rebuild their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem, on the same place where it was before. I have also sent my treasurers, Mithridates, and Zoroabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and may build it sixty cubits high, and of the same latitude, making three edifices of polished stones, and one of the wood of the country, and the same order extends to the altar wherein they offer sacrifices to God. I require also, that the expenses for these things may be given out of my revenues. Moreover, I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar pillaged out of the temple, and have given them to Mithridates the treasurer, and to Zoroabel the governor of the Jews, that they may have them carried to Jerusalem, and may restore them to the temple of God. Now their number is as follows:—Fifty chargers of gold and five hundred of silver; forty two-armed cups of gold, and five hundred of silver; fifty basins of gold, and five hundred of silver; thirty vessels for pouring [the drink-offerings], and three
CHAPTER II.

FOR THE DEATH OF CYRUS, THE JEWS WERE BID IN BUILDING THE TEMPLE IN THE LAND AND THE NEIGHBOURING GOVERNORS; HOW CYMBESUS ENTIRELY FORBODE THE JEWS ANY BETTER THING.

EN the foundations of the temple were laid when the Jews were very zealous about it, the neighboring nations, and especially those who had a shalmanezer, king of Assyria, shut out from the Persians and Medes, and had plantations, when he carried the people of Is-rael, pursued the governors, and those that of all affairs, that they would interfere, both in the rebuilding of their city, building of their temple. Now as these were seized by them with money, they sold their interest for rendering this building a careless work, for Cyrus who was other wars, knew nothing of all this; opened, that when he had led his army Massagetae, he ended his life. But since, the son of Cyrus, had taken the governors in Syria, and Phoenicia, entered Ammon, and Moab, and Sain to Cambyses; whose course: — "To our Lord Cambyses, ens, Rathmus the historiographer, the scribe, and the rest that are thy a and Phoenicia, send greeting: It is that thou shouldst know that those who carried to Babylon, are come into and are building that rebellious city, and its market-places, and setting up its walls, and raising up the temple: know, therefore, that when these things are finished, they will not be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands, but will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over them, than be ruled over themselves. We therefore thought it proper to write to thee, O king, while the works about the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this matter, that thou mayest search into the books of thy fathers, for thou wilt find in them that the Jews have been rebels, and enemies to kings, as hath their city been also, which, for that reason, hath been till now laid waste. We thought proper also to inform thee of this matter, because thou mayest otherwise perhaps be ignorant of it, that if this city be once inhabited, and be entirely encompassed with walls, thou wilt be excluded from the passage to Cœle Syria and Phœnicia."

2. When Cambyses had read the epistle, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him; and wrote back to them as follows: "Cambyses, the king, to Rathmus, the historiographer, to Bedcæthæmus, to Semællus the scribe, and the rest that are in commission, and dwelling in Samaria and Phœnicia, after this manner: I have read the epistle that was sent from you; and I gave order that the books of my forefathers should be searched into; and it is there found, that this city hath always been an enemy to kings, and its inhabitants have raised seditions and wars. We also are sensible that their kings have been powerful and tyrannical, and have exacted tribute of Cœle Syria and Phœnicia: wherefore I give order, that the Jews shall not be permitted to build that city, lest such mischief as they used to bring upon kings be greatly augmented." When this epistle was read, Rathmus, and Semællus the scribe, and their associates, got suddenly on horseback, and made haste to Jerusalem; they also brought a great company with them, and forbade the Jews to build the city and the temple. Accordingly, these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darius, for nine years more; for Cambyses reigned six years, and within that time overthrew Egypt, and when he was come back, he died at Damascus.

CHAPTER III.

NOW, AFTER THE DEATH OF CYMBESUS, AND THE SLAUGHTER OF THE MAGI, BUT UNDER THE REIGN OF DARIUS, ZOROABER WAS SUPERIOR TO THE REST IN THE SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS, AND THEREBY OBTAINED THIS FAVOUR OF THE KING, THAT THE TEMPLE SHOULD BE BUILT.

§ 1. After the slaughter of the magi, who, upon the death of Cambyses, attained the government of the Persians for a year, those families who were called the seven families of the Persians, appointed Darius, the son of Xystanes, to be their king. Now he, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send all the vessels of God that were in Babylon to the temple at Jerusalem. Now it so fell out, that about this time Zoroaber, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius, from Jerusalem: for there had been an old friendship between him and the king. He was also, with two others, thought worthy to
be guard of the king's body; and obtained that honour which he hoped for.

2. Now, in the first year of the king's reign, Darius feasted those that were about him, and those born in his house, with the rulers of the Medes, and princes of the Persians, and the toparches of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of the armies of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces: but when they had eaten and drunken to satiety and abundantly, they every one departed to go to bed at their own houses, and Darius the king went to bed; but after he had rested a little part of the night, he awaked, and not being able to sleep any more, he fell into conversation with the three guards of his body, and promised, that to him who should make an oration about points that he should inquire of, such as should be most agreeable to truth, and to the dictates of wisdom, he would grant it as a reward for his victory, to put on a purple garment, and to drink in cups of gold, and to sleep upon gold, and to have a chariot with bridges of gold, and a head-tire of fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck, and to sit next to himself, on account of his wisdom. And, he shall be called my Cousin. Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, Whether wine was not the strongest?—the second, Whether kings were not such?—and the third, Whether women were not such? or whether truth was not the strongest of all? When he had proposed that they should make their inquiries about these problems, he went to rest; but in the morning he sent for his great men, his princes, and toparches of Persia and Media, and set himself down in the place where he used to give audience, and bid each of the guards of his body to declare what they thought proper concerning the proposed questions, in the hearing of them all.

3. Accordingly, the first of them began to speak of the strength of wine; and demonstrated it thus: "When," said he, "I am to give my opinion of wine, O you men, I find that it exceeds every thing, by the following indications: it decheces the mind of those that drink it, and reduces that of the king to the same state with that of the orphan, and he who stands in need of a tutor; and effects that of the slave to the boldness of him that is free; and of the needy becomes like that of the rich man, for it changes and revives the souls of men when it gets into them; and it quenches the sorrow of those that are under calamities, and makes men forget the debts they owe to others, and makes them think themselves to be of all men the richest; it makes them talk of no small things, but of talents, and such other things as become wealthy men only; nay more, it makes them insensible of their commanders and of their kings, and takes away the remembrance of their friends and companions, for it arms men even against those that are dearest to them, and makes them appear the greatest strangers to them; and when they are become sober, and they have slept out their wine in the night, they are so hardy and foolish that they have done in their cups. I take these for signs of power, and by them discover that wine is the strongest and most insuperable of all things.

4. As soon as the first had given the forementioned demonstrations of the strength of wine, he left off; and the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king, and demonstrated that it was the strongest of all, and more powerful than any thing else that appears to have any force or wisdom. He began his demonstration after the following manner; and said, "They are men to govern all things; they force the earth and the sea to become profitable to them in what they desire, and over these men do kings rule, and over them they have authority, and over that animal which is of all the strongest and most powerful, must needs deserve to be esteemed insuperable in power and force. For example, when these kings command their subjects to make wars, and undergo dangers, they are heartened, and when they send them against their enemies, their power is so great that they are obeyed. They command men to level mountains, and to pull down walls and towers; and when they are commanded to be killed and to kill, they submit to it, that they may not appear to transgress the king's commands, and when they have conquered, they bring what they have gained in war to the king. These are who are not soldiers, but cultivate the ground, and plough it, after they have endured the labour, and all the inconveniences of such works of husbandry, when they have reaped and gathered in the fruits, they bring tribute to the king; and whosever it is which the king says or commands, is done of necessity, and that without delay, while he in the meantime is satiated with all sorts of food and pleasures, and sleeps in quiet. He is guarded by such as watch, and as such as are, were, fixed down to the place through fear; for one dares leave him, even when he is asleep, nor does any one go away and take care of his own affairs, but he esteemed this one thing the only way of necessity, to guard the king; and accordingly to this he wholly addict himself. How does it be otherwise, but that it must appear that the king exceeds all in strength, while so great a multitude obeys his injunctions?"

5. Now when this man had held his peace, the third of them, who was Zoroabel, began to instruct them about women, and about truth, who said thus: "Wine is strong, as is the king also, whom all obey, but women are superior to them in power, for it was a woman that brought the king into the world; and for those that plant the vines and make the wine, they are women who bear it, and bring it up; nor indeed is there any thing which we do not receive from them; they are the women who weave garments for us, and our household affairs are by their means taken care of, and preserved in order; nor can we live separate from women; and when we have gotten a great deal of gold, and silver, and any other thing that is of great value, and deserving regard, and see a beautifull woman, we leave all these things, and with open mouth fix our eyes upon her countenance, and are willing to forsake what we have, that we may enjoy her beauty, and procure it ourselves. We also leave father, and mother, and the sister that nourishes us, and frequently forget our dearest friends, for the sake of women; so truly, we are so hardy and foolish that we have done in our cups. I take these for signs of power, and by them discover that wine is the strongest and most insuperable of all things."

6. As soon as the first had given the forementioned demonstrations of the strength of wine, he left off; and the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king, and demonstrated that it was the strongest of all, and more powerful than any thing else that appears to have any force or wisdom.
king, who is lord of so many people, smitten at the face by Apame, the daughter of Rabases, thenias his conscience, and his diadem taken from him, and put upon her own head, while he is patiently; and when she smiled he smiled, and when she was angry he was sad; and according to the change of her passions, he changed his. After several reconciliations by the great affection of himself or her, if at any time he saw her disapproved at her.

And when the princes and rulers looked one another, he began to speak on account; and said, "I have already demonstrated how powerful women are; but both these women themselves, the king himself, are weaker than truth: for when the earth is large, and the heaven high, and the course of the sun swift, yet are all these, according to the will of God, who is true Righteousness, for which cause also we ought to put trust in the strongest of all things, and that is unrighteousness of none the less. For, over all, things else that have any strength real, and short-lived, but truth is a thing immortal and eternal. It affords us not such a beauty as will wither away by time, nor riches as may be taken away by fortune, but us rules and laws. It distinguishes them from us, and puts what is unrighteous to rebuke." 

So when Zoroabel had left off his discourse with, and the multitude had cried out aloud at him that had spoken the most wisely, and that it was a noble and imitable strength, and very wax old, the king commanded he should ask for somewhat over and above what had promised, for that he would give it up in good use, and that prudence exceeded the rest; "and thou shalt sit," said the king, "and shalt be called the king. When he had said this, Zoroabel put on of the vow he had made in case he bore the kingdom. Now this vow was, that Jerusalem, and to build therein the temple, as also to restore the vessels which were taken away and brought to Babylon. This," said he, "is that which request I made to thee, that I might be wise and understanding. My king was pleased with what he had said, and kissed him; and wrote to the governors, and enjoined them to conciliate and those that were going with him to ransom him. He also sent letters to those that are in Syria and Phoenicia to cut down cedars from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and build therein the city. He also said that all the spoils that were to be got free; and he prohibited his despotic, that although the speeches or papers of these

puties and governors to lay any king's taxes upon the Jews; he also permitted that they should have all the land which they could possess themselves of without tribute. He also enjoined the Idumeans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Coele Syria, to restore those villages which they had taken from the Jews; and that, besides all this, fifty talents should be given them for the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and that whatsoever the high-priest and the priests wanted, and those sacrifices for the sins wherein they used to worship God, should be made at his own charges; and that the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God should be given them. Moreover, he charged them, that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city and the temple, as also a determinate sum of money every year for their maintenance; and withal he sent the vessels. And all that Cyrus intended to do before him, relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, Darius also ordained should be done accordingly.

9. Now when Zoroabel had obtained these grants from the king, he went out of the palace, and looking up to heaven, he began to return thanks to God for the wisdom he had given him, and the victory he had gained thereby, even in the presence of Darius himself: for, said he, "I had not been thought worthy of these advantages, O Lord, unless thou had been favourable to me." When, therefore, he had returned these thanks to God for the present circumstances he was in, and had prayed to him to afford him the like favour for the time to come, he came to Babylon, and brought the good news to his countrymen of what grants he had procured for them from the king; who, when they heard the same, gave thanks also to God that he restored the land of their forefathers to them again. So they betook themselves to drinking and eating, and for seven days they continued feasting, and kept a festival, for the rebuilding and restoration of their country: after this they chose themselves rulers, who should go up to Jerusalem, out of the tribes of their forefathers, with their families, and children, and cattle, who travelled to Jerusalem with joy and pleasure, under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them, and making a noise with songs, and pipes, and cymbals. The rest of the Jewish multitude also besides accompanied them with rejoicing.

10. And thus did these men go, a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the attention of my readers from the context, and the historical facts, and make too hard a task to those who would follow the coherence of my narration: but the sum of those that went up, above the age of twelve years, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was four thousand and sixty-two Thyras and eighty thousand;
the Levites were seventy-four; the number of the women and children mixed together was forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two; and besides these, there were singers of the Levites one hundred and twenty-eight, and porters one hundred and ten, and of the sacred ministers three hundred and ninety-two; there were also others besides these, who said they were Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies, six hundred and sixty-two; some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honour of the priests, as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor where they found in the genealogies of the Levites and priests; they were about five hundred and twenty-five; the multitude also of servants who followed those that went up to Jerusalem seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven; singing men and singing women were two hundred and forty-five; the camels were four hundred and thirty-five; the beasts used to the yoke were five thousand five hundred and twenty-five; and the governors of all this multitude thus numbered were Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah; and Joshua, the son of Josek the high-priest; and besides these there were Mordecai and Serebeus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers, who also contributed a hundred pounds of gold and five thousand of silver. By this means, therefore, the priests and Levites, and a certain part of the entire people of the Jews that were in Babylon, came and dwelt in Jerusalem; but the rest of the multitude returned every one to their own countries.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW THE TEMPLE WAS BUILT, WHILE THE CUTHIANS ENDEAVOURED IN VAIN TO OBLITERATE THE WORK.

§ 1. Now in the seventh month after they were departed out of Babylon, both Jeshua the high-priest, and Zerubbabel the governor, sent messengers every way round about, and gathered those that were in the country together to Jerusalem universally, who came very glad thereto. He then built the altar on the same place it had formerly been built, that they might offer the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But while they did this, they did not please the neighbouring nations, who all of them bare an ill-will to them. They also celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained concerning it; and after that they offered sacrifices, and what were called the daily sacrifices, and the oblations proper for the Sabbaths, and for all the holy festivals. Those also that had made vows performed them, and offered their sacrifices from the first day of the seventh month. They also began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the masons and to the carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar-trees from Libanus, to bind them together, and to make a united front of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa, for that was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.

2. In the second year of their coming to Jerusalem, as they were there, in the second month, the building of the temple went on apace; and when they had laid its foundations on the first day of the second month of that second year, they set, as overseers of the work, such Levites as were full twenty years old, and Joshua and his brethren, and Azariah and Johanan, the sons of Iddo, and Maaseiah, and Hananiah, and Micaiah, and Zechariah, and Meshullam, and Snelloth, and Elnathan, and Bebai, and Reshabeel, and Jeshua, and Elkanah, and Jozabad, and Jaddua, and Sallathiel, and Amariah, and Joab, and Zechariah, and Adoniah, and Shemaiah, and Elkanah, and Jozabad, and Bania, and Pahathmoab, and Joel, and Jeshua, and Azariah, and Johanan, and Elkanah, and Jozabad, and Shimea, and Shemariah, and Hashabiah, and Mattithiah, and Pedaiah, and El racist, and Jozabad, and Elkanah, and Elnathan, and Musah, and Jeiel, and Gabeel, and Joseph, and Asaiah, and six men over them to judge, with all the rest of the Levites, that were to carry the instruments of work, and which instruments were necessary for the workmen, and to make a united front of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa, for that was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.
ANTIOCHITIES OF THE JEWS.

1. The governor of Syria and Phcenicia, and Thracezume, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, by whose order it was that they built the temple in this manner; and that it was more like a citadel than a temple. For what reason it was that they built cloisters and towers round about the city, and that it was called Zorobabel and Jeshua, the high-priest, that they were the servants of God Almighty; this temple was built for him by a king of that lived in great prosperity, and one that aided all men in virtue; and that it continued a time, but that because of their fathers' impiety to God, Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians and of the Chaldeans, took their city by and destroyed it, and pillaged the temple, and it down, and transplanted the people whom he made captives, and removed them to Babylonia. Cyrus, who, after him, was king of Babylonia, wrote to them to build the temple, and committed the gifts and vessels, and what Nebuchadnezzar had carried out of it, to Zoroabel, and Mithridates the treasurer; and gave him to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple when it was built; for he had sent to have them to have it done, and commanded Sanabassar to go up to them, and to take care of the building of the temple, and that he should receive that which Cyrus had committed to him and immediately laid its foundations:—though it hath been in building from that time, it hath not yet been finished, by the malignity of our enemies. If therefore a mind, and think it proper, write this Darius, that he hath consulted the king, he may find that we have told that is false about this matter.

Zorobabel and the high-priest had made Sinises, and those that were with him, olive to hinder the building, until they had king Darius of all this. So they implored to him about these affairs; but as there were now under terror, and afraid lest there could change his resolution as to the temple, and of the temple, there were at that time amongst them, Haggai, who encouraged them, and bade them cheer, and to suspect no discomfiture in the Persians, for that God foretold So, in dependence on those prophets, themselves earnestly to building, and it one day, the Samaritans had written, they had accused the Jews fled the city, and built the temple citadel than a temple; and said, that were not expedient for the king's affairs, they showed the epistle of Camphilus to forbade them to build the temple, and Darius thereby understood that the temple was not expedient for his reason; he had read the epistle that was from Sinises and those that were with him, who were concerned to have it put forth for among the royal records. A book was found at Ecbatan, in the Media, wherein was written as the king, in the first year of Darius, that the temple should be built, and the altar in height three its breadth of the same, with three edifices of polished stone, and one edifice of stone of their own country; and he ordained that the expenses of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. He also commanded that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged out of the temple, and had carried to Babylon, should be restored to the people of Jerusalem; and that the care of those things should belong to Sanabassar, the governor and president of Syria and Phcenicia, and to his associates, that they may not meddle with that place, but may permit the servants of God, the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple. He also ordained that they should assist them in the work; and that they should pay to the Jews, out of the tribute of the country where they were governors, on account of the sacrifices, bulls, and rams, and lambs, and kids of the goats, and fine flour, and oil, and wine, and all other things that the priests should suggest to them; and that they should pray for the preservation of the king, and of the Persians: and that such as had transgressed any of these orders thus sent to them, he commanded that they should be caught, and hung upon a cross, and their substance confiscated to the king's use. He also prayed to God against them, that if any one attempted to hinder the building of the temple, God would strike him dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness.

2. When Darius had found this book among the records of Cyrus, he wrote an answer to Sinises and his associates, whose contents were these:—"King Darius to Sinises the governor, and to the Samaritans, sendeth greeting. Having found a copy of this epistle among the records of Cyrus, I have sent it to you; and I will that all things be done as therein written. Farewell." So when Sinises, and those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, they resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews, and the princes of the sanhedrim; and the structure of the temple was with great diligence brought to a conclusion, by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, according to God's commands, and by the injunctions of Cyrus and Darius the kings. Now the temple was built in seven years' time: and in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, which is by us called Adar, but by the Macedonians Dystrus, the priests and the Levites, and the other multitude of the Israelites, offered sacrifices, as the renovation of their former prosperity after their captivity, and because they had now the temple rebuilt, a hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according to the number of their tribes (for so many are the tribes of the Israelites); and this last for the sins of every tribe. The priests also, and the Levites, set the porters at every gate according to the laws of Moses. The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple that were round about the temple itself.

3. And as the feast of unleavened bread was at hand, in the first month, which according to the Macedonians, is called Nisan, but according to us Nisan, all the people ran together out of the villages to the city, and celebrated the festival, having purified themselves, with their wives and children, according to the law of their country; and they offered the sacrifices which was called the Pasch, on the fourteenth day of the same month, and feasted seven days, and spared for no cost, but offered whole
buried offerings to God, and performed sacrifices of thanksgiving, because God had led them again to the land of their fathers, and to the laws thereto belonging, and had rendered the mind of the king of Persia favourable to them. So these men offered the largest sacrifices on these accounts, and used great magnificence in the worship of God, and dwelt in Jerusalem, and made use of a form of government that was aristocratical, but mixed with an oligarchy, for the high priests were at the head of their affairs, until the posterity of the Asamoneans set up kingy government; for before their captivity, and the dissolution of their polity, they at first had kingy government from Saul and David for five hundred and thirty-two years, six months, and ten days: but before those kings, such rulers governed them as were called Judges and Monarchs. Under this form of government, they continued for more than five hundred years, after the death of Moses, and of Joshua their commander. — And this is the account I had to give of the Jews who had been carried into captivity, but were delivered from it in the times of Cyrus and Darius.

9. * But the Samaritans, being evil and enviously disposed to the Jews, wrought them many mischief, by reliance on their riches, and by their pretense that they were allied to the Persians, on account that thence they came; and whatsoever it was that they were enjoined to pay the Jews by the king’s order out of their tributes for the sacrifices, they would not pay it. They had also the governors favourable to them, and assisting them for that purpose; nor did they spare to hurt them, either by themselves or by others, as far as they were able. So the Jews determined to send an embassy to king Darius, in favour of the people of Jerusalem, and in order to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zoroabel, and four others of the rulers; and as soon as the king knew from the ambassadors the accusations and complaints they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them an epistle to be carried to the governors and council of Samaria; the contents of which epistle were these: King Darius to Tanyanes and Sambhaha, the governors of the Samaritans; to Sadrases and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow-servants that are in Samaria: Zoroabel, Amanias, and Mordecai, the ambassadors of the Jews, complain of you, that you obstruct them in the building of the temple, and do not supply them with the expenses which I commanded you to do for the offering of their sacrifices. My will therefore is this: That upon the reading of this epistle, you supply them with whatsoever they want for their sacrifices, and that out of the royal treasury, of the tributes of Samaria, as the priest shall desire, they may not leave off their offering daily sacrifices, nor praying to God for me and the Persians: —and these were the contents of that epistle.

CHAPTER V.
HOW XERXES, THE SON OF DARIUS, WAS WELL-DISPOSED TO THE JEWS; AS ALSO CONCERNING ESDRAS AND NEHEMIAH.

§ 1. Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom; who, as he inherited his father's kingdom, so did he inherit his piety towards God and honour of him; for he did all things suitably to his father relating to divine worship, and he was exceeding friendly to the Jews. Now about this time a son of Jeshua, whose name was Jeacins, was the high-priest. Moreover, there was now in Babylonia a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude; he was the principal priest of the people of God, and his name was Esdras. He was very skilful in the laws of Moses, and was well acquainted with king Xerxes. He had determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews that were in Babylonia; and he desired that the king would give him an epistle to the governors of Syria, by which he might know who he was. Accordingly, the king wrote the following epistle to those governors:

"Xerxes, king of kings, to Esdras the priest, and reader of the divine law, greeting. I am agreeable to that love which I bear to mankind, to permit those of the Jewish nation who are so disposed, as well as those of the priests and Levites that are in our kingdom, to go together to Jerusalem. Accordingly, I have given command for that purpose; and let every one that hath a mind go, according as it hath seemed good to me, and to my seven counsellors, and this in order to their review of the affairs of Judea, to see whether they be agreeable to the law of God. Let them also take with them those presents that I and my friends have vowed, with all that silver and gold which is found in the country of the Babylonians, as dedicated to God, and let all the be carried to Jerusalem, to God for service. Let it also be lawful for thee and thy brethren to make as many vessels of silver and gold as thou pleasest. Thou shalt also dedicate holy vessels which have been given thee, and as many more as thou hast a mind to make, and shall take the expenses out of the king's treasury, and have moreover written to the treasurers of Syria and Phoenicia, that they take care of those affairs that Esdras the priest, and reader of the law of God, is sent about, that God may not be angry with me, or with my children, I grant that is necessary for sacrifices to God, according the law as far as a hundred cori of wheat; and enjoin you not to lay any treacherous imposition or any tributes, upon their priests or Levites, sacred singers, or porters, or sacred servants, scribes of the temple; and do thou, O Esdras, appoint judges according to the wisdom (given thee by God, and those such as understand the law, and may judge in all Syria and Phoenicia; and do thou instruct those also who are ignorant of that if any one of thy countrymen transgress the law of God, or that of the king, he may be punished as not transgressing it out of ignorance, but as one that knows it indeed, but boldly despises and contemns it; and such may be punished by death, or by paying fines, Farewell." 

2. When Esdras had received this epistle, he was very joyful, and began to worship God, and confessed that he had been the cause of the king's great favour to him, and that for the same reason he gave all the thanks to God. So he read the epistle at Babylon to the Jews, that were there, but he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media; and when these Jews had understood what had the king had towards God, and what kindness he...
AUGUSTINE OF THE JEWS.

11. For Esdras, they were all greatly pleased; nay, any of them took their effects with them, and me to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to
Islam; but then the entire body of the people great revulsion in the country; whereas there
but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to
Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond Evan
tiles till now, and are an immense multitude,
not to be estimated by numbers. Now there
are a great number of priests, and Levites, and
ers, and sacred singers, and sacred servants, to
us. So he gathered those that were in the
city together beyond Euphrates, and staid
three days, and ordained a fast for them, that
might make their prayers to God for their prof-
that the people might suffer no misfortunes by
any, either from their enemies, or from any
ill accident; for Esdras had said beforehand,
that had told the king how God would preserve
and so he had not thought fit to request that
fd send horsemen to conduct them. So when
finished their prayers, they removed from
are, on the twelfth day of the first month of
the year of the reign of Xerxes, and they
Jerusalem on the fifth month of the same
Now Esdras presented the sacred money to
ersons, who were of the family of the priests,
uf hundred and fifty talents, vessels of
nals, vessels of wood, and thirty more gold,
le talents by weight; for these had been made by the king and his coun-
by all the Israelites that stayed at Baby-
when Esdras had delivered these things
st, he gave to God, as the appointed sa-
whole burnt-offerings, twelve bulls on ac-
no common preservation of the people,
, seventy-two lambs, and twelve kids
, for the remission of sins. He also de-
king’s epistle to the king’s officers, and
or of Cæsarea and Phœnícia; and
under the necessity of doing what was
him, they honoured our nation and put to them in all their necessities.
ese things were truly done under the
Esdras; and he succeeded in them, be-
esteemed him worthy of the success of
on account of his goodness and
But some time afterward these
ions to him, and brought an ac-
 certain of the multitude, and of
levites, who had transgressed their
law; dissolved the laws of their country,
strange wives, and had brought the
riests into confusion. These persons
support the laws, lest God should
ral anger against them all, and re-
reminiscence against it. Hence
imment, immediately, out of grief,
the hair of his head and beard, and
the ground, because this crime
principal men among the people;
that if he should enjoin them to
and the children they had by
not be held guilty of, to be continued
ground. However, all the bar-
ang to him, who also themselves
ook of the grief he was under for
. So Esdras rose up from the

This procedure of Esdras, and of the last part of the Jewish nation,
after their return from the Babylonian captivity, of reducing the Jewish
marriages, once for all, to the strictness of the law of Moses, without
any regard to the greatness of those who had broken it, and without
immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them; and in order to appease God, they offered sacrifices, and slew rams, as obligations to him, but it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of these men. So when Esdras had reformed this sin about the marriages of the forementioned persons, he reduced that practice to purity, so that it continued in that state for the time to come.

5. Now when they kept the feast of tabernacles in the seventh month,* and almost all the people were come together to it, they went up to the open part of the temple, to the gate which looked eastward; and from thence they read them the laws of Moses, so that it might be read to them. Accordingly, he stood in the midst of the multitude and read them; and this he did from morning to noon. Now, by hearing the laws read to them, they were instructed to be righteous men for the present and for the future; but as for their past offences, they were displeased at themselves and proceeded to shed tears on their account, as considering with themselves, that if they had kept the law, they had endured none of these miseries which they had experienced; but when they had observed the violation, he bid them go home and not weep, for that it was a festival, and they ought not to weep thereon, for that it was not lawful so to do. He exhorted them rather to proceed immediately to feasting, and to do what was suitable to a feast, and what was agreeable to a day of joy; but to let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins be a security and a guard to them, that they fell no more into the like offences. So upon Esdras' exhortation they began to feast, and when they had so done for eight days, in their tabernacles, they departed to their own homes, giving thanks to God, and returning thanks to Esdras for his reformation of what corruptions had been introduced into their settlement. So it came to pass, that after he had obtained this reputation among the people, he died an old man, and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem. About the same time it happened also that Joasim, high-priest, died; and his son Eliashib succeeded in the high-priesthood.

6. Now there was one of those Jews who had been carried captive, who was cup-bearer to king Xerxes, at whose time was Nehemiah. As this man was walking before Xerxes, the metropolis of the Persians, he heard some strangers that were entering the city, after a long journey, speaking to one another in the Hebrew tongue; so he went to them and asked from whence they came; and when their answer was, that they came from Judea, he began to inquire of them again in what state the multitude was, and in what condition Jerusalem was: and when they replied that they were in a bad state, for that their walls were thrown down to the ground...

regard to that natural affection or compassion for their heathen wives, and their children by them, which made it so hard for Esdras to correct it, deserves greatly to be observed and imitated in all attempts for reformation among Christians, the contrary conduct having been the usual course with both Jews and Christians, while the heathens have been suffered to take place instead of the divine laws, and so the kingdom of Christ is endangered, and the church will suffer to continue corrupted from one generation to another. See 2 Kings, viii. 22.

* This feast of Tabernacles was instituted in several heathen nations, as Spainsan was observed among some. He also farther observes presently, what great regard many heathens had to the observance of the festival, as detailed in Nehemiah iv. 6.

This rule of Esdras, not to fast on a festival day, is quoted in the Acts of the Apostles, xvi. 3, as obnoxious also among Christians also.

This relevant notice of the Jews, and their repairment, must have been to Congress, and to the pious Nehemiah, and before he came with his commission to build the walls of Jerusalem; nor is it at all disagretable to these historians in Josephus, here Esdras names on the seventeenth, and Nehemiah and till the twenty-third of Xerxes, at the latter of eighteen years.
against their hatred, and to intermit building neither night nor day, but to use all diligence, and to set the workmen to labour with the especial opportunity for it. When he had said this, he added also that the rulers should measure the wall, and the work of it among the people, according to the villages and cities, as every one's ability should suffice. And when he had added this promise, he himself, with his servants, would assist them, and in like manner, so that the Jews prepared for work: that is the same they are called by from that day they came up from Babylon, which is named from the tribe of Judah, which came first to the place, and dwindle both they and the country to this day.

But now when the Ammonites, and Moabites, Samaritans, and all that inhabited Coele Syria, that the building went on, it took them six, and they proceeded to lay snares for them, hinder their intentions. They also slew some of the Jews, and sought how they might destroy themselves, by hiring some of the foreigners to him. They also put the Jews in fear, and made them and spread abroad rumours, as if nations were ready to make an expedition, in which means they were harassed, and swimming off the building. But none of kings could deter Nehemiah from being about the work; he only set a number of him as a guard to his body, and so under perseverance therein, and was insensible of his desire to perfect this work, did he attentively, and with great foresight of his own safety; not that he feared but of this persuasion, that if he were walls, for his citizens, would never be destructions; and he gave orders that the building men were to be surrounded, and have their armour on them. Accordingly, the ma- ners of war, as well as he that brought them to the building. He also appointed that he should be very near them; and he would this notice of it to the people, that they were of their armour, and their enemies might naked. He also went about the city by night, being never discovered about the work itself, nor about his appearance, for he made no use of those professional pleasures, but of necessity. And this endured for two years and four in so long a time was the wall built, the eight year of the reign of Xerxes, in which the walls were finished, and the multitude offered sacrifices building of them; and they continued eight days. However, when the people had Syria heard that the building was finished, they had indignation.

Nehemiah saw that the city was no stranger to the priests, and the Levites, that they would leave the country, and remove themselves to the city, and there continue; and he built them houses at his own expense; and he commanded that part of the revenue should be employed in cultivating the land, to bring the tithes of their fruits to Jerusalem, that the priests and Levites having whereof they might live perpetually, might not leave the divine worship; who willingly hearkened to the constitutions of Nehemiah, by which means the city Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. So when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things, and things worthy of commendation, in a glorious manner, he came to a great age, and then died. He was a man of good and a righteous disposition, and had ambitions to make his own nation happy; and he left the walls of Jerusalem as an eternal monument for himself. Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING ESTHER, AND MORDECAI, AND HAMAN; AND HOW, IN THE REIGN OF ARTAXERXES, THE WHOLE NATION OF THE JEWS WAS IN DANGER OF PERISHING.

§ 1. After the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be transferred to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes. When this man had obtained the government over the Persians, the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and children, were in danger of perishing; the occasion whereof we shall declare in a little time; for it is proper, in the first place, to explain somewhat relating to this king; and how he came to marry a Jewish wife, who was herself of the royal family also, and who is related to have saved our nation; for when Artaxerxes had taken the kingdom, and had set governors over the hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India even unto Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign he made a costly feast for his friends, and for the nations of Persia, and for their governors, such a one as was proper for a king to make, when he had a mind to make a public demonstration of his riches, and this for a hundred and four score days; after which he made a feast for other nations, and for their ambassadors, at Shushan, for seven days. Now this feast was ordered after the manner following:—He caused a tent to be pitched, which was supported by pillars of gold and silver, with curtains of linen and purple spread over them, that it might afford room for...
the most comely. So when a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there we found a damsel in Babylon, whose parent was both dead, and she was brought up with her uncle Mordecai, for that was her uncle's name. The uncle was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Not improbably a consideration of this damsel, for she was the most beautiful of all the rest, and the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her: so she came to one of the eunuchs to take the care of her; and she was very exactly provided with sweet odours, in great plenty, and with costly ointments, and in her body required to be anointed withal: and she was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number four hundred; and when she was thought they had been sufficiently purified, she was at the forementioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed, she sent one to be with the king every day. So when he had accompanied her, she sent her back to the eunuch; and when the king had come to her, he was pleased with her, and in love with the damsel, and married her, and called her his lawful wife, and kept a wedding feast on her, on the twelfth day of the seventh month of the seventh year of his reign, which was called Adar. He also sent away, as they are called, or messengers, unto every one of them, and gave orders that they should keep a feast for his marriage, while he himself treated the Persians and Medes, and the principal men of the state for a whole month, on account of this his marriage. Accordingly, Esther came to his royal palace, and set a diadem upon her head; and thus was married, without any mention to the king, who had been derived from her. Her uncle was removed from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there being every day about the palace, and improved how the damsel did, for he loved her as if he had been his own daughter.

3. Now the king had made a law, that if any of his new-born people should approach any one of the eunuchs, he should be called, when he refused his throne and went, with axes in his hands, stoned to death, in the throne, in order to punish such as approached to him without being called. However, the Persian sat with golden sceptre in his hand, which he held out when he had a mind to save any one of those that approached to him without being called, and he who touched it was free from danger, of this matter we have discourse sufficiently.

4. Some time after this, when the king and Tercus, plotted against the king; and when Haman, the servant of one of the eunuchs, being bidden to birth a Jew, was acquainted with him and discovered it to the queen's uncle; and Mordecai, by means of Esther, made the court known to the king. This troubled the king; he discovered the truth, and hanged the court against a cross, while at that time he gave orders to Mordecai, who had been the occasion of this preservation. He only bade the scribe to ask his name in the records, and bids him give a name to this palace, as an intimate friend of the king, his cousin, the son of Abinadom, by birth an Amelekit, that used to go to the king; and the forefathers and Persians
I will to be executed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year, that so when all who have enmity to us are destroyed, and this in one day, we may be allowed to lead the rest of our lives in peace hereafter." Now when this decree was brought to the cities, and to the country, all were ready for the destruction and entire abolition of the Jews, against the day before-mentioned; and they were very hasty about it at Shushan, in particular. Accordingly, the king and Haman spent their time in feasting together with good cheer and wine; but the city was in disorder.

7. Now when Mordecai was informed of what was done, he rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth, and sprinkled ashes upon his head, and went about the city, crying out, that "a nation that had been injurious to no man, was to be destroyed." And he went on saying thus as far as to the king's palace, and there he stood, for it was not lawful for him to go into it in that habit. The same thing was done by all the Jews that were in the several cities wherein this decree was published, with lamentation and mourning, on account of the calamities denounced against them. But as soon as certain persons had told the queen that Mordecai stood before the court in a mourning habit, she was disturbed at this report, and sent out such as should change his garments; but when he could not be induced to put off his sackcloth, because the sad occasion that forced him to put it on was not yet ceased, she called the eunuch Ahasuerus, for he was then present, and sent him to Mordecai, in order to know of him what sad accident had befallen him, for which he was in mourning, and would not put off the habit he had put on, at her desire. Then did Mordecai inform the eunuch of the occasion of his mourning, and of the decree which was sent by the king into all the country, and of the promise of money whereby Haman bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Shushan, to be carried to Esther; and he charged her to petition the king about this matter, and not to do any dishonourable thing in her to put on a humble habit, for the safety of her nation, wherein she might deprecate the ruin of the Jews, who were in danger of it; for that Haman, whose dignity was only inferior to that of the king, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him that she was not called by the king, and that he who goes in to him without being called, is to be slain, unless when he is willing to save any one, he holds out his golden sceptre to him; but that to whomsoever he gives not without being called, that person is so far from being slain, that he obtains pardon, and is entirely preserved. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he bade him also tell her that she must not only provide for her own preservation, but for the common preservation of her nation; for that if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help to them from God some other way; but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the very same message back to Mordecai [to desire him], to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were there together to a congregation, and to fast, and abstain from all sorts of food, on her account, and [to let him know that] she with her maidens would do the
same; and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it were against the law, and that if she must die for it, she would not refuse it.

3. Accordingly, Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast; and he besought God, together with them, not to overlook his nation, particularly at this time, when it was going to be destroyed; but that, as he had often before provided for them, and forgiven when they had sinned, so he would now deliver them from that destruction which was denounced against them; for although it was not all the nation that had defected, yet must they so ingloriously be slain, and that he was himself the occasion of the wrath of Haman. "Because," said he, "I did not worship him, nor could I endure to pay honour to him which I used to pay to thee, O Lord; for upon that his anger hath he contrived this present mischief against those that have not transgressed thy laws." The same supplications did the multitude put up; and entreated that God would provide for their deliverance, and free the Israelites that were in all the earth from this calamity which was now coming upon them, for they had it before their eyes, and expected its coming. Accordingly, Esther wrote supplication to God after the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the earth, and putting on her mourning garments, and bidding farewell to meat and drink, and all delicacies, for three days' time; and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and make her words appear persuasive to the king, and render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her words and beauty she might succeed, for the averting of the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and for the consolation of those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing: as also that he would excite a hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they proved to be contemned by him.

9. When Esther had used this supplication for three days, she put off those garments, and changed her habit, and adorned herself as became a queen, and took two of her handmaids with her, the one of which supported her, as she gently leaned upon her, and the other followed after, and lifted up her large train (which swept along the ground) with the extremities of her fingers: and thus she came to the king, having a blushing redness in her countenance, with a pleasant agreeableness in her behaviour, yet did she go in to him with fear; and as soon as she was come over-against him, as he was sitting on his throne, in his royal apparel, which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones, which made him seem to her more terrible, especially when he looked at her somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger, her joints failed her immediately, out of the dread she was in, and she fell down sideways in a swoon: but the king changed his mind, which happened, as I suppose, by the will of God, and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some very evil thing upon her, and he leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms, and recovered her, by embracing her, and speaking comfortably to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to suspect anything that was said on account of her coming to him without being called, because that law was made for subjects, but that she, who was a queen, as well as he a king, might be entirely secure: and as he said this, he put the sceptre into her hand, and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law; and so freed her from fear. And after she had recovered herself by these encouragements, she said, "My Lord, it is not easy for me, on the sudden, to say what hath happened, for so long as I saw thee to be great, and comely, and terrible, my spirit departed from me, and I had no soul left in me." And while it was with difficulty, and it was a low voice, that she could say thus much, the king was in great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to expect better fortune, since he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant her the half of his kingdom. Accordingly, Esther desired that he and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet, for she said she had prepared a supper for him. He consented to it; and when they were there, as they were drinking, he bade Esther to let him know what she had desired; for that she should not be disappointed, though she should desire the half of his kingdom. But she put off the discovery of her petition till the next day, if he would come again together with Haman, to her banquet.

10. Now when the king had promised so to do, Haman went away very glad, because he had also the honour of supping with the king at Esther's banquet, and because no one else partook of the same honour with kings but himself; yet when he saw Mordecai in the court he was very much displeased, for he paid him no respect at all which he saw him. So he went home and called for his wife Zeresh, and his friends, and when they were come, he showed them what honour he enjoyed not only from the king, but from the queen also, for as he alone had that day supped with her, together with the king, so was he also invited again for the next day; "Yet," said he, "I am not per-
they could give it, for himself, since it was done who was beloved by the king; so he gave advice which he thought of all the others the best. He said, "If thou wouldst truly honour a man, thou sayest thou dost love, give order that my ride on horseback, with the same garment thou wearest, and with a gold chain about his neck, and let one of thy intimate friends go before him and proclaim through the whole city, that such is the king's bounty. Obtainest thou this mark of honour?" This was the advice which Haman out of a supposal that such reward would be to himself. Hereupon the king was pleased to advice, and said, "Go thou, therefore, for cast the horse, the garment, and the chain, Mordecai the Jew, and give him those things, before his horse and proclaim accordingly;" art," said he, "my intimate friend, and wilt me good advice; be thou then the minister what thou hast advised me to. This shall reward from us, for preserving my life." he heard this order, which was entirely unlooked for, and took his hat off, and knew to do. However, he went out and led the first the purple garment, and the golden the neck, and finding Mordecai before the city in sackcloth, he bade him put it off, and put the purple garment on; but not knowing the truth of the matter, but that it was done in mockery, said, "O thou vilest of mankind, dost thou thus utter calamities!" But when he was satisfied of the honour bestowed upon him, for since he had procured him when he was, his eunuchs who had conspired against him, that purple garment which the king al and put the chain about his neck, and shackle, and went round the city, while not before, and proclaimed, "This shall them. While these men were thus talking one eunuch hastened Haman away upper; but one of the eunuchs named saw the gallows that was fixed in Ham and inquired of one of his servants for they had prepared it. So he knew the queen's uncle, because Haman petitioned the king that he might be put present, he held his peace. Not so, with Haman, were at the banquet, the queen to tell him what gift she desired to obtain, and assured her that she should have whatsoever she had a mind to. She then lamented the danger her people were in; and that she and her nation were given up to be destroyed, and that she on that account, made this her petition; that she would not have troubled him if she had only given order that they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such a misfortune would not have been intolerable; but she desired that they might be delivered from such destruction." And when the king inquired of her who was the author of this misery to them, she then openly accused Haman, and convicted him, that he had been the wicked instrument of this, and had formed this plot against them. When the king was hereupon in disorder, and was gone hastily out of the banquet into the gardens, Haman began to intercede with Esther, and to beseech her to forgive him, as to what he had offended, for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he had fallen upon the queen's bed, and was making supplication to her, the king came in, and being still more provoked at what he saw, "O thou wretch," said he, "thou vilest of mankind, dost thou aim to force my wife?" And when Haman was astonished at this, and not able to speak one word more, Sabuchadas the eunuch came in, and accused Haman, and said, "He found a gallow at his house, prepared for Mordecai; for that the servant told him so much, upon his inquiry, when he was sent to him to call him to supper:" he said further, that the gallows was fifty cubic high; which, when the king heard, he determined that Haman should be punished after the manner than the king himself should be punished by him against Mordecai; so he gave order immediately that he should be hung upon those gallows, and be put to death after the same manner. And from hence I cannot forbear to admire God, and to learn hence his wisdom and justice, not only in punishing the wickedness of Haman, but in so disposing it, that he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for another; for also, because thereby he teaches others this lesson, that what mischief any one prepares against another, he without knowing of it, first contrives it against himself.

12. Wherefore Haman, who had immediately abused the honour he had from the king, was destroyed after this manner; and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also called for Mordecai (for Esther had informed him that she was akins to him), and gave that ring to Mordecai which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman's estate to Mordecai; and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from the fear of death, and showed him what had been written over all the country by Haman the son of Ammuelatha; for that if her country were destroyed, and her countrymen were to perish, she could not bear to live herself any longer. So the king promised her that he would not do any thing that was disagree able to her, nor contradict what she desired; but he bade her write what she pleased about the Jews, in the king's name, and seal it with his seal, and send it to all his kingdom, for that those who read epistles whose authority is secured by having the king's seal to them, would no way contradict what was written therein. So he commanded the king's messengers to be sent, and to write the nation on the Jew's behalf, and to his lieutenants and governors, that were over his hundred and...
seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of this epistle were these:—"The great king Artaxerxes to our rulers, and those that are our faithful subjects, sendeth greeting. Many men have put their hands on account of the great benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honour which they have obtained from the wonderful kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been their benefactors, as if they would take away gratitude from among men, and by their insolent abuse of such benefits as they never expected, they turn the abundance they have against those that are the authors of it, and suppose that they shall lie concealed from God and that he will not avenge the vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, and bearing private malice of their own against some others, by deceiving those that have the power, persuade them to be angry and as such as have done them no harm, till they are in danger of perishing, and this by laying accusations and calumnies: nor is this state of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have learned by report only, but by some examples of modern times. Now let our observers retain in their minds that it is not fit to attend any longer to calumnies and accusations, nor to the persuasion of others, but to determine what any one knows of himself to have been really done, and to punish what justly deserves it, and to grant favours to such as are innocent. This hath been the case of Haman, the son of Ammocatha, by birth an Amaeleite, and alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men to so great a degree, as to be called my father, and to be all along worshipped, and to have honours paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor govern the magnitude of his prosperity with sound reason; nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life, who gave him his authority, by endeavouring to take away Mordecai, my benefactor, and my saviour, and basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the partner of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction; for he contrived by this means to deprive me of my faithful friends, and to destroy the government of others. But I perceive that these Jews, that were by this pernicious fellow devoted to destruction, were not wicked men, but conducted their lives after the best manner, and were men dedicated to the worship of that God who hath preserved the kingdom to me and to my ancestors, I do not only free them from the punishment which the former spoke, which was sent by Haman, ordered to be inflicted on them, but which if you refuse obedience you shall do well; but I will that they have all been paid them. Accordingly, I have hanged up the man that contrived such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan; that punishment being sent upon him by God, who seek all things. And I give you in charge to publicly propose a copy of this epistle through my kingdom, that the Jews may be persuaded peaceably to use their own laws, and that you assist them, that at the same season when their miserable estate did belong, they may defend themselves that they may be saved; and on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar, for God hath made that day a day of salvation, instead of a day of destruction to them; and I will be a good day to those that wish us well, and a memorial of the punishment of the conspiracy against us; and I will that you take notice, in every city, and in every nation, that shall destroy any thing that is contained in this epistle, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under the dominion of the king, and let the Jews be ready against the day before mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies.

13. Accordingly, the horsemen who carried the epistles, proceeded on the ways which they were to go with speed; but as for Mordecai, as soon as he had assumed the royal garment, and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, he was forth in a public procession; and when the king who were at Shushan saw him in so great haste with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also; and joy and a sense of salvation encompassed the Jews, both those that were in the cities and those that were in the countries, upon the publication of the king's letters, insomuch that many of other nations circumcised their foreskins for fear of the Jews, that they may procure safety to themselves thereby; for on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which succeeding to the Hebrew, is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians, Dysteu, those that carried the king's epistle gave them notice, that the same day wherein their danger was to have been, that very day should be a day of salvation to them. But now the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem; for the fear they were in of Mordecai forced them to act with discretion. Now when the royal decree was come to all the country that was subject to the king, it fell out that the Jews at Shushan slew five hundred of their enemies. And when the king had told Esther the number of those that were slain in that city, but did not well know what had been done in the provinces, he asked her whether she would have anything further done against them, for that it should be done accordingly; upon which she desired that the Jews might be permitted to visit their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; as also, that they might hang the sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews so to do, as desirous not to crucify Esther. So they gathered themselves together again on the fourteenth day of the month Dysteu, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched nothing of what riches they had.
there were slain by the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and these were slain on the thirtieth day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival. In like manner, they kept their days together, and fasted on the fourteenth day, and that which followed it; whence it is, that even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these days festivals, and send portions to one another. Mordecai also wrote to the Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes to observe these days, and to celebrate them as festivals, and to deliver them down to posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, and that it might never be buried in oblivion; for since they were about to be destroyed on these days by Haman, they would destroy a sight thing, upon escaping the danger in them, and them inflicting punishment on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them; or which cause the Jews still keep the forementioned days, and call them days of Phurim or Purim. And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen; so that the affairs of the Jews were, by their means, better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.†

CHAPTER VII.

WHEN ELIASIB THE HIGH-PRIEST WAS DEAD, HIS BROTHER JUDAS SUCCEEDED IN THE HIGH-PRIESTHOOD; AND HOW BAGOSSES OFFERED MANY INJURIES TO THE JEWS; AND WHAT SANBALLAT DID.

The book of Tobit, ch. ix. 25, 26, declares, 'to read 7 days of purim; or protection, but ought to be read 7 days of purim, or the speech which readeth,' says he, 'nothing is more certain.'

In view of these considerations, it is clear that the name of the book is correctly pronounced as 'Esaq,' not 'Esau.'

Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, and the principal of that city, was a great and powerful personage, and had the appearance of a king. He was the chief of the sect called the Samaritans, who were the descendants of the Israelites who had remained in Samaria after the captivity.

Sanballat was a great and powerful personage, and had the appearance of a king. He was the chief of the sect called the Samaritans, who were the descendants of the Israelites who had remained in Samaria after the captivity. He was the chief of the sect called the Samaritans, who were the descendants of the Israelites who had remained in Samaria after the captivity.

Concerning Sanballat and Manasseh, and the temple which they built on Mount Gerizim; as also how Alexander made his entry into the city Jerusalem; and what benefits he bestowed on the Jews.

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. About this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assailed and slain at Egos by Pausanias, the son of Cerastes, who was derived from the family of Orestes, and his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom; who, passing over the Hellespont, overcame the generals of Darius's army in a battle fought at Granicus. So he marched over Lydia, and subdued Ionia, and overran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of J addua the high-priest, through married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high-priesthood, quarrelled with him; for they esteemed this man's marriage a step to such as would be deserving of transgressing against the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners, although the offence of some about marriage, and their having married wives that were not of their own country, has been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then
underwent; so they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high-priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the altar. Whereupon Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and told him, that although he loved his daughter Nenoe, yet was he not willing to be deprived of his sacrosanct dignity on her account, which was the principal dignity in their nation, and always continued in the same family. And then Sanballat promised him not only to preserve to him the honour of his priesthood, but to procure for him the power and dignity of a high-priest, and would make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He also told him farther, that he would build him a temple like that at Jerusalem, upon Mount Gerizim, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in Samaria; and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elevated with these promises, and said with Sanballat, upon a supposal that he should gain a high-priesthood, as bestowed on him by Darius, for it happened Sanballat was then in years. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of those priests and Levites were entangled in such matches; for they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and habitations also; and all this in order every way to gratify his son-in-law.

3. About this time it was that Darius heard how Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and had beaten his lieutenants in the battle of Granicus, and was proceeding farther; whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the Macedonians before they should assault and conquer all Asia. So he passed over the river Euphrates and came over Taurus, the Cilician mountain; and at Issus of Cilicia he waited for the enemy, as ready there to give him battle. Upon which Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down; and told Manasseh that he would suddenly perform his promises to him, and this as soon as ever Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies; for not he only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians, on account of their multitude; but the event proved otherwise than they expected, for the king joined battle with the Macedonians, and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, and his wife and children, were taken captives, and his baggage came into Persia, and took Damascus; and when he had obtained Sidon, he besieged Tyre, when he sent an epistle to the Jewish high-priest, to send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions; and that what presents he formerly sent to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing; but the high-priest answered the messengers, that he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the enjoyment of the living. Upon hearing this answer, Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken, yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high-priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had, with a good deal of pains during the siege, taken Tyre, and had settled its affairs, he came to the city of Gaza, and besieged both the city and him that was governor of the garrison, whose name was Babemese.

4. But Sanballat thought he had now a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so announced Darius, and taking with him seven hundred of his own subjects, he came to Alexander, and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, he said to him, that he delivered up to him those men who came out of places under his dominion, and did gladly accept of him for their lord instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received his kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage, and spoke to him about his present affairs. He told him that he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high-priest Jaddua; and that there were many others of his own nation now with him, that were desirous to have a temple in the places subject to him; that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest when the nation was of one mind and united, upon any attempt for innovation, it proved troublesome to kings, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria. Whereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave so to do; who used the same diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh high-priest, and deemed it a great reward that the king's daughter's children should have that dignity when the seven months of the siege of Tyre was over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddua the high-priest, when he heard that, was in agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in offering sacrifices to the god to whom he sought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from their perils that were coming upon them; whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that he should take courage, and seize the city, and open the gates; that the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habit proper to their order, without the dread of any ill consequences, which the providence of God would prevent. Upon which, when he rose from his sleep, he grew rejoiced; and declared to all the people that he had received from God, According to which dream he acted entirely, and waited for the coming of the king.

5. And when he understood that he was not come from the city, he went out in procession with the priests and the multitude of citizens. The procession was venerable, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called Saphia; which name, translated into Greek, signifies a prospect, for you have a view both of Jerusalem and of the temple, and of the Phcenicians, and of all the nations that thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torment the high-priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, who...
saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high-priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his miter on his head, having the golden plate wherein the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that name, and first saluted the high-priest. The Jews also did all together, with one voice, salute Alexander, and encompass him about; whereupon the kings of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disorder'd in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him how it came to pass that, when all others adored him, he should adore the high-priest of the Jews! To whom he replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who hath honoured him with his high-priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians; whereas it is, that having seen no other in that habit, and now seeing this person in it, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the divine conduct, and shall therewith conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Persians, and all things shall succeed according to what is in my own mind. And when he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the high-priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he came into the city; and when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high-priest's direction, and magnificently treated both the high-priest and the priests. And when the book of Daniel was showed him, wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended; and as he was then glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present, but the next day he called them to him, and bade them ask what favours they pleased of him; whereupon the high-priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He granted all they desired; and when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do hereafter what they desired; and when he said to the multitude, that if any of them would enlist themselves in his army on this condition, that they should continue under the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him, many were ready to accompany him in his wars.

6. So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neighboring cities; and when all the inhabitants, to whom he came, received him with great kindness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem for their metropolis (a city situate at Mount Gerizim, and inhabited by apostles of the Jewish nation), seeing that Alexander had so greatly honoured the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews; for such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere declared, that when the Jews are in adversity they deny that they are of kin to them, and then they confess the truth; but when they perceive that some good fortune hath befallen them, they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying, that they belong to them, and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly, they made their address to the king with splendour, and showed great alacrity in meeting him at a little distance from Jerusalem; and when Alexander had commended them, the Shechemites approached to him, taking with them the troops that Samballat had sent to them, and they desired that he would come to their city, and do honour to their temple also; to whom he promised, that when he returned he would come to them; and when they petitioned that he would remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because they did not now sow thereon, he asked who they were that made such a petition; and when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the name of Sidonians, living at Shechem, he asked them again whether they were Jews; and when they said they were not Jews, "It was to the Jews," said he, "that I granted that privilege, however, when I return, and am thoroughly informed by you of this matter, I will do what I shall think proper."

And in this manner he took leave of the Shechemites; but ordered that the troops of Samballat should follow him into Egypt, because there he was designed to give them lands, which he did a little after in Tiberias, when he ordered them to guard that country.

7. Now when Alexander was dead, the government was parted among his successors; but the temple upon Mount Gerizim remained; and if any one were accused by those of Jerusalem of having eaten things common, or of having broken the Sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly. About this time it was that Jochua the high-priest died, and Onias his son took the high-priesthood. This was the state of the affairs of the people of Jerusalem at this time.


* See p. 250."
CHAPTER I.

HOW PTOLEMY, THE SON OF LAGUS, TOOK JERUSALEM AND JUDEA BY DECEIT AND TREACHERY, AND CARRIED MANY OF THE JEWS THENCE, AND PLANTED THEM IN EGYPT.

§ 1. Now when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled the affairs of Judea after the fore-mentioned manner, he ended his life; and as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia; Seleucus, Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimachus governed the Hellespont, and Cassander possessed Macedonia; as did Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, seize upon Egypt; and while these princes ambitiously strive one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and those lasting wars too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in these times of distress, insomuch that all Syria, by the means of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of that denomination of Saviour, which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and for that end made use of deceit and treachery; for as he came into the city on a Sabbath-day, as if he would offer sacrifice, he, without any trouble, gained the city, while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him, and because on that day they were at rest and quietness; and when he had gained it, he reigned over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we, by it, had lost our liberty; where he says thus: "There is a nation called the nation of the Jews, who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem. These men took no care, but let it come into the hands of Ptolemy, as not willing to take arms, and thereby they submitted to be under a hard master, by reason of their unseasonable superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near Mount Gerizim, he led them all into Egypt, and settled them there. And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were most faithful in the observance of oaths and covenants; and this from the answer they made to Alexander, when he sent an embassy to them, after he had beaten Darius a battle; so he distributed many of them into cities, and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths that they would keep their fidelity to the posterity of that who committed these places to their care. No, there were not a few other Jews who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy. However there were disorders among their posterity, with relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they thereupon contended one with another, while those of Jerusalem said that their temple was left, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to Mount Gerizim.

CHAPTER II.

HOW PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS PROCURED THE LAW OF THE JEWS TO BE TRANSLATED INTO THE GREEK TONGUE; AND SET MANY CAPTIVES FREE; AND DEDICATED MANY GIFTS TO GOD.

§ 1. When Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphus then took the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one. He procured the law to be interpreted, and set free those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there, who were a hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion was this:—Demetrius Phakian, who was library-keeper to the king, was enamoured of it, if we were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was anywhere valuable, or agreeable to the king's inclination (who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books); to which temple of Gerizim: of all which our authors take heed. As the Samaritans carried into Egypt the same customs, Superstition, surnames of those who have lived a holy and primitive life, and the law of the priests, and all the ceremonies, were received by Ptolemy, and the law kept five years, before he sent for the seventy-two interpreters of the many languages, and other scribes of that nation in Egypt: in the famous settlement of Jews, and the senate of their elders; and in all the wise men and scribes of that nation, in the law of Moses, which

= The great number of these Jews and Samaritans who were formerly carried into Egypt by Alexander, and now by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, appear afterwards to the vast multitude of Jews, as we shall see presently, were once regarded by Philareus, who, by him made free, before he went for the seventy-two interpreters of the many languages, and other scribes of that nation in Egypt: in the famous settlement of Jews, and the senate of their elders; and in all the wise men and scribes of that nation, in the law of Moses, which

= And in all the scribes of that nation, in the law of Moses, which
inclination of his, Demetrius was zealous subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him how many thousands of books he had collected, he replied, that he had already about twenty times ten thousand; but that, in a little time, he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said he had been informed that there were many books of laws among the Jews worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library, but which, being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, will cause no small pains in getting them translated into Greek tongue; that the character in which they are written seems to be like that which is the proper character of the Syrians, and that its sound, when pronounced, is like to theirs also; and that this sound appears to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said, that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also; for while nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundant books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper for him to do; and therefore he wrote to the Jewish high-priest that he should act accordingly.

2. Now there was one Aristeus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and, on account of his modesty, very acceptable to him. This Aristeus resolved frequently, and that before now, to petition the king that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this to be a convenient opportunity for the making that petition. So he discoursed, in the first place, with those who were the king's guards, Sophibius of Tarcentum, and Andreas, and persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly, Aristeus embraced the same opinion with those that have been before mentioned, and went to the king and made the following speech to him: "It is not fit for us, O king, to overlook things hastily, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay the truth open; for since we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction, by what means can we do this, while so many of them are now slaves in thy kingdom! Do thou then what is most reasonable, thy magnanimity, and to thy good-nature: free them from the miserable condition they are in, because that God, who supporteth thy kingdom, was the author of their laws, as I have learned by particular inquiry; for both these people and we also worship the same God, the framer of all things. We call him, and that truly, by the name of Zeus [or life, or Jupiter], because he breathes life into all men. Wherefore, do thou restore these men to their own country; and this to do the honor of God, because these men pay a peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this farther, that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor one of the same country with them, yet do I desire these favours to be done them, since all men are the workmanship of God; and I am sensible that he is well pleased with those that do good. I do therefore put up this petition to thee, to do good to them."

3. When Aristeus was saying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyous countenance, and said, "How many ten thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as want to be made free?" To which Andrea replied, as he stood by, and said, 'A few more than ten times ten thousand.' The king made answer, "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristeus?" But Sosibius, and the rest that stood by, said, that he ought to offer such a thank-offering as was worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given him his kingdom. With this answer he was much pleased; and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down [a hundred and] twenty drachmae for every one of the slaves. And he promised to publish a magnificent decree about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristeus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby, he said, he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by his father and his army, but those who were in his kingdom before, and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And when they said that their redemption-money would amount to above four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of the king may be made known. Its contents will now follow. I have no more to say, who were soldiers under our father, and who, when they overran Syria and Phoenicia, and laid waste Judea, took the Jews captives, and made them slaves, and brought them into our cities, and into this country, and then sold them; as also all those that were in my kingdom before them, and if there be any that have lately been brought thither, be made free by those that possess them; and let them accept of [a hundred and] twenty drachmae for every slave. And let the soldiers receive this redemption-money with their pay, but the rest out of the king's treasury; for I have occasion to use them without our father's consent, and against equity; and that their country was harassed by the insolence of the soldiers, and that, by removing them into Egypt, the soldiers have made a great profit by them. Out of regard, therefore, to justice, and out of pity to those that have been tyrannized over, contrary to equity, I enjoin those that have such Jews in their service to set them at liberty, upon the receipt of the before-mentioned sum; and that no one use any deceit about them, but obey what is commanded. And the same day the soldiers received their names within three days after the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to execute the same, and to produce the slaves before them also, for I think it will be for the advantage of my affairs; and let every one that will, inform against those that do not obey this decree; and I will, that their estates be confiscated into the king's treasury."

When this decree was read to the king, it at first contained the rest that is here inserted, and only omitted those Jews that had formerly been brought, and those brought afterwards, which had not been distinctly mentioned; so he added these clauses out of his humanity, and with great generosity. He also gave order that the payment, which was likely to be done in a hurry, should be divided among the

* Although this number one hundred and twenty drachmae [of Alexander, or sixty four talents, which is equal to about three hundred and Josephus's copy of Greek and Latin, yet, alas, all the copies of Aristotle, which are copies of copies of copies of his report, have the sum several times still as no more than twenty drachmae, or ten Jewish shekels; and since the sum of the talents to be set down presently, which is little above four hundred and sixty for some, or one hundred thousand talents, as near as Josephus and Aristotle, have better agree to twenty than to one hundred and sixty drachmae; and if the value of a slave of old was, at the utmost, thirty shekels, or sixty drachmae, ex Eud. 22, 31, in which the present circumstances of those Jewish slaves, and those so very numerous, Philostratus would rather redeem them at a cheaper than a durance rate,—there is great reason to prefer here Aristaeus's copy before Josephus's.
king’s ministers, and among the officers of his treasury. When this was over, what the king had decreed was quickly brought to a conclusion; and in this manner, to save the children, the number of the talents paid for the captives being above four hundred and sixty, and this, because their masters required the [hundred and twenty drachms for the children also, the king having, in effect, commanded that these should be paid for, when he said, in his decree, that they should receive the forementioned sum for every slave.

4. Now when this had been done after so magnificent a manner, according to the king’s inclinations, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the intercalation and arrangement of the Jewish books; for no part of the administration is done rashly by these kings, but all things are managed with great circumspection. On which account I have subjoined a copy of these epistles, and set down the multitude of the vessels sent as gifts [to Jerusalem], and the construction of every one, that the exactness of the artificers’ workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw them, and which workmen made every vessel, may be made manifest, and this on account of the excellency of the vessels themselves. In the copy of the epistle to the great king, Demetrius to the great king, when thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of Books that were wanting to fill your library, and concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters. And I let you know, that we want the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others; for they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation, are to us unknown. It hath also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they should have been, because they have not had hitherto royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldst have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the legislation of God: for which cause it is, as Hecatus of Abdera says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since it is a holy law, and ought not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, thou mayest write to the high-priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe, and those such as are most skilful of the laws, that by their means we may learn the clear and agreeable sense of those books, and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents, and so may have such a collection of these as may be suitable to thy desire.

5. When this epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that an epistle should be drawn up for Eleazar, the Jewish high-priest, concerning these matters; and that they should inform him of the release of the Jews that had been in slavery among them. He also sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large bases, and vials, and cups, and also of a quantity of precious stones. He also gave order to those who had the custody of the chests that contained those stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased. He withal appointed, that a hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple for sacrifices, and for other uses. Now I will give a description of these vessels, and the manner of their construction, but not till I have set down a copious of the epistle which was written to Eleazar the high-priest, who had received this letter on the occasion that the king had sent. When Onias the high-priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor. He was called Simon the Just, because of both his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias, Simon’s brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high-priesthood; and he was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and that in the manner following:—Kings Ptolemy to Eleazar the high-priest, sendeth greeting. There are many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, when the Persians, when they were in power, carried captives. They were honoured by my father; some of whom were placed in the army, and gave them greater pay than ordinary; to others of them, when they came with him into Egypt, he committed his care, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians; and when I had taken over the government, I treated all men with humanity, and especially those that are thy fellow-citizens, whom I have set free above a hundred thousand, who were slaves, and paid the price of their redemption to their masters; and that is that they are of a fit age, I have admitted into the number of my soldiers; and for such as are capable of being faithful to me, and proper for my service, have put them in such a post, as thinking this [treadness done to them] to be a very great and acceptable gift, which I devote to God for his piety, over me; and as I am desirous to do what shall be grateful to these, and to all the other sons in the habitable earth, I have determined to perfect an interpretation of your law, and to have translated it out of Hebrew into Greek, and to deposit it in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and six in number out of every tribe. These, by their age, shall be skilful in the laws, and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of them; and when this shall be finished, I shall think that I have done work glorious to myself; and I have sent to Andreas, the captain of my guard, and to the men whom I have in very great esteem, by whom I have sent those first-fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to the uses, to the value of a hundred talents, and if they will send to us, to let us know what thou wouldst have further, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me.

6. When this epistle of the king was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the respect possible:— Eleazar the high-priest to king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting. If thou and thy queen Aramaie; and thy children, be well, we are equally satisfied. When we received thy epistle, we greatly rejoiced at thy intentions; and when the materials were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the pious thought towards God. We also showed them the letters.
vials of gold, and thirty of silver, and the five large bases, and the table for the shew-bread; as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for the making what shall be needful at the temple; which things Andreas and Aristenus, those most honoured friends of thine, have brought us; and truly those are persons of an excellent character, and of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know then that we will gratify thee in what is for thy advantage, though we do what we used not to do before; for we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister, with thy children and friends; and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be to thy mind; and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, and that the translation of our law may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send back the law when it hath been translated; and to return those to us that bring it in safety.—Farwell.

7. This was the reply which the high-priest made; but it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy [two] elders who were sent by Eleazar, and carried the law, which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I thought it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artificially contrived vessels which the king sent to God, that all may see how great a regard the king had for God, or the king allowed a vast deal of expenses for these vessels, and came often to the workmen, and owed their work, and suffered nothing of carelessness or negligence to be any damage to their operations; and I will relate how rich they were as well as I am able, although, perhaps, the nature of its history may not require such a description; as it is sufficient that I hereby recommend the elegant taste and magnanimity of this king to those at read this history.

8. And first I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make its table vastly large in its dimensions; but then I gave orders that they should learn what was the magnitude of the table which was already at Jerusalem, and how large it was, and whether there were a possibility of making one larger than it: and when he was informed how large that was in the world there, and that nothing hindered it to be greater might be made, he said that he was willing to have one made that should be five times larger than the present table; but his fear was that it might be then useless in their sacred ministrations by its too great largeness; for he desired that the gifts he presented them should not only be for show, but should be useful also in their religious ministrations. According to which reason, that the former table was made of so moderate use for use, and not for want of gold, he resolved he would not exceed the former table in largeness, but would make it exceed it in the variety of its materials; and as he was sagacious in observing the nature of all things, and in a just notion of what was new and surprising, and where there were no sculptures, he would not such as were proper by his own skill, and did show them to the workmen, he commanded that such sculptures should now be made; and that those which were delineated should be most accurately formed, by a constant regard to their delineation.

3. When therefore the workmen had undertaken to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits [and a half], in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half; and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They withal made a crown of a hand-breadth round it, with wave-work wrought about it, and with an engraving which imitated a cord, and was admirably turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular figure, every angle had the same disposition of its sculptures, that when you turned them about, the very same form of them was turned about without any variation. Now that part of the crown-work that was enclosed under the table had its sculptures very beautiful; but that part which went round on the outside was more elaborately adorned with most beautiful ornaments, because it was exposed to sight, and to the view of the spectators; for which reason it was that both those sides which were external above the rest were acute, and none of the angles, which we before told you were three, appeared less than another when the table was turned about. Now into the cord-work thus turned were precious stones inserted, in rows parallel one to the other, enclosed in golden buttons, which hadouches in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and encompassed the table round about; but under these oval figures thus engraved, the workmen had put a crown all round it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, in somnium that the boughs of grapes hung up; and when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruit before mentioned, and that each in its proper colour, they made them fast with gold, and adorned the whole crown with this. The like disposition of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown, that the table might on each side show the same appearance of variety and elegance of its ornaments, so that neither the position of the wave-work nor of the crown might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the prospect of the same artificial contrivances might be extended as far as the feet; for there was made a plate of gold four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them to the table by buttons and button-holes, at the place where the crown was situate, that so on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expenses bestowed upon it; but upon the table itself they engraved a meander, inserting into it very valuable stones in the middle like stars, of various colours; the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the spectators; with such stones of other sorts also as were most curious and esteemed, as being most precious of its kind. Hard by this meander was an inscribed texture of net-work ran round it, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock-crystal and amber, which, by the great resemblance of the appearance they made, gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The chapters of the feet imitated the first
ANTTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

budding of fities, while their leaves were bent and laid under the table, but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were made of a carubnel; and the place at the bottom, which rested on that carubnel, was one palm deep, and eight fingers in breadth. Now they had engravem upon it, with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of pains, a branch of ivy, and tendrils of the vine, sending forth clusters of grapes, that you would guess they were newish different from real tendrils; for they were so very thin, and so very far extended at their extremities, that they were moved with the wind, and made one believe that they were the product of nature, and not the representation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be threefold, while the joints of the several parts were so united together as to be invisible, and the places where they joined could not be distinguished. Now the thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit. So that this gift, by the king's great generosity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and the artificer's skill in imitating nature with graving tools, was at length brought to perfection, while the king was very desirous, that though in largeness it were not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God, yet that in exquisite workmanship, and the novelty of the contrivances, and in the splendor of its construction, it should far exceed it, and be more illustrious than that was.

10. Now of the cisterns of gold there were two, whose sculpture was of scale-work, from its basis to its belt-like circle, with various sorts of stones inclosed in the spiral circles. Next to which there was upon it a meander of a cubit in height: it was composed of stones of all sorts of colors; and next to this was the rod-work engraven; and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of net-work, drawn out to the brim of the basin, while small shields, made of stones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers' depth, filled up the middle parts. About the top of the basin were wreathed the leaves of lilies, and of the convolvulus, and the tendrils of the vines in a circular manner; and this was the construction of the two cisterns of gold, each containing two finkins; but those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than looking-glasses; and you might in them see images that fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king also ordered thirty vias; those of which the parts were of gold, and filled up with precious stones, were shadowed over with the leaves of ivy and vines, artificially engraven; and these were then placed, after an extraordinary manner, brought to this perfection solo by the skill of the workmen, who were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and generosity of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and with great generosity, with what they wanted, but he forbade public audiences for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation; and this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so the workmen indefatigably kept close to the work.

11. And there were also gifts sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. But when the high-priest had devoted them to God, and gave them presents to be carried to the king, he dismissed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come, and that the seventy elders were come also, he presently sent for Andronicus Aristides, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the epistle which they brought him from the high-priest, and made the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then made haste to meet the elders that came from Jerusalem for the interpretation of the laws; and gave command, that every body who came in other occasions should be sent away, which was a thing surprising, and what he did not use to do; for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadors at the month's end. But when he had not those away, he waited for these that were sent by Eleazar; but as the old men came in with the presents, which the high-priest had given them, bringing to the king, and with the membranes, upon which they had their laws written in golden letters, he put questions to them concerning those books, and when they had taken off the covers where they were wrapt up, they showed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thickness of those membranes, and the exactness of the justures, which could not be perceived (so exactly were they connected one with another); and the he did for a considerable time, he then said to them, thank you for coming to me, and still greater thanks to him that sent them; and above all, to that God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and with all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears by the violence of the pleasure he had, at seeing natural to men to afford the same indication in great joy that they do under sorrow. And when he had hidden them deliver the books to those that were appointed to receive them, he saluted them, and said that it was but just to discourse, in the first place, of the errand they were sent on; and then to tell them to cause himself to them. He proceeded, however, that he would make this day as which they came to him remarkable and memorable every year through the whole course of his life for their coming to him, and the victory which he gained over Antigonus by sea, proved to be on the very same day. He also gave orders that they should sup with him; and gave it in charge that they should have excellent lodgings provided for them in the upper part of the city.

12. Now he that was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers, Nicander by name, called them in to him on the same day, and gave them the reason for their absence for them, and bade him prepare for every one of them what should be requisite for their diet and way of living; which thing was ordered by the king after this manner: he took care that those that belonged to every city, which did not use the same way of living, that all things should be prepared for them according to the custom of those that came to him, that being faestigated according to the usual method of their own way of living, they might be the better pleased, and might not be too easy at any thing done to them from which they were naturally averse. And this was now done.
the case of these men by Dorotheus, who was put into the effect because of his great skill in such matters belonging to common life; for he took care of all such matters as concerned the reception of strangers, and appointed them double seats for them to sit on, according as the king had commanded him to do; for he had commanded that half of their seats should be set at his right hand, and the other half behind his table, and took care that no respect should be omitted that could be shown them. And when they were thus set down, he bid Dorotheus to minister to all those that were come to him from Judea, after the manner they used to be ministered to; for which cause he sent away their sacred heralds, and those that slew the sacrifices, and the rest that used to say grace; but called to one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who was a priest, and desired him to say grace: who then stood in the midst of them, and prayed, that all prosperity might attend the king, and those that were his subjects. Upon which an acclamation was made by the whole company, with joy and a great noise; and when that was over, they fell to eating their supper, and to the enjoyment of what was set before them. And at a little interval afterward, when the king thought a sufficient time had been interposed, he began to talk philosophically to them, and he asked every one of them a philosophical question, and such a one as might give light in those inquiries; and when they had explained all the problems that had been proposed by the king about every point, he was well pleased with their answers. This took up the twelve days in which they were treated; and he that pleases may learn the particular questions in that book of Aristeus, which he wrote on this very occasion.

15. And while not the king only, but the philosopher Menecles also, admired them, and said, that all things were governed by Providence, and that it was probable that hence it was that such force and beauty was discovered in these men's words, they then left off asking any more questions. But the king said that he had gained very great advantages by their coming, for that he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he gave order that they should have every one three talents given them; and that those that were to conduct them to their diggings should do it. Accordingly, when three years were over, Demetrius took them, and went over the causeway seven furlongs long: it was a trackless sea to an island. And when they had crossed the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts, and showed them where they should meet, which was in a house which was built near the sea, and was a quiet place, and fit for their discussing together about their work. When he had taught them this, he entrusted them (now they had all things about them which they wanted for interpretation of their law), that they would not interrupt them in their work, and that the words of their countrymen and answers, to the questions of the Jews about the interpretation of their laws, the technology, the philosophy, and the philosophy of the Jews, was to be taken into consideration. And this period of discussion was to be held for ninety days. And there were many learned men at Athens, who were well versed in such matters, and had many books of philosophy, which might be referred to in their discussion. And this period of discussion was to be held for ninety days. And these were the days on which the king's command was made known to the Jews, at the end of the 13th book of the Apocalypse, which has been intended for both times, both in the present world and in other centuries.
temper, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction.

15. And when the king had received these books from Demetrius, as we have said already, he adored them; and gave order, that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain uncorrupted. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him out of Judea, and that both on account of the respect which he would pay them, and on account of the presents he would make them; for he said, it was now but just to send them away, although, of their own accord, they would come to him hereafter, they should retain all that their own wisdom might justly require, and what his generosity was able to give them. So he sent them away, and gave to every one of them three garments of the best sort, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the furniture of the room wherein they were feasted. And these were the things he presented to them. But by them he sent to Eleazar the high-priest ten beds, with feet of silver, and the furniture to them belonging, and a cup of the value of thirty talents; and besides these, ten garments, and purple, and a very beautiful crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen; as also vials and dishes, and vessels for pouring, and two golden cisterns, to be dedicated to God. He also desired him, by an epistle, that he would give these interpreters leave, if any of them were desirous, of coming to him; because he highly valued a conversation with men of such learning; and should be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. And this was what came to the Jews, and was much to their glory and honour, from Ptolemy and Philadelphus.

CHAPTER III.

HOW THE KINGS OF ASIA HONOUR THE NATION OF THE JEWS, AND MADE THEM CITIZENS OF THOSE CITIES WHICH THEY BUILT.

§ 1. The Jews also obtained honours from the kings of Asia when they became their auxiliaries; for Seleucus Nicator made them citizens of those cities which he built in Asia, and in the Lower Syria, and in the metropolis Basal, Antioch; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, in so much that those privileges continue to this day: an argument for which you have in this, that whereas the Jews do make use of oil prepared by foreigners, they receive a certain sum of money from the proper officers belonging to their exercises as the value of that oil; which money, when the people of Antioch would have deprived them of, in the last war, Mucianus, who was then president of Syria, preserved it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son, governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In which behaviour any one may discern the equity and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus; although they had been at a great deal of pains the war against the Jews, and were especially against them, because they did not deliver up their weapons to them, but continued the war in the very last, yet did they not take away any of their forementioned privileges belonging not only to citizens, but restrained their anger, and became the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, and said that they did not yield to them, neither out of a friendly dispossession, nor out of the fear of those who at those wicked occasion whom they had made in the war; nor would they alter any of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but said, that those who had borne arms against them, sought them, had suffered punishment already, so that it was not just to deprive those that had offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

2. We also know that Marcus Agrippa put the like disposition towards the Jews; for the people of Ionia were very angry at him, because Agrippa, that they, and they only, have those privileges of citizens which Agrippa, the grandson of Seleucus (who by the Greeks is called The God), had bestowed on them; and desired that, if the Jews were to be joint-partners with them, they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped: but when the matters were brought to trial, the Jews prevailed and obtained leave to make use of their own tombs; and their the patronage of Nicodemus Damascius; for Agrippa gave sentence, that they should not innovate. And if any one hath a mind let this matter accurately, let him peruse the two-thirds and hundred and two books of the history of this Nicomaus. Now, in this determination of Agrippa, it is not so much admired; for at that time our nation had not the war against the Romans. But one may be astonished at the generosity of Vespasian and that after so great wars and conquests which we had from us, they should use such moderation. But I will now return to that part of my history, whence I made the present digression.

3. Now it happened that in the reign of Archelaus the Great, who ruled over all Asia, and Jews, the inhabitants of Celasia suffered greatly, and their land was sorely hurt for while he was at war with Ptolemy Philadeph and with his son, who was called Epiptab, it appeared that these nations were equally sufferers, as when he was beaten and when he beat his son, so that they were very like to a ship in which is tossed by the waves on both sides: just thus were they in their situation in the war between Antiochus’s prosperity and its frequent adversity. But at length, when Antiochus was beaten and Philopator was dead, his son sent out a great army under Scopas, the general of his forces, to the inhabitants of Celasia, who took many of the cities, and in particular our nation; when he fell upon them, went over to them. Yet they were not long afterward when Antiochus overcame them.
CHAP. III.

ANTIOCHUS TO PTOLEMY, SENDETH GREETING.

"Since the Jews, upon our first entrance on their country, demonstrated their friendship towards us; and when we came to their city [Jerusalem], received us in a splendid manner, and came meet us with their senate, and gave abundance provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and joined with us in ejecting the garrison of the Egyptians that were in the citadel, we have thought to reward them, and to retrieve the condition of their city, which hath been greatly depopulated by such accidents as have befallen its inhabitants, and bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city; and, in the first place, we have termined, on account of their piety towards God, to bestow on them, as a pension, for their sacrifices animals that are fit for sacrifice, for wine and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand scores of silver, with one thousand four hundred and sixty lamins of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-six minims of salt; and these payments I would also have the work about the temple finished and the cloisters, and if there be any thing else ought to be rebuilt; and for the materials of it let it be brought them out of Judea itself, out of the other countries, and out of Libanus, as the same I would have observed as other matters which will be necessary, in to render the temple more glorious; and let that nation live according to the laws of their country; and let the senate and the priests,

and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred singers, be discharged from poll-money and the crowns, and other taxes also; and that the city may the sooner recover its inhabitants, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants, and to such as shall come to it, until the month Hyperberethus. We also discharge them for the future from a third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired; and all those citizens that have been carried away, and are become slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom; and give order that their substance be restored to them."

4. And these were the contents of this epistle. He also published a decree, through all his kingdom, in honour of the temple, which contained what follows:—"It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the limits of the temple round about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless those who, according to their own custom, have purified themselves. Nor let any flesh of horses, or mules, or of asses, be brought into the city, whether be wild or tame; nor that of leopards, or foxes, or hares; and, in general, that of any animal which is forbidden for the Jews to eat. Nor let their skins be brought into it; nor let any such animal be bred up in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with which they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmas of silver." Moreover, this Antiochus bare testimony to our piety and fidelity, in an epistle of his, written when he was informed of a sedition in Phrygia and Lydias, at which time he was in the superior provinces, wherein he commanded Zeuxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The epistle was this:

"RING ANTIOCHUS TO ZEUSXIS, HIS FATHER, SENDETH GREETING.

"If you are in health, it is well. I also am in health. Having been informed that a sedition is arisen in Lydia and Phrygia, I thought the matter required great care; and upon advising with my friends what was to be done, I hath been thought proper to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, into the castles and places that he most convenient; for I am persuaded that they will be well-disposed guardians of our possessions, because of their piety towards God, and because I know that my predecessors have born witness to them that they are faithful, and with alacrity do what they are desired to do. I will, therefore, though it be a laborious work, that thou remove these Jews; under a promise, that they shall be permitted to use their own laws; and when thou shalt have brought them to the places forementioned, thou shalt give every one of their families a place for building their houses, and a portion of land for their husbandry, and for the plantation of their vineyards; and thou shalt discharge them from paying taxes of the fruits of the earth for ten years; and let them have a proper quantity of wheat for the maintenance of their servants, until they receive bread-corn out of the earth; also let a sufficient share be given to such as minister to them in the necessities of life, that by
enjoying the effects of our humanity, they may show themselves the more willing and ready about our affairs. Take care likewise of that nation, as far as thou art able, that they may not have any disturbance given them by any one.” Now these testimonials, which I have produced, are sufficient to declare the friendship that Antichus the Great bare to the Jews.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW ANTIOCHUS MADE A LEAGUE WITH PTOLEMY; AND HOW OINAS PROVOKED PTOLEMY EUGERGETES TO ANGER; AND HOW JOSEPH BROUGHT ALL THINGS RIGHT AGAIN, AND ENTERED INTO FRIENDSHIP WITH HIM; AND WHAT OTHER THINGS WERE DONE BY JOSEPH, AND HIS SON HYRCANUS.

§ 1. After this Antichus made a friendship and a league with Ptolemy, and gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and yielded up to him Cilicia, and Samaria, and Judea, and Phoenicia, by way of dowry; and upon the division of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men named the taxes of their several countries, and collecting the sum that was settled for them, paid the same to the [two] kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much distressed the Jews, cutting off parts of their land, and carrying off slaves. This happened when Oinias was high-priest; for after Eleazar’s death, his uncle Mamasech took the priest-hood, and after he had ended his life, Oinias received that dignity. He was son of Simon, who was called The Just; which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as I said before. This Oinias was one of a little soul, and a great lover of money; and for that reason, because he did not pay that tax of twenty talents of silver, which his forefathers paid to these kings, out of their own estates, he provoked king Ptolemy Eugergetes to anger, who was the father of Philopater. Eugergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Oinias did not pay his taxes, and threatened, that if he did not receive them, he would seize upon their land, and send soldiers to live upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king, they were confounded; but so servilely covetous was Oinias, that nothing of this nature made him ashamed.

2. There was now one Joseph, young in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem, for gravity, prudence, and justice. His father’s name was Tobias; and his mother was the sister of Oinias the high-priest, who informed him of the coming of the ambassador; for he was then sojourning at a village named Philico,2 where he was born. Hereupon he came to the city [Jerusalem], and reproved Oinias for not taking care of the preservation of his countrymen, but bringing the nation into danger, by not paying this money. For which preservation of them, he told him he had received the authority over them, and that he had been high-priest; but that, in case he was so great a lover of money, as to endure to see his country in danger on that account, and his countrymen suffer the greatest damages, he advised him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole or a part of the sum demanded. Oinias consented to this. That he did not care for his authority, and that he was ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down his high-priesthood; and that he would not go to the king, because he troubled not himself at all about such matters. Joseph then asked him, if he would not give him leave to go ambassador to the king, on his own behalf; and he replied, that he would give him leave. Upon which Joseph went up into the temple, and called the multitude together as a congregation, and exhorted them not to be distressed nor affrighted, because of his uncle Oinias’ captivity, but desired the multitude to set themselves in order, and not terrify themselves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that they had done him no wrong; and when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy’s ambassador in a hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts, and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him to the king before him, and told him that he would soon follow him, so as to be ready to go to the king, by the encouragement of the ambassador, who earnestly persuaded him to come into Egypt, and promised him that he would take care that he should obtain every thing that he desired of Ptolemy; for he was highly pleased with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his deportment.

3. When Ptolemy’s ambassador was come into Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtlessness of Oinias; and informed him of the goodness of his disposition of Joseph; and that he was sending him, to excuse the multitude, as they being [trembling] him any harm, for that he was their patrician. In short, he was so very large in his encomium upon the young man, that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindness for him before he came. So Joseph sent to his friends in Samaria, and borrowed money of them; and got ready what was necessary for his journey, garments and cups, and beasts for burden, and amounted to about twenty thousand drachms, and went to Alexandria. Now it happened that at this time all the principal men and rulers were up and down among the cities of Syria and Phoenicia, to see for their taxes; for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city. So these men saw Joseph journeying on the way, and bargain ed at him for his poverty and meanness; but when he came to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up therewith his friends, and happened as the king was sitting in his chariot, with his wife, and with his brother Atenion, who was the very person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and had been entertained by Joseph. As soon therefore as Atenion saw him, he presently made him known to the king, and was good and generous a young man he was. So many saluted him first; and desired him to come up into his chariot; and as Joseph sat there he began to complain of the management of Oinias; so when he answered, “Forgive him, on account of his age, for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, that old men and infants have their minds exactly alike; but thou shalt have from us, who are young men, every thing thou desirest, and that thou have no cause to complain.” With this the king mour and pleasantry of the young man, the king...
was so delighted, that he began already, as though he had had long experience of him, to have a still greater affection for him, insomuch that he bade him take his diet in the king's palace, and be a guest at his own table every day; but when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw him sitting with the king, and were much amazed at it.

4. And when the day came on which the king was to let the taxes of the cities to farm, and those that were the principal men of dignity in their several countries were to bid for them, the sum of the taxes together, of Cæsarea and Phoenicia, and Judea, with Samaria [as they were hidden for], came to eight thousand talents. Hereupon Joseph accused the bidders, as having agreed together to estimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate; and he promised that he would himself give twice as much for them; but for those who did not pay, he would send the king home their whole substance: for this privilege was sold together with the taxes themselves. The king was pleased to hear that offer; and, because it augmented his revenues, he said he would confirm the sale of the taxes to him; but when he asked him this question, whether he had any sureties that would be bound for the payment of the money, he answered very pleasantly, "I will give such security, and of persons good and responsible, and which you shall have no reason to distrust," and when he bade him name them, who they were, he replied, "I give thee no other persons, O king, for my sureties, than thyself, and this thy wife; and you shall be security for both parties." So Ptolemy laughed at the proposal, and granted him the farming of the taxes without any sureties. This procedure was a sore grief to those that came from the cities into Egypt, who were utterly disappointed; and they returned every one to their own country with shame.

5. But Joseph took with him two thousand foot-soldiers from the king, for he desired he might have such assistance, in order to enforce the same effectual in the cities to pay. And borrowing of the king's friends at Alexandria five hundred talents, he made haste back into Syria. And when it was at Askelon, and demanded the taxes of the people of Askelon, they refused to pay any thing, ad adfronted him also: upon which he seized upon about twenty of the principal men, and slew them, and gathered them together, and sent it to the king; and informed him what he had done. Ptolemy admired the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done; and gave him leave to do as he pleased. Then the Syrians heard of this, they were astonished; and having before them a sad example in men of Askelon that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And when the inhabitants of Orthopolis attempted to affront him, and would not admit those taxes which they formerly used to pay, without disputing about them, he slew also principal men of that city, and sent their effects to the king. By this time he gathered together vast gains by this farming of the taxes; and he made use of what estate he had thus gained, in order to support his authority, as thinking it a piece of prudence to keep what he had been occasion and foundation of his present good fortune; and this he did by the assistance of what he already possessed of, for he privately sent many presents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and to all that were powerful about the court, and thereby purchased their good-will to himself.

6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty years; and was become the father of seven sons by one wife: he had also another son, whose name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Solymina's daughter, whom he married on the following occasion. He once came to Alexandria with his brother, who had along with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give her in wedlock to some of the Jews of chief dignity there. He then supplied with the king, and falling in love with an actress that was of great beauty, and came into the room where they feasted, he told his brother of it, and entreated him, because a Jew is forbidden by their law to come near to a foreigner, to conceal his offence, and to be kind and subservient to him, and to give him an opportunity of fulfilling his desires. Upon which his brother willingly entertained the proposal of serving him, and adorned his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Joseph being disorderly with drink, knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother's daughter; and this did he many times, and loved her exceedingly; and said to his brother, that he loved this actress so well, that he should run the hazard of his life [if he must part with her]; and yet probably the king would not give him leave to take her with him. But his brother bade him be in no concern about that matter, and told him he might enjoy her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife: and opened the truth of the matter to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused, than to overlook him, and see him come to [public] disgrace. So Joseph commended him for this his brotherly love, and married his daughter; and by her begat a son whose name was Hyrcanus, as we said before. And when this his youngest son showed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was both courageous and wise, and was greatly envied by his brethren, as being of a genius much above them, and such a one as they might well envy, Joseph had once a mind to know which of his sons had the best disposition to virtue; and when he sent them severally to those that had then the best reputation for instructing youth, the rest of his children, by reason of their sloth, and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them, he sent out the youngest, Hyrcanus, and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bid him go two days' journey into the wilderness, and sow the land there, and yet keep back privately the yokes of the oxen that coupled them together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had no yokes with him, he condemned the drivers of the oxen, who advised him to send some to his father, to bring them some yokes; but he thinking that he ought not to lose his time while they should be sent to bring him his yokes, he invented a kind of machinery, and what suited an age elder than his own; for he slew ten yoke of the oxen, and distributed their flesh among the labourers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made him yokes, and yoked the oxen together with them; by which means he sowed as much land as his father had appointed him to sow, and to him. And when he was come back, was mightily pleased with his sagacity;
mended the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did. And he still loved him the more, as if he were his only genuine son, while his brethren were much troubled at it.

7. But when one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born, and that all the principal men of Syria, and the other countries subject to him, were to keep a festival on account of the child's birthday, and went away in haste with great retinues to Alexandria, he was himself indeed hindered from going by old age; but he made trial of his sons, whether any of them would be willing to go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, he said they were not courtiers enough for such conversation, and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly hearkened to that advice, and called Hyrcanus, and asked him, whether he would go to the king; and whether it was agreeable to him to go or not. And upon his promise that he would go, and his saying that he should not want much money for his journey, because he would live moderately, and that ten thousand drachmas would be sufficient, he was pleased with his son's prudence. After a little while, the son was sent, who paid a visit of presence to his father, and to the king from thence, but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with money, for purchasing what should be most excellent and most precious. So he thinking that the expense of ten talents would be enough for presents to be made to the king, and commending his son, as giving him good advice, wrote to Arion his steward, that managed all his money matters at Alexandria; which money was not less than three thousand talents on his account, for Joseph sent them for the payment of the taxes to the king came, he wrote to Arion to pay them. So when the son had asked his father for a letter to this steward, and had received it, he made haste to Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brethren wrote to all the king's friends, that they should destroy him.

8. But when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he would have (hoping he would ask for no more than ten, or a little more); he said, he wanted a thousand talents. At which the steward was angry, and rebuked him, at one that intended to live extravagantly; and he let him know how his father had gathered together his estate by painstaking and resisting his inclinations, and wished him to imitate the example of his father; he assured him withal, that he would give him but ten talents, and that for a present to the king also. The son was irritated at this, and threw Arion into prison. But when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, with her intertreaty, that she would rebuke the child for what he had done (for Arion was in great esteem with her), Cleopatra informed the king of it. And Ptolemy sent for Hyrcanus, and told him that he wondered, when he was sent to him by his father, that he had not yet come into his presence, but had laid the steward in prison. And he gave order, therefore, that he should come to him, and give an account of the reason of what he had done. And they report, that the answer he made to the king's messenger was this: That * there was a law of that his forbade a child that was born to taste of the sacrifice, before he had been at the temple and sacrificed to God. According to which way of reasoning, he did not himself come to him in expectation of the present, but was to make to him, as to one who had been his father's benefactor; and that he had punished the slave for disobeying his commands, for that it mattered not whether a master was little or great: so that unless we punish such as these, thou thyself mayest also expect to be despised by thy subjects." Upon hearing this his answer, he fell a-laughing, and wondered at the great soul of the child.

9. When Arion was apprised that this was the king's disposition, and that he had no way to help himself, he gave the child a thousand talents, and let him go. So far as the story goes, Hyrcanus came and saluted the king and queen. They saw him with pleasure, and feasted him in an obliging manner, out of the respect they bare to his father. So he came to the merchants privately, and bought a hundred boys, that had learning, and were in the flower of their ages, each at a talent apiece; as also he bought a hundred maidsens, each at the same price as the other. And when he was invited to feast with the king among the principal men of the country, he sat down the first, and they all regarded him as a child in age still; and this by those with whom every one according to their dignity. Now when all those that sat with him had laid the bones of the several parts in a heap before Hyrcanus (for they had themselves taken away the flesh belonging to them), till the table where he sat was filled full with them, Trypho, who was the king's jester, and was appointed for jokes and laughter at festivals, was now asked by the guests that sat at the table to expose him to laughter. So he stood by, and said, "Dost thou not see, my lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus? by this similitude they mayest conjecture that his father made all Syria bare as he hath made these bones." And the king laughing at what Trypho said, and asking of Hyrcanus, How he came to have so many bones before him! he replied, "Very rightfully, my lord; for they are dogs that eat the flesh and bones together, as these thy guests have done (looking in the meantime at those guests), for there is nothing before them; but they are men that eat the flesh, and cast away the bones, as 1, who am also a man, have now done." Upon which the king admired at his answer, which was so wisely made; and he made an acclamation, as a mark of their approbation of his jest, which was truly a facetious one. On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the king's friends, and of the men powerful at court, and saluted them; but still inquired of the servants what present they would make the king on his son's birth-day; and when some said that they would give twelve talents, and that others of greater dignity would every one give according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one of them to be grieved that he was not able to bring so large a present; for that he had no more than five talents. And when the servants heard what he said, they told their masters; and they rejoiced in the prospect that Joseph would be disapproved, and would make the king angry, by the smallness of his present. When the day came, the others, even those that brought the most, offered the king not above twenty talents; but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys and hundred maidsens that he had bought, a talent apiece, for them to carry, and introduced them, the boys to the king, and the maidsens to the queen.
as our own, and will look upon our concerns as in common with yours. Demotes, who brings you this letter, will bring your answer back to us. This letter is four square; and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in his claws."

11. And these were the contents of the epistle which was sent from the king of the Laecedemonians. But upon the death of Joseph, the people grieved, on account of his sons for whereas the elders made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war: as did Simon the high-priest, by reason he was of kin to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but seated himself beyond Jordan, and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captives. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone to the very roof, and had animals of a prodigious magnitude engraven upon it. He also drew around it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves of many furlongs in length, by hollowing a rock that was over-against him; and then he made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping, and living in. He introduced also a vast quantity of waters which run along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. But still he made the entrances at the mouth of the caves so narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once. And the reason why he built them after that manner was a good one; it was for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his brethren, and run the hazard of being caught by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he named it Tyre. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon. And he ruled over those parts for seven years, even all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when he was dead, his brother Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, took the kingdom. Ptolemy also, the king of Egypt, died, who was besides called Epiphanes. He left two sons, and both young in age; the elder whom was called Philometer, and the younger Physcon. As for Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabians, he ended his life, and slew himself with his own hand; while Antiochus seized upon all his substance.

CHAPTER V.


§ 1. About this time, upon the death of the high-priest, they gave the highest
fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city of Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the hundred and forty-third year of the kingdom of the Seleucids, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the opposite party; and when he had plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

4. Now it came to pass, after two years, in the hundred and forty-fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of that month which is by us called Chasian, and by the Jews, the first of Appus, in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad, that the king came up to Jerusalem, and, pretending peace, he got possession of the city by treachery: at which time he spared not so much as those that admitted him into it, or account of the riches that lay in the temple; but led by his covetous inclination (for he saw there was in it a great deal of gold, and many ornaments that had been dedicated to it of very great value); and in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. So he left the temple bare, and took in his hands the golden altar of incense, and altar of shew-bread, and the altar of burnt-offering; and did not abstain from even the veils, which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied all its secrets and treasures, and left nothing at all remaining; and by this means cast the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbade them to offer those daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God, according to the law. And when he had polluted the whole city, some of the inhabitants slew, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children, and carried away all those captives that were taken alive amounting about ten thousand. He also burnt down the fine buildings; and when he had overthrown the walls, he built a citadel in the lower part of the city; for the place was high, and overlooked the temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. However, in that citadel dwelt the impious wicked part of the Jewish multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens suffered many calamities. And when the king had built an altar upon those things called the Mizbech, and offered a sacrifice neither according to the law nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also compelled them to forsake the work which they paid their own God, and to adore the whom he took to be gods; and made them burn temples, and raise idol altars, in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumscribe their children, and threatened to punish any that should refuse to have transgressed his injunction. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to what he commanded. And indeed many Jews there were who complied with the king's commands either voluntarily, or out of fear of the penalty, for they were denounced: but the best men, and those of noblest souls, did not regard him, but did pay
CHAPTER VI.


§ 1. Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asamoneus, a priest of the order of Joasib, and a citizen of Jerusalem. He had five sons; John, who was called Gaddis, and Simeon, who was called Matthes, and Judas, who was called Maecabees, and Eleazar, who was called Auran, and Jonathan, who was called Apphus. Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the sad state of their affairs, and the ravage made in the city, and the plundering of the temple, and the calamities the multitude were under; and he told them that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than live so ingloriously as they then did. But when those that were appointed by the king were come to Modin, that they should constraint the Jews to do what they were commanded, and to enjoin those that were there to offer sacrifice, as the king had commanded them, they desired that Mattathias, a person of the greatest character among them, both on other accounts, and particularly on account of such a numerous and so deserving a family of children, would begin the sacrifice, because his fellow-citizens would follow his example, and because such a procedure would make him honoured by the king. But Mattathias said that he would not do it; and that if all the other nations would obey the commands of Antiochus, either out of fear, or to please him, yet would not he nor his sons leave the religious worship of their country; but as soon as he had ended his speech, there came one of the Jews into the midst of them, and sacrificed as Antiochus had commanded. At which Mattathias had great indignation, and ran upon him violently with his sword, who had swords with them, and slew both the man himself that sacrificed, and Apelles the king's general, who compelled them to sacrifice, with a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the idol altar, and cried out, "If," said he, "any one be zealous for the laws of his country, and for the worship of God, let him follow me," and when he had said this, he made haste into the desert with his sons, and left all his substance in the village. Many others did the same also, and fled with their children and wives into the desert and dwelt in caves; but when the king's generals heard this, they took all the forces they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert; and when they had overtaken them, they in the first place endeavoured to persuade them to repent, and to chose what was most to their advantage, and not put them to the necessity of using them according to the law of war; but when they would not comply with their persuasions, but continued to...
be of a different mind, they fought against them on the Sabbath-day, and they burnt them as they were in the caves, without resistance, and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they avoided to defend themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the honour they owed the Sabbath, even in such distresses; for our law requires that we rest upon that day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered and died in those caves: but many of those that escaped joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight even on the Sabbath-day; and told them that unless they would do so, they would become their own enemies, by observing the law [so rigorously], while their adversaries would still assault them on this day, and they would not then defend themselves; and that nothing could then hinder but they must all perish without fighting. This speech persuaded them; and this rule continues among us to this day, that if there be a necessity, we may fight on Sabbath-days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and gathered to him his fellow-Hebrews, and slew those that broke the laws, even all that he could get under his power; for many of them were dispersed among the nations round about them for fear of him. He also commanded that those boys who were not yet circumcised should be circumcised now; and he drove those away that were appointed to hinder such their circumcision.

3. But when he had ruled one year, and was fallen into a disreverence, he called for his sons, and set them round about him, and said, O my sons, I am going, and will bring vengeance on your enemies, and I recommend to you my resolution, and beseech you not to be negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the desires of him who begat you, and brought you up, and to preserve the customs of your country, and to recover your ancient form of government, which is in danger of being overthrown, and not to be carried away with those that, either by their own inclination, or out of necessity, betray it, but to become such sons as are worthy of me; to be above all force and necessity, and so to dispose your souls, as to be ready, when it shall be necessary, to die for your land; as a useful and just resolving king, that if God see that you are so disposed he will not overlook you, but will have a great value for your virtue, and will restore to you again what you have lost, and will return to you that freedom in which you shall live quietly, and enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal, and subject to fate; but they receive a sort of immortality, by the remembrance of what actions they have done; and I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory, and that, when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple, for such things, to lose your lives. I exhort you especially to agree one with another; and in what excellency any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so far, and by that means to reap the advantage of every one’s virtues. Do you then esteem Simon as your father, because he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and be governed by him in what counsels he gives you. Take Macedonians for the general of your army, because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge your nation; as a useful and just resolving king, that if God see that you are so disposed he will not overlook you, but will have a great value for your virtue, and will restore to you again what you have lost, and will return to you that freedom in which you shall live quietly, and enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal, and subject to fate; but they receive a sort of immortality, by the remembrance of what actions they have done; and I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory, and that, when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple, for such things, to lose your lives.

4. When Mattathias had thus discoursed to his sons, and had prayed to God to be their assistant, and to recover to the people their former constitution, he died a little afterward, and was buried at Modin; all the people making great lamentation for him. Whereupon his son Judas took upon him the administration of public affairs, in the hundred and forty-sixth year; and thus, by the ready assistance of his brethren, and of others, Judas cast their enemies out of the country, and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed his laws, and purified the land of all the pollutions that were in it.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW JUDAS OVERTHREW THE FORCES OF APOLLONIUS AND SERON, AND KILLED THE GENERALS OF THEIR ARMY, AND Them; AND HOW WHEN, A LITTLE WHILE AFTERWard, LCSIAS AND GORGIAS WERE BEATEN, HE WENT UP TO JERUSALEM, AND PURIFIED THE TEMPLE.

§ 1. When Apollonius, the general of the Samaritan forces, heard this, he took his army, and made haste to go against Judas, who met him, and joined battle with him, and beat him, and slew many of his men, and among them Apollonius himself, their general, whose sword, being that which he had taken to wear, he seized upon and kept for himself; but he wounded more than he slew, and took a great deal of prey from the enemy’s camp, and went his way; but when Seron, who was governor of the army of Celesyria, heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had about him an army sufficient for fighting and for making war, he determined to make an expedition against him, as thinking it became him to endeavour to punish those that transgressed the king’s injunctions. He then got together an army, as large as he was able, and joined to it the remnant and wicked Jews, and came against Judas. He then came as far as Bethoron, a village of Judea, and there pitched his camp; upon which Judas met him, and joined battle with him, and saw that his soldiers were backward to fight, because their number was small, and because they wanted food, for they were fasting, he encouraged them, and said to them, that victory and conquest of enemies are not derived from the multitude in armies, but in the exercise of piety towards God; and that they had the plainest instances in their forefathers, who, by their righteousness, and exerting themselves on behalf of their own laws, and their own children, had frequently conquered many ten thousands—for innocence is the strongest army. By this speech he induced his men to contend the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron; and upon joining battle with him, he beat the Syrians; and when their general fell among the rest, they all ran away with speed, as thinking that to be their best way of escaping. So he pursued them unto the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy; but the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea.

2. When king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened; so he got together all his own army, with many mercenaries, whom he had hired from the islands, and took them with him, and prepared to break into Judea. He
the beginning of the spring; but when, upon his mastering his soldiers, he perceived that his treasures were deficient, and there was a want of money in them, for all the taxes were not paid, by reason of the seditions there had been among the nation, he having been so magnanimous and so liberal that what he had was not sufficient for him, he therefore resolved first to go into Persia, and collect the taxes of that country. Hereupon he left one whose name was Lysias, who was in great repute with him, governor of the kingdom, as far as the bounds of Egypt, and of the Lower Asia, and reaching from the river Euphrates, and committed to him a certain part of his forces, and of his elephants, and charged him to bring up his son Antiochus with all possible care, until he came back; and that he should conquer Judea, and take its inhabitants for slaves, and utterly destroy Jerusalem, and abolish the whole nation; and when king Antiochus had given these things in charge to Lysias, he went into Persia; and in the hundred and forty-seventh year, he passed over Euphrates, and went up to the superior provinces.

3. Upon this Lyxias chose Ptolemies, the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, very potent men among the king's friends, and delivered to them forty thousand foot-soldiers and seven thousand horsemen, and sent them against Judea, who came as far as the city Emmaus, and pitched their camp in the plain country. There came also to them auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about; as also many of the runagate Jews; and besides these came some merchants to buy those that should be carried captives (having bonds with them to bind those that should be made prisoners), with that silver and gold which they were to pay or their price; and when Judas saw their camp, and how numerous their enemies were, he persuaded his own soldiers to be of good courage; and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and to make supplication to him, according to the custom of their country, dressed in sackcloth; and to show what was their usual habit of supplication in the greatest dangers, and thereby to prevail with God to grant them the victory over their enemies. So he set them in their ancient order of battle used by their forefathers, under their captains of thousands, and other officers, and dismissed such as were newly married, as well as those that had newly gained possessions, that they might fight in a cowardly manner, out of an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus disposed his soldiers, he encourag...
and beat them, and slew about five thousand of them, and thereby became terrible to the rest of them. Nay, indeed, Lycaon observing the great spirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their desperate way of fighting, as if it were real strength, he took the rest of the army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he listed foreigners into the service, and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army.

6. When, therefore, the generals of Antiochus's armies had been beaten so often, Judeas assembled the people together, and told them, that after these many days which God had then been pleased to give them to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed sacrifices. But as soon as he, with the whole multitude, was come to Jerusalem, and found the temple deserted, and its gates burnt down, and plants growing in the temple of their own accord, on account of its desertion, he and those that were with him began to lament, and were quite confounded at the sight of the temple; so he chose out some of his soldiers, and gave them order to fight against those guards that were in the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. From thence he made a careful view of it, and he had brought in new vessels, the candlesticks, the table (of shew-bread), and the altar (of incense), which were made of gold, he hung up the veils at the gates, and added doors to them. He also took down the altar (of burnt offering), and built a new one of stone that he gathered together, and not of such as were hewn with iron tools. So on the five and twentieth day of the month Casleus, which the Macedonians call Appelleus, they lighted the lamps that were on the candlesticks, and offered incense upon the altar (of incense), and laid the leaves upon the table (of shewbread), and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar (of burnt offering). Now it so fell out, that these things were done on the very same day on which their divine worship had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common use, after three years' time; for so it was, that the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for three years. This desolation happened to the temple in the hundred and fifty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Appelleus, and on the hundred and fifty third Olympiad; but it was dedicated anew, on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Appelleus, in the hundred and forty-eighth year, and on the hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad. And this desolation came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship for some time.

7. Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the sacrifices of the temple for eight days, and omitted no sort of pleasures thereon: but he feasted them upon very rich and splendid sacrifices; and he honoured God, and delighted them, by hymns and psalms. Nay, they were so very glad at the revival of their customs, when after a long time of intermission, they unexpectedly had regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival, on account of the restoration of their temple worship, for eight days. And from that time to this we celebrate this festival, and call it Lights. I supposed the reason was, because this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us; and that thence was the name given to that festival. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city, and raised towers of great height against the incursions of enemies, and set guards therein. He also fortified the city Bethsura, that it might serve as a citadel against any distresses that might come from our enemies.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW JUDAS SURROUNDED THE NATIONS ROUND ABOUT, AND HOW SIMON HEAT THE PEOPLE OF TYRE AND PTOLEMAIS; AND HOW JUDAS OVERTHREW THEBEUS, AND FORCED HIM TO FLY AWAY, AND DID MANY OTHER THINGS AFTER JOSEPH AND JACOB HAD BEEN BEATEN.

§ 1. When these things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power, and rose up together, and destroyed many of them, as gaining advantages over them by laying snares for them, and making secret conspiracies against them. Judas made prepared expeditions against these men, and endeavoured to restrain them from these incursions, and to prevent the mischief they did to the Jews. So fell upon the Idumeans, the posterity of Esau, of Acrabatane, and slew a great many of them, and took their spoils. He also shut up the sons of Boch, that layd wait for the Jews; and he sat down upon them, and besieged them, and burnt their houses, and destroyed the people [that were in them]. After this he went thence in haste against the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army, which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized upon the city Jezebel, and took their wives and their children captive, and burnt the city, and then returned into Judea. But when the neighboring nations understood that he was returned, they got together in great numbers in the land of Gilead, and came against the Jews that were at their borders, who then fled to the garrison of Dathem; and sent to Judas, to inform him that Timotheus was endeavouring to take the place whither they were fled. And as these epistles were reading, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and of Tyre and Sidon, and strangers of Galilee, were gotten together.

2. Accordingly Judas, upon considering what was fit to be done with relation to the necessity of these cases required, gave order that Simon his brother should take three thousand chosen men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee, while he and another of his brothers, Jonathan, made haste into the land of Gilead with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, to be over the rest of the forces; and charged them to keep Judea very carefully, and to fight no battles with any person whomsoever until his return. Accordingly, Simon went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and put them to flight, and pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand of them, and took the spoils of those that were slain; and those Jews whom they had made captives, with their baggage, and then returned home.

3. Now as for Judas Maccabeus, and his brother Jonathan, they passed over the river Jordan; and
when they had gone three days' journey, they lighted upon the Nabateans, who came to meet them peaceably, and who told them how the affairs of those in the land of Galilee stood, and how many of them were in distress, and driven into garrisons, and into the cities of Galilee; and exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavour to save his countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened, and returned into the wilderness; and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Bosor, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and destroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight, and burned the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but he journeyed in it to the garrison where the Jews happened to be then shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army; and Judas came upon the city in the morning; and when he found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon those walls, and that others brought engines to batter them, he bid the trumpeter to sound his trumpet, and he encouraged his soldiers chiefly to make use of dangers for the sake of their brethren and kindred; he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies. But when Timotheus's men perceived that it was Maccabaeus that was upon them, of whose courage and good success in war they had formerly had sufficient experiences, they were put to flight; but Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called Malle, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overran Caesphon and Bosor, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

4. But not long after this, Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries; and induced some of the Arabsians, by the promise of rewards, to go with him in this expedition, and arm with his army beyond the brook, over against the city Raphon: and he encouraged his soldiers, if they came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to hinder their passing over the brook; or he said to them beforehand, that if they come upon us, we shall be beaten. And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army, and went in haste against Timotheus his enemy; and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemies, and some of them met him, whom he slew, and others of them so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms and fly; and some of them escaped, and ran to the cities, and suffered evil, being pursued by the enemy. And Judas cometh to a certain city, the name of which was Amron, that lay upon the road (and as it was not easy for him to go any other way, so he was not able to go back again), he then sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and let them through their way; and for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through them.

And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and compassed the city round, and besieged it, and lying round it, by day and night, took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through it; and the multitude of those that were slain was so great, that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over against which is situated the city Bethshan, which is called by the Greeks Seythopolis. And going away hastily from thence, they came into Judaea, singing and leaping as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their good success, and for the preservation of their army, for not one of the Jews was slain in these battles.†

6. But as to Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas left generals [of the rest of his forces] at the same time when Simon was in Galilee, fighting against the people of Ptolemæus, and Judas himself, and his brother Jonathan, were in the land of Sidon, it is related how much they also affected the glory of being courageous generals in war, in order whereby they took the army that was under their command, and came to Jamnia. There Gorgias, the general of the forces of Jamnia, met them; and upon joining battle with him, they lost two thousand of their army; and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders of Judea. And this misfortune befell them by their disobedience to what injunctions Judas had given them, not to fight with anyone before his return. For besides the rest of Judas's sagacious counsels, one may well consider at this concerning the misfortune that befell the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas and his brethren did not leave off fighting with the Idumeans, but pressed upon them on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set all its towers on fire, and burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city Marissa. They came also to Ashdod, and took it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoils and prey that were in it, and returned to Judea.

CHAPTER IX.
CONCERNING THE DEATH OF ANTIQUUS EPHIPHANES: HOW ANTIQUUS EUPATOR Fought AGAINST JUDAS, AND BESIEGED HIM IN THE TEMPLE, AND AFTERWARDS MADE PEACE WITH HIM, AND DEPARTED OF ALCIMUM AND ONIAS.

§1. About this time it was that king Antiochus, as he was going over the upper countries, heard
that there was a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais; and therein a very rich temple of Diana, and that it was full of all sorts of donations dedicated to it; as also weapons and breast-plates, which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedonia; and so, he sent for the citizens of these cities, his friends, in imitation of Elymais, and assaulted it, and besieged it. But as those that were in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him very courageously, he was beaten off his hopes; for they drove him away from the city, and went out and pursued after him, insomuch that he fled away as far as Babylon, and lost a great many of his army; and when he was grieving for this disappointment, some persons told him of the defeat of his commanders whom he had left behind him to fight against Judaea, and what strength the Jews had already gotten. When this concern about these affairs was added to the former, he was confounded, and, by the anxiety he was in, fell into a distemper, which, as it lasted a great while, and as his pains increased upon him, so he at length perceived he should die in a little time; so he called his friends to him, and told them that his distemper was severe upon him, and confessed withal, that this calamity was sent upon him for his miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation, while he plundered their temple and consecrated their God; and when he had said this, he gave up the ghost. Whence one may wonder at Polybius of Megalopolis, who, though otherwise a good man, yet saith that "Antiochus died, because he had a purpose to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia;" for the purpose of doing a thing, but not actually doing it, is not worthy of punishment. But if Polybius could think that Antiochus thus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that this king died on account of his sacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jerusalem. But we will not contend about this matter with those who may think that the cause assigned by this Polybius of Megalopolis is nearer the truth than that assigned by us.

2. However, Antiochus, before he died, called for Philip, who was one of his companions, and made him the guardian of his kingdom, and gave him his diadem, and his garment, and his ring, and charged him to carry them, and deliver them to his son Antiochus; and desired him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him. This Antiochus died in the hundred forty and ninth year: but it was Lysias that declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king (of whom at present he had the care), and called him Eupator.

3. At this time it was that the garrison in the citadel at Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagates, did a great deal of harm to the Jews: for the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their sacrifices, for this citadel joined to and overlooked the temple.

When these misfortunes had often happened to them, Judas resolved to destroy that garrison; whereupon he got all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Seleucids. So he made a great number of men of all sorts, and he turned his arms against the citadel and besieged it, and very earnestly pressed on to take the citadel. But there were not a few of the runagates who were in the place, that went out by night into the country, and got together some other wicked men like themselves, and went to Antiochus the king, and desired him that he would not suffer them to be neglected, under the great hardships that lay upon them for those of their own nation; and this because the sufferings were occasioned on his father's account, while they left the religious worship of their fathers, and preferred that which he had commanded them to follow; that there was danger lest the city, and those appointed to garrison it, by the king, should be taken by Judas and those that were with him, unless he would send them succours. When Antiochus, who was but a child, heard this, he was angry, and sent for his captains and his friends, and gave order that they should get an army of mercenaries together, with such men also of his own kingdom as were of age fit for war. Accordingly an army was collected of about a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and sixty-two elephants.

4. So the king took this army, and marched hastily out of Antioch, with Lysias, who had the command of the whole, and came to Idumaea, and then went up to the city Bethera, a city that was strong, and not to be taken without great difficulties. But set about this city, and besieged it; and while the inhabitants of Bethera courageously opposed him, and sallied out upon him, and burnt his engines of war, a great deal of time was spent in the siege; but when Judas heard of the king's coming, he raised the siege of the citadel, and met the king and pitched his camp in certain straits, called Bethzeballah, at the distance of seventy furlongs from the enemy; but the king soon drew his forces from Bethera, and brought them to the straits; and as soon as it was day, he put his men in battle-array, and made his elephants follow another through the narrow passes, because they could not be set sideways by one another. Now round about every elephant there were a thousand footmen and five hundred horsemen. The elephants also had high towers [upon their backs] (as the archers were on them); and he also made the rest of his army to go up the mountains, and put his friends before the rest; and gave orders for the army to shout aloud, and so he attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight their golden and bronze shields, so that a glorious splendour was sent from them; and when they shouted, the mountains echoed again. When Judas saw this, he was much terrified, but received the enemy with great courage, and slew about six hundred of the first rank. But when his brother Eleazar, whom they called Antigonus, was the tallest of all the elephants among them, with royal breast-plates, and supposed that the king was upon him, he attacked him with great quickness and bravery. He also slew many of those that were about the elephant, and scattered the rest, and then went under the belly of the elephant, and smote him, and slew him; so the elephant fell upon Eleazar, and by his weight crushed him to death.
wicked and an impious man; and, in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their own laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was also called Jacimus, was made high-priest. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already possessed himself of the government, he made war against him, and subdued him, and took him, and slew him. Now, as to Onias, the son of the high-priest, who, as we before informed you, was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high-priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high-priest stock, but was induced by Lysias to translate that dignity from his family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and when he found he was in great esteem with him, and with his wife Cleopatra, he desired and obtained a place in the Nomeus of Heliporiæ, wherein he built a temple like that at Jerusalem; of which, therefore, we shall hereafter give an account, in a place more proper for it.

CHAPTER X.

HOW BACCHIDES, THE GENERAL OF DEMETRIUS’S ARMY, MADE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST JUDAEA, AND RETURNED WITHOUT SUCCESS; AND HOW NICANOR WAS SENT A LITTLE AFTERWARD AGAINST JUDAEA, AND PERISHED, TOGETHER WITH HIS ARMY; AS ALSO CONCERNING THE DEATH OF ALCIMUS, AND THE SUCCESSION OF JUDAEA.

§ 1. About the same time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripoli, a city of Syria, and set the diadem on his own head. He also gathered certain mercenary soldiers together, and entered into his kingdom, and was joyfully received by all, who delivered themselves up to him; and when they had taken Antiochus, the king, and Lysias, they brought them to him alive; both whom were immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years, as we have already elsewhere related; but there were now many of the wicked Jewish runagates that came together to him, and with them Alcimus the high-priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren; and said that they had slain all his friends; and that those in his kingdom that were of his party, and waited for his return, were by them put to death; that these men had ejected them out of their own country, and caused them to be sojourners in a foreign land; and they desired that he would send some one of his own friends, and knew from him what mischief Judas’s party had done.

2. At this Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes, a good man, and one that had been intrusted to him, and gave him an army, and Alcimus the high-priest to his charge to slay Judas, and those that were with him. So Bacchides made haste, and Antioch with his army; and when he entered into Judaea, he sent to Judas and his
diseases with him about a league of friendship and peace, for he had promised to take him by treachery; but Judas did not give credit to him, for he saw that he came with so great an army as men do not bring when they come to make peace, but to make war. However, some of the people acquiesced in what Bacchides caused to be proclaimed; and supposing they should undergo no considerable harm from Aleimus, who was their countrymen, they went over to them; and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither they themselves nor those of the same sentiments should come to any harm, they intrusted themselves with them; but Bacchides troubled not himself about the oaths he had taken, but slew three-score of them, although, by not keeping his faith with those that first went over, he deterred all the rest, who had intentions to go over to him, from doing it; but as he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at the village called Bethzetho, he sent out, and caught many of the deserters, and some of the people also, and slew them all; and enjoined all that lived in the country to submit to Aleimus. So he left them there, with some part of the army, that might have where to stay, and keep the country, and return to Antioch to king Demetrius.

3. But Aleimus was desirous to have the dominion more firmly assured to him; and understanding that, if he could bring it about that the multitude should be his friends, he should govern with greater security, he spake kind words to them all, and discoursed to each of them after an agreeable and pleasant manner; by which means he quickly had a great body of men and an army about him, although the greater part of them were of the wicked, and the deserters, whom he took to be his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country, and slew all that he could find of Judas’s party; but when Judas saw that Aleimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country, he also went all over the country and destroyed those that were of the other party; but when Aleimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance; so he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him of all the miseries that were by this means, and that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, which must be done by sending a powerful force against him.

4. So Demetrius, being already of opinion that it would be a thing pernicious to his own affairs to overlook Judas, now he was becoming so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most kind and most faithful of all his friends; for he was who fled away with him from the city of Rome. He also gave him as many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas withal, and made him not to spare the nation at all. When Nicanor came to Jerusalem, he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace, and said there was no manner of necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves; and that he would give him his oath that he would do him no harm, for that he only came with some friends, in order to let him know what king Demetrius’s intentions were, and what opinion he had of their nation. When Nicanor had delivered this message, Judas and his brethren complied with him, and suspecting no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor and his army; but while he was saluting Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his own soldiers, upon which they were to seize upon Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of his purpose, and of the snare laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and prepared for fighting him; and upon just such a village called Capharsalama, he beat Judas, and forced him to fly to that citadel which was at Jerusalem.

5. And when Nicanor came down from the citadel into the temple, some of the priests and elders met him, and saluted him; and showed him the sacrifices which they said they offered to God for the king: upon which he blasphemed, and threatened them, that unless the people would deliver up Judas to him, upon his return he would put down their temple. And when he had thus threatened them, he departed from Jerusalem; but the deserters fell into tears out of grief at what he had said, and besought God to deliver them from their enemies. But now Nicanor, when he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at a certain village called Bethoron, he there pitched his camp,—another army out of Syria having joined him. And Judas pitched his camp at Adassa, another village, which was thirty furlongs distant from Bethoron, having no more than one thousand soldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, nor to regard how many there were against whom they were to fight, but to consider who they themselves were, and for what great rewards they hazzarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight, and joining battle with Nicanor, which proved to be a severe one, he overcame the enemy, and slew many of them; and at last Nicanor himself, as he was fighting gloriously, fell upon whose fall the army did not stay; but when they had lost their general, they were put to flight, and threw down their arms. Judas also pursued them and slew them; and gave away with the spoils of this triumph to the neighbouring villages that he had conquered the enemy; which when the inhabitants heard, they put on their armour hastily, and met their enemies in the face, as they were running away, and slew them, insomuch that not one of them escaped out of this battle; who were in number nine thousand. This victory happened on the thirteenth day of that month which by the Jews is called Adar, and by the Macedonians Dysistrus: and the Jews therein celebrate this victory every year, and esteem it as a fast day. After which the Jewish nation were, for a while, free from wars, and enjoyed peace; but afterward they returned into their former state of wars and hazards.

6. But now that the high-priest Aleimus was resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time, and had been
people fled into such places), he removed, and made all the haste he could to Jerusalem. And when he had learned that Judas had pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetho, he led his army against him: they were twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen. Now Judas had no more soldiers than one thousand. When these saw the multitude of Bacchides' men they were afraid, and left their camp, and fled all away, excepting eight hundred. Now when Judas was deserted by his own soldiers, and the enemy pressed upon him, and gave him no time to gather, he was disposed to fight with Bacchides' army, though he had but eight hundred men with him; so he exhorted these men to undergo the danger courageously, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said they were not a body sufficient to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now and save themselves, and that when he had gathered his own men together, then he should fall upon the enemy afterwards, his answer was this:—"Let not the sun ever see such a thing, that I should show my back to the enemy; and although this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatsoever comes upon me, than by now running away, bring reproach upon my former great actions, or tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to those that remained with him, and whereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

2. But Bacchides drew his army out of their camp, and put them in array for the battle. He set the horsemen on both the wings, and light soldiers and the archers he placed before the whole army, but was himself on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to join battle with the enemy, he commanded the trumpet to give a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout, and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the same, he joined battle with Bacchides. He fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sun-set, Judas saw that Bacchides and the strongest part of the army was in the right wing, and thereupon took the most courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and broke their ranks, and drove them into the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as to a mountain called Azû: but when those of the left wing saw that the right wing was put to flight, they encompassed Judas, and pursued him, and came behind him, and took him into the middle of their army; so not being able to fly, but encompassed round about with enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought; and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he himself wounded, and fell, and gave himself to the enclosure of the mountain called Judas's brake, received a treaty from the governor Modin, where
and there buried him; while the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the usual solemn rites of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of valour and a great warrior, and mindful of all the commands of their father Mattathias; and had undergone all difficulties, both in doing and suffering, for the liberty of his countrymen. And when his character was so excellent [while he was alive], he left behind him a glorious reputation and memory, by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high-priesthood three years, he died.

BOOK XIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTY-TWO YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS TO QUEEN ALEXANDRA’S DEATH.

CHAPTER I.

HOW JONATHAN TOOK THE GOVERNMENT AFTER HIS BROTHER JUDAS; AND HOW HE, TOGETHER WITH HIS BROTHER SIMON, WAGED WAR AGAINST BACCHIDES.

§ 1. By what means the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into slavery by the Macedonians, and what struggles, and how many great battles, Judas, the general of their army, ran through till he was slain as he was fighting for them, hath been related in the foregoing book: but after he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of their forefathers, sprang up again in Judea, and grew upon them, and distressed them on every side. A famine also assisted their wickedness, and afflicted the country, till not a few, who, by reason of their want of necessaries, and because they were not able to bear up against the miseries that both the famine and their enemies brought upon them, desertsed their country, and went to the Macedonians. And now Bacchides gathered those Jews together who had apostatized from the accustomed way of living of their forefathers, and chose to live like their neighbours, and committed the care of the country to them; who also caught the friends of Judas, and those of his party, and delivered them up to Bacchides, who, when he had, in the first place, tormented and tormented them at his pleasure, he by that means, at length killed them. And when this calamity of the Jews was become so great, as they had never had experience of the like since their return out of Babylon, those that remained of the companions of Judas, seeing that the nation was about to be destroyed after a miserable manner, came to his brother Jonathan, and desired him that he would imitate his brother, and that care which he took of his countrymen, for whose liberty in general he died also; and that he would not permit the nation to be without a governor, especially in those destructive circumstances wherein it now was. And when Jonathan said he was ready to die for them, and was indeed esteemed no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army.

2. When Bacchides heard this, and was afraid that Jonathan might be very troublesome to the king and the Macedonians, as Judas had been before him, he sought how he might slay him by treachery; but this intention of his was not known to Jonathan, nor his brother Simon; and when these two were apprised of it, they took all their companions, and presently fled into that wilderness which was nearest to the city; and when they were come to a lake called Asaph, they stood there. But when Bacchides was sensible that they were in a low state, and were in that place, he hastened to fall upon them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond Jordan, he received his army: but when Jonathan knew that Bacchides was coming upon him, he sent his brother John, who was also called Gaddius, to the Nabathian king, that he might lodge his baggage with them, and battle with Bacchides should he ever, for they were the Jews’ friends. And the sons of Antioch laid an ambush for John, from the city Sidon, and seized upon him, and upon those that were with him, and plundered all that they had upon them: they also slew John, and all his companions. However, they were sufficiently punished for what they now did by John’s brethren, as we shall presently.

3. But when Bacchides knew that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the lakes of Jordan, he observed when their Sabbath-day came, and assaulted him, [as supposing that he would not because of the law for resting on that day], as he exerted his companions [to fight]; and seeing that their lives were at stake, since they were compassed by the river, and by their enemies, had no way to escape, for that their enemies pressed upon them before, and the river was behind them. So, after he had prayed to God to give him the victory, he joined battle with the enemy, whom he overthrew many; and as he saw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he strove with his right hand to slay him; but the other seeing and avoiding the stroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped into the river, and swam over it, and by that means escaped beyond Jordan, while the enemy did not pass over that river. But Bacchides returned presently to the city of Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand men; he also fortified many cities of which walls had been demolished; Jerusalem, Emmaus, and Bethoron, and Bebras, and Phanartho, and Tassa, and Gazara, and towers in every one of these cities, and encamp-
them with strong walls, that were very large also, and put garrisons into them, that they might issue out of them, and do mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel at Jerusalem more than all the rest. Moreover, he took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges, and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded it.

4. About the same time, one came to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon, and told them that the sons of Ambri were celebrating a marriage, and bringing the bride from the city Gabatha, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, and that the expenses was to be conducted with pomp and splendour, and was very rich; so Jonathan and Simon thinking this appeared to be the fittest time for them to avenge the death of their brother, and that they had forces sufficient for receiving satisfaction from them for his death, they made haste to Medaba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies; and as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin and the bridegroom, and such a great company of their friends with them as was to be expected at this wedding, they came out of their ambush and slew them all,—and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them, and then returned, and received this satisfaction for their brother John from the sons of Ambri; for as well these sons themselves as their friends, and wives, and children, that followed them, perished, being in number about four hundred.

5. However, Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river, and abode there; but Bacchides, when he had secured all Judea with his forces, returned to the king; and when it was the affair of Judea were quiet for two years; when the deserters and the wicked saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the city very quietly, by reason of the peace, they went to king Demetrius, and excited him to send his forces to seize upon Jonathan, which they said he should be done without any trouble, and in one day's time; and that if they fell upon him before they were aware, they might slay them all. So the king sent Bacchides, who, when he was come into the city, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and enemies, that they should seize upon Jonathan, and kill him; and when, upon their endeavors, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, he was sensible of the snare they laid for him, and very carefully guarded against them, and himself very carefully guarded. Up on hearing of Bacchides, he led his own army along with him, besides took in Jewish auxiliaries, and came upon Jonathan, and made an assault upon his castles, and besieged him many days, but he did not abate of his courage at the zeal and sights used in the siege, but courageously opposed him; and while he left his brother Simon in the fight with Bacchides, he went privately himself into the country, and got a great body together of his own party, and fell upon Bacchides's camp in the night-time, and destroyed many of them. His brother Simon knew also of this his falling upon them, because he perceived that the enemies were slain by him, so he saddled up upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians used, and made a great slaughter of them; and when Bacchides saw himself encompassed with enemies, and some of them before, and some behind him, he fell into despair and trouble of mind, as confounded at the unexpected ill success of this siege. However, he vented his displeasure at these misfortunes upon those deserters who sent for him from the king, as having deluded him. So he had a mind to put an end to this siege after a decent manner, if it were possible for him so to do, and then to return home.

6. When Jonathan understood these his intentions, he sent ambassadors to him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, and that they might restore those that had been taken captive on both sides. So Bacchides thought this a very decent way of retiring home, and made a league of friendship with Jonathan, when they saw that they would not any more make war against one another. Accordingly, he restored the captives, and took his own men with him, and returned to the king at Antioch; and after this his departure, he never came into Judea again. Then did Jonathan take the opportunity of this quiet state of things, and went and lived in the city of Hebron; and there governed the multitude, and punished the wicked and ungodly, and by that means purged the nation of them.

CHAPTER II.

HOW ALEXANDER [BANA], IN HIS WAR WITH DEMETRIUS, GRANTED JONATHAN MANY ADVANTAGES, AND APPOINTED HIM TO BE HIGH-PRIEST, AND PERSUADED HIM TO ASSIST HIM, ALTHOUGH DEMETRIUS PROMISED HIM GREATER ADVANTAGES ON THE OTHER SIDE, CONCERNING THE DEATH OF DEMETRIUS.

§ 1. Now in the hundred and sixtieth year, it fell out that Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, came up into Syria, and took Ptolemais, the soldiers having betrayed it to him, for they were at enmity with Demetrius, on account of his insolence and difficulty of access; for he shut himself up in a palace of his that had four towers, which he had built himself, not far from Antioch, and admitted nobody. He was withal slothful and negligent about the public affairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the more kindled against him, as we have elsewhere already related. When, therefore, Demetrius heard that Alexander was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army, and led it against him; he also sent ambassadors to Jonathan, about a league of mutual assistance and friendship, for he resolved to be beforehand with Alexander, lest the other should treat with him first, and gain assistance from him; and this he did out of

* This Alexander Bana, who certainly pretends Epiphanes, and was son of such by many, and yet is by several historians called, and of no family of all, is, however, he has been the real son of that Antiochus, and it is accordingly; and truly, since the original coin of the first book of Maccabees was of the same name, Epiphanes, and says he was the son of another writer, who are all much later, such evidence, though perhaps Epiphanes of no family. The king of Egypt also daughet marriage, which he would let him be a counterfeit, and so was prince.
lest Jonathan should remember how ill Demetrius had formerly treated him, and should join with him in this war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armour made, and should receive back those hostages of the Jewish nation whom Bæchides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan, by the concession of Demetrius, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king’s letter in the audience of the people, and of those that kept the citadel. When these were read, these wicked men and deserters, who were in the citadel, were greatly afraid, upon the king’s permission to Jonathan to raise an army, and to receive back the hostages; so he delivered every one of them to his own parents; and thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renewing the city to a better state, and reforming the buildings as he pleased; for he gave orders that the walls of the city should be rebuilt with square stones, that it might be secure from their enemies, and that those that kept the citadels that were in Judea saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, excepting those that were in the city Bethsura, and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, for the greater part of these were of the wicked Jews and deserters, and on that account these did not deliver up their garrisons.

2. When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had made Jonathan, and withal knew his courage, and what great things he had done when he fought the Macedonians, and besides what hard struggles he had undergone by the means of Demetrius, and of Bæchides, the general of Demetrius’s army, he told his friends that he could not at present find any one else that might afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who was both courageous against his enemies, and had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as having both suffered many hard things from him, and acted many hard things against him. If, therefore, they were of opinion that they should make him their friend against Alexander, it would be for their own safety to invite him to assist them now as at another time. It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote to him this epistle:—"King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, sendeth greeting. We have long ago heard of thy courage and thy fidelity, and for that reason have sent to thee, to make with thee a league of friendship and mutual assistance. We therefore do ordain thee this day the high-priest of the Jews, and that thou beest called my friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe and a golden crown, and desire that, now thou art by us honoured, thou wilt in like manner respect us also." 2

3. When Jonathan had received this letter, he put on the pontifical robe at the time of the feast of tabernacles, four years after the death of his brother Judas, for at that time no high-priest had been made. So he raised great forces, and had abundance of armour got ready. This greatly grieved Demetrius when he heard of it, and made him believe for his slowness, that he had not prevented Alexander, and got the good-will of Jonathan, but had given him time so to do. However, he also himself wrote a letter to Jonathan, and to the people, the contents whereof are these:—"King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Since you have preserved your friendship for us, and when you have been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined with them, but have recommended yourself to us, you are to be commended for this your fidelity, and I exhort you to persevere in the same disposition; for which you shall be repaid, and receive rewards from us: for I will free you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors, and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt, and the value of the crowns which you used to offer to me; and instead of the third part of the fruits of the field, of the fruit of the trees. I relinquish my part of these revenues, as to the poll-money, which ought to be given me for every head of the inhabitants of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, and Perea, that I relinquish to you for this time, and for all time to come. I will also, that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from the tribute, and from the taxes, unto its utmost bounds: and so far recede from my title to the cedile, as to permit Jonathan your high-priest to possess it, that he may place such a garrison in it as he approves of for fidelity and good-will to himself, that they may keep it for us. I also make free all those Jews who have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom. I also give order that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for our service: and let their Sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three days before each of them, be free from any imposition. In the same manner, I set free the Jews that are inhabitants in my kingdom, and order that no injury be done them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to list themselves in my army, that they may do it, and that the officers of my army, which Jewish soldiers, wheresoever they go, shall have the same pay that my own army hath; and some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine own body, and as relays over those that are in my court. I give them also to use the laws of their forefathers, and to observe them; and I will that they have power over the three toparchies that are added to Judea; and it shall be in the power of the high-priest to take care that no one Jew shall have any other temple for worship but only that at Jerusalem. I bequeath also, out of my own revenues, yearly, for the expenses about the sacrifices, one hundred and fifty thousand [drachmae]; and what money is to spare, I will that it shall be your own. I also release to you those ten thousand drachmae which the kings received from the temple, because they appertain to the priests that minister in that temple. And whosoever shall fly to the temple at Jerusalem, or to the places thereto belonging, or who owe the king money, or are there on any other account, let them be set free, and let their goods be in safety. I also give you leave to repair and rebuild your temple.

2 Since Jonathan plainly did not put on the pontifical robes till seven or eight years after the death of his brother Judas, or not till the 2nd year of the reign of the Seleucids (1 Maccab. x. 21), some commentators have supposed this statement to mean, instead of "after four years since the death of his brother Judas," would have read, "five years since the death of his brother Judas." This would tolerably well agree with the date of the Maccabees, and with Josephus’ own exact chronology as the end of the twentieth book of these Antiquities, which the present text cannot be made to do.

3 Luke Grotrian’s note here: "The Jews were, in some words, present crowns to the kings (of Syria); afterwards gold and gold was paid instead of those crowns, which was expended in making what was called the Crown-Gold and Crown-Tax." 1 Maccab. x. 20.
and that all be done at my expenses. I also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high towers, and that they be erected at my charge. And if there be any fortified town that would be convenient for the Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so built at my expenses."

4. This was what Demetrius promised and granted to the Jews, by the latter. But King Alexander raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that despatched to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius. And when it was come to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those who opposed them to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp; but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten; and as for all the rest, they ran away. But Demetrius fought courageously, and slew a great many of the enemy; but as he was in pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened, that upon his horse's falling down, he could not escape being killed; for when his enemies saw what had befallen him, they returned back, and encompassed Demetrius round, and they all threw their darts at him; but he, being now on foot, fought bravely. But at length he received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up any longer, but fell. And this is the end that Demetrius came to, when he had reigned eleven years, as we have elsewhere related.

CHAPTER III.

THE FRIENDSHIP THAT WAS BETWEEN ONIAS AND PTOLEMY PHILOMETER; AND HOW ONIAS BUILT A TEMPLE IN EGYPT LIKE TO THAT AT JERUSALEM.

1. But then the son of Onias the high-priest, so was of the same name with his father, and who did to king Ptolemy, who was called Philometer, and now Alexander, Alias, was a defender; but this Onias saw that Judea was oppressed by a Macedonians and their kings, out of a desire to rehouse to himself a memorial and eternal fame, he resolved to send to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to ask leave of them that he might build a temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem, and that ordain Levites and priests out of their own nation. The chief reason why he was desirous so to was, that he relied upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived above six hundred years before, and told that there certainly was to be a temple at Almghty God in Egypt by a man that was now. Onias was elevated with this prediction, and wrote the following epistle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra:—"Having done many and great things you in the affairs of the war, by the assistance theord, and that in Cleopatra and Phœnicia, I came to the Jews to Leontopolis, and to the several cities of your nation, where I found that the greatest of your people had temples in an improper manner, and that on this account they bare ill will against another, which happens to the Egyptians by reason of the multitude of their temples, the difference of opinion about divine worship. I found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the country Diana; this place is full of materials of several sorts, and replenished with sacred animals: I desire, therefore, that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no master, and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions, that may be for the advantage of myself, and my wife and children; that those Jews who dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and be subservient to thy advantages; for the prophet Isaiah foretold, that there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God; and many other such things did he prophesy relating to that place."

2. And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy. Now any one may observe his piety, and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra, by that epistle which they wrote in answer to it; for they laid the blame and the transgression of the law upon the head of Onias. And this was their reply:—"King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra to Onias, send greeting. We have read thy petition, wherein thou desirest to be given to thee to purge that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the name of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country Babastis; on which account we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a temple so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to thy law, and so that we may not appear to have at all offended God herein."

3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like indeed to that at Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe its dimensions, or its vessels, which have been already described in my seventh book of the Wars of the Jews. However, Onias found other gods like himself, together with priests and temples, which were performed divine service. But we have said enough about this temple.

4. Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian
CHAPTER IV.

HOW ALEXANDER HONOURED JONATHAN AFTER AN EXTRAORDINARY MANNER; AND HOW DEMETRIUS, THE SON OF DEMETRIUS, OVERCAME ALEXANDER, AND MADE A LEAGUE OF FRIENDSHIP WITH JONATHAN.

§ 1. Demetrius being thus slain in battle, as we have above related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria; and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor, and desired his daughter in marriage; and said it was

but just that he should be joined in affinity to one that had now received the principality of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God's providence, and had conquered Demetrius; and that on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this proposal of marriage gladly and sent him an answer, saluting him on account of his having received the principality of his forefathers; and promising him that he would give him his daughter in marriage; and assured him that he was coming to meet him at Ptolemais; and desired that he would there meet him, for that he would accompany her from Egypt so far, and would there marry his child to him. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and brought his daughter Cleopatra along with him; and as he found Alexander there before him, as he desired him to come, he gave him his child in marriage, and for her portion gave her as much silver and gold as became such a king to give.

2. When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan, the high-priest, and desired him to come to Ptolemais. So when he came to these kings, and had made them magnificent presents, he was honoured by them both. Alexander compelled him also to put off his own garment, and to take a purple garment, and made him sit with him on his throne; and commanded his captains that they should go and carry him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they saw the honour that was done him by proclamation, and that by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he set him down as the principal of his friends.

3. But then, upon the hundredth and sixty-fifth year, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Crete, with a great number of men, and many precious goods; Chares, the Alexander, brought him, and sailed to Cilicia. This thing cast Alexander into great concern and disorder when he heard it; so he made haste immediately out of Phoenicia and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there before Demetrius should come. He also sent Apollonius Darius governor of Cœle-Syria, who came to Alexandria with a great army, sent to Jonathan, the high-priest, and told him that it was not right that he alone should live at rest, and with authority, and not be subject to the king; that this thing had made him a reproach among all men, that he had not yet made himself subject to the king.

"Do not thou therefore deceive thyself, and sit still among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee; but if thou hast any dependence on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be compared together, and the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the most courageous. However, take notice, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and that these are the very men that are thy ancestors and progenitors; but let us have the battle in such a place of the country where we may fight with
pens, and not with stones, and where there may be no place whither those that are beaten may fly." 

4. With this Jonathan was irritated; and choosing himself out ten thousand of his soldiers, he went out of Jerusalem in haste, with his brother Simon, and came to Joppa, and pitched his camp on the outside of the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him, for they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius. But when Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take them by force, and so they opened the gates to him. But Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footmen, and came to Ashdod; and removing thence, he made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, he made as if he was retiring from the place, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himself highly upon his horsemen, and having his hopes of victory principally in them. However, Jonathan saluted out, and pursued Apollonius to Ashdod; but as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle. But Apollonius had laid a thousand horsemen in ambush, and a hundred and fifty men, that they might be seen by their enemies as behind them; when Jonathan perceived, he was under no consternation, but, ordering his army to stand in a square battle array, he gave them a signal to fall on the enemy on both sides, and set them to face those that attacked them both before and behind; and while the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemy; but for himself he charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armor, and receive the darts of the horsemen, who, did as they were commanded; so that the enemy's horsemen, while they threw their darts till they had no more left, them no harm, for the darts that were thrown not enter into their bodies, being thrown upon shields that were united and conjoined together, closeness of which easily overcame the force of darts, and they flew about without any effect. When the enemy grew remiss in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived the weakness, and fell upon the body of the enemy before him; at Joppa was taken by Jonathan, a man of great valor, to whom he made a declaration, he put the enemy to flight; and in the horsemen saw the footmen ran away, her did they stay them else; but they being weary, by the duration of the fight till the king, and their hope from the footmen being gone, they basely ran away, and in great confusion also, till they were separated one from another, and scattered over the whole plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod, and slew many of them, and compelled the rest, in air of escaping, to fly to the temple of Dagon, which was at Ashdod: but Jonathan took the city the first onset, and burnt it, and the villages about it; nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of enemies that fell in the battle, and were concealed in the temple, were eight thousand. When therefore he had overcome so great an army, removed from Ashdod, and came to Askelon: when he had pitched his camp without the city, the people of Askelon came out and met him, ging them hospitable presents, and honouring him; so he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jerusalem with great deal of prey, which he brought thence when he came to his enemies. But when Alexander heard that Apollonius, the general of his army, was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, because he had fought with Jonathan his friend and ally against his directions. Accordingly, he sent to Jonathan, and gave testimony to his worth; and gave him honorary rewards, as a golden button, which is the custom to give the king's kinsmen, and allowed him Ekron and its toparchy for his own inheritance.

6. About this time it was that king Ptolemy, whom was called Philometer, led an army, part by sea and part by land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Ashdod; where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt, and accused Jonathan of having laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to meet Ptolemy as far as Joppa, and obtained from him hospitable presents, and those glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honour; and when he had conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem.

6. But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction; for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, by the means of Ammonius, who was his friend: and as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him what snares had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desired that he might be accordingly punished for it; but when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who laid the design, and was very angry at him. Alexander had also formerly been on very ill terms with the people of Antioch, for they had suffered very much by this means; yet did Ammonius at length undergo the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved, for he was killed in an opulently munificent manner, like a woman, while he endeavored to conceal himself in a feminine habit, as we have elsewhere related.

7. Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him to assist him against Demetrius; so he dissolved his relation to him, and took his daughter away from him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make a league of mutual assistance and friendship with him, and agreed with him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this embassage, and accepted this assistance, and of the marriage of his sister; and Ptolemy had still one more hard task to perform, to persuade the people of Antioch of this, because they were given over to account of the injurious things done them; yet did the people of Antioch

*Dr. Hudson here record such as the text continued.
nian's account, as we have shown already, they were easily prevailed with to cast him out of Antioch; and when he was expelled out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. 

Ptolemy came then to Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants, and by the army; so that he was forced to put on his own two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt; but being naturally a good and righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others, and besides these dispositions, being also a wise man in reasoning about futurities, he determined to avoid the envy of the Romans, so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and persuaded them to receive Demetrius; and assured them that he would not be mindful of what they did to his father in case he should be now obliged by them; and he undertook that he would himself be a good monitor and governor to him; and promised that he would not permit him to attempt any bad actions; but that, for his own part, he was contented with the kingdom of Egypt. By which discourse he persuaded the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius.

...
Brought up Antiochus, the son of Alexander, and told him what ill will the army bare Demetrius, and persuaded him to give him Antiochus, because he would make him king, and recover to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at first opposed him in this attempt; but, when he could not believe him; but when Trypho lay hard at him for a long time, he overpersuaded him to comply with Trypho’s intentions and entreaties. And this was the state Trypho was now in.

2. But Jonathan the high-priest, being desirous to get clear of those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters and wicked men, as well as those in all the garrisons in the country, sent presents and ambassadors to Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his soldiers out of the strong holds of Judea. Demetrius made answer, that after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that also: and he desired he would send him some assistance, and informed him that his army had deserted him. So Jonathan chose out three thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, both on account of what mischief he had himself done them, and because they were his enemies also in account of his father Demetrius, who had greatly based them; so they watched some opportunity which they might lay hold of, to fall upon him, and when they were informed of the assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevented him and seized upon him, they took their weapons immediately, and encompassed his palace in the way of a siege, and seizing upon all the ways of getting out, they sought to subdue their king. And when he saw that the people of Antioch were become his terror enemies, and that they were thus in arms, he sent the mercenary soldiers which he had with him, and those Jews who were sent by Jonathan, and insulted the Antiochians; but he was overpowered them, for they were many ten thousands, and as beateon. But when the Jews saw that the Anichians were superior, they went up to the top of the palace, and shot at them from thence; and whereas they were so remote from them by their sight, that they suffered nothing on their side, they did great execution on the others as fighting in such an elevation, they drove them out of the opening houses, and immediately they were on fire, and the flame spread itself over the whole, and burnt it all down. This happened by reason of the closeness of the houses, and because they were generally built of wood; so the Antiochians, as they were not able to help themselves, nor to put the fire, were put to flight. And as the Jews passed from the top of one house to another, and struck them after that manner, it thence happened that the pursuit was very surprising. But when king saw that the Antiochians were very busy saving their children and their wives, and their fires, and the flight, and the passage, and fought them, and slew a great number of them, till at last they were forced to fly down their arms, and to deliver themselves to Demetrius. So he forgave them their lent behaviour, and put an end to the sedition: when he had given rewards to the Jews out of rich spoils he had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cause of his victory, he sent them away to Jerusalem to Jonathan, with an ample testimony of the assistance they had afforded him. Yet did he prove an ill man to himself afterward, and because the promises he had made: and he threatened that he would make war upon him, unless he would pay all that tribute which the Jewish nation owed to the first kings [of Syria]. And this he had done, if Trypho had not hindered him, and diverted his preparations against Jonathan to a concern for his own preservation; for he now returned out of Arabia into Syria, with the child Antiochus, for he was yet in age but a youth, and put the diadem on his head; and as the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay, came to his assistance, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him both his elephants and the city of Antioch.

4. Demetrius, upon this defeat, retired into Cilicia; but the child Antiochus sent ambassadors and an epistle to Jonathan, and made him his friend and confederate, and confirmed to him the high-priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judea. Moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold, and a purple garment, and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a golden button, and styled him one of his principal friends; and appointed his brother Simon to be the general over the forces, from the Ladder of Tyre unto Egypt. So Jonathan was so pleased with these grants made him by Antiochus, that he sent Ambassadors to him and to Trypho, and professed himself to be their friend and confederate, and said he would join with him in a war against Demetrius, informing him that he had made no proper returns for the kindness he had done him; for that when he had received many marks of kindness from him, when he stood in great need of them, he, for such good turns, had requited him with further injuries.

5. So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raise himself a numerous army out of Syria and Phoenicia, and to make war against Demetrius’s generals; whereupon he went in haste to the several cities, which received him splendidly indeed, but put no forces into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Askelon, the inhabitants of Askalon came and brought him presents, and made him in a splendid manner. He exhorted them, and every one of the cities of Celysia, to forsake Demetrius, and to join with Antiochus, and in assisting him, to endeavour to punish Demetrius for what offences he had been guilty of against themselves; and told them there were many reasons for that their procedure, if they had a mind so to do. And when he had persuaded those cities to promise their assistance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza, in order to induce them also to be friends to Antiochus; but he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected, for they had shut the gates against him; and although he had resolved to join them to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to beseech him, and to harass their country; for as he part of his army round about Gaza itself, so the rest he overran their land, and so burdened what was in it. When Gaza saw themselves in this state, and that no assistance came to the trius, that what distressed them
what should profit them was still at a great distance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer continuance with him, and to cultivate friendship with the other; so they sent to Jonathan, and professed they would be his friends, and afford him assistance; for such is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great affections, they do not understand what is for their advantage; but when they find themselves under such affections, they then change their minds, and what had been better for them to have done before they had been at all damaged, they choose to do, but not till after they have suffered such damages. However, he made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance of it, and sent these hostages to Jerusalem, while he went himself over all the country, as far as Damascus.

6. But when he heard that the generals of Demetrius's forces were come to the city Cades with a numerous army (the place lies between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee), for they supposed they should hereby draw him out of Syria, in order to preserve Galilee, and that he would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them, he went to meet them, having left Simon in Judea, who raised as great an army as he was able out of the country, and then sat down before Bethusara, and besieged it, that being the strongest place in all Judea; and a garrison of Demetrius's kept it, as we have already related. But as Simon was raising banks, and bringing up his engines of war against Bethusara, and was very earnest about the siege of it, the garrison was afraid lest the place should be taken of Simon by force, and they put to the sword; so they sent to Simon, and desired the security of his oath, that they should come to no harm from him, and that they would leave the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly, he gave them his oath, and ejected them out of the city, and he put therein a garrison of his own.

7. But Jonathan removed out of Galilee, and from the waters which are called Gennesar, for there he was before encamped, and came into the plain that is called Asor, without knowing that the enemy was there. When therefore Demetrius's men knew a day beforehand that Jonathan was coming against them, they lay in ambush in the mountain, who were to assail him on the sudden, while they themselves met him with an army in the plain; which army when Jonathan saw ready to engage him, he also got ready his own soldiers for the battle as well as he was able. But those that were laid in ambush by Demetrius's generals being behind them, the Jews were afraid lest they should be caught in the midst between two bodies, and perish; so they ran away in haste, and indeed all the rest, lest Jonathan, but a few that were in number about fifty, who stood with him, and with them Mattathias, the son of Absalom; and Judas, the son of Chappaeus, who were commanders of the whole army. These marched boldly, and like men desperate, against the Jews, that by their courage they deterred them, and with their weapons in their hands, they put them to flight. And when those soldiers of Jonathan that had retired, saw the enemy giving way, they got together after their flight, and pursued them with great violence; and this did they as far as Cades, where the camp of the enemy lay.

8. Jonathan having thus gotten a glorious victory, and slain two thousand of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem. So when he saw that all his affairs prospered, according to his mind, by the power of God, he sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing that friendship which their nation had with them formerly. He enjoined the same ambassadors, that, as they came back, they should go to the Spartans, and put in and of their friendship and kindred. So when the ambassadors came to Rome, they went in to the senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan their high-priest to say, how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly concerning their friendship with the Jews, and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might safely conduct them to their own country. Accordingly, as they returned, they came to Sparta, and delivered the epistle which they had received of Jonathan to them; a copy of which here follows:—"Jonathan the high-priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate, and body of the people of the Jews, to the epiphany, and senate, and body of the people of the Lacedemonians, send greeting. If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be in the best condition, it is according to our wishes. We are also well. When in former times an epistle was brought to Onias, who was then our high-priest, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, concerning the kindred that was between us and you, a copy of which is here subjoined, we both joyfully received the epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteles' act Areus, although we did not need such a demonstration, because we were well satisfied about it from the sacred writings;" yet did not we think it fit to begin the claim of this relation to you, lest it should seem too early in taking to ourselves the glory which is now given us by you. It is a very long time since this relation of ours to you had been renewed; and when we, upon holy and fast days, offer sacrifices to God, we pray him for your preservation and victory. As to ourselves, although we have had many wars that have compassed us round, by reason of the occasions of our neighbours, yet did not we determine to be troublesome either to you or to others that were related to us; but since we have now our enemies, and have occasion to send Nicanor the son of Antiochus, and Antiochus, the son of the king, who are bold honourable men belonging to your senate, to the Romans, we gave this epistle to you also, that they might renew that friendship which is between us. You will therefore do yourselves to write to us, and send us an account of what you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things disposed to act according to your desires." So the Lacedemonians received the epistles of the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendly and mutual assistance, and sent it from Sparta to the Jews, who had different opinions concerning actions; the one was called the sect of the Ptolemaeans, another the sect of the Sadducees, and the third..."
the sect of the Essenes. Now for the Pharisees,* they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But the sect of the Essenes affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. And as the Essenes, they take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal; but they suppose that all our actions are in our power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of these opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

10. But now the generals of Demetrius being diligent to recover the defeat they had had, gathered together in the same place army together than they had before, and came against Jonathan; but as soon as he was informed of their coming, he went suddenly to meet them, to the country of Hamath, for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judea; so pitched his camp at fifty furlongs' distance from them, and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and after what manner they were encamped. When his spies had given him full information, he commanded them not seized upon some of them by night, who told him the enemy would soon attack him, he thus apprised beforehand, provided for his security, and selected watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his horses armed all night; and he gave them a charge to be of good counsel, and to have their minds prepared to fight in the night-time, if they should be liged so to do, lest their enemy's designs should be concealed from them. But when Demetrius's messengers were informed that Jonathan knew what they intended, their counsels were disordered, and it alarmed them to find, that the enemy had covered those their intentions; nor did they expect to overcome them any other way, now they failed in the snare they had laid for them; should they hazard an open battle, they did not know whether they should be a match for Jonathan's army, they resolved to fly: and having lighted their lamps, when the enemy saw them they might pose they were there still, they retired. So Jonathan came to give them battle in the morning, and found it deserted, and eroded they were fled, he pursued them; yet could not overtake them, for they had already crossed over the river Eleutherus, and were out of his sight. So when Jonathan was returned thence, went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans, and drove away a great deal of their prey, took [many] cities, and came thence, and there sold off what he had taken. About the same time it was that Simon his brother went over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon, and fortified the strong holds; and when he had made them very strong, both in the edifices erected, and in the garrisons placed in them, he came to Joppa; and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it, for he heard that the people of Joppa were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius's generals.

11. When Simon and Jonathan had finished these affairs, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the temple, which had been thrown down, and to make the places adjoining stronger by very high towers; and besides that, to build another wall in the midst of the city, in order to exclude the market-place from the garrison, which was in the citadel, and by that means to hinder them from any plenty of provisions; and moreover, to make the fortresses that were in the country much stronger, and more defensible than they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jonathan himself took care of the building that belonged to the city, and sent Simon away to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over [Euphrates], and came into Mesopotamia, as designs to retain that country still, as well as Babylon; and when he should have obtained the dominion of the upper provinces, to lay the foundation for recovering of his entire kingdom; for these Greeks and Macedonians that dwelt there, frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised that if he would come to them, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against Arraeus, the king of the Parthians. So he was elevated with these hopes, and came hastily to them, as having resolved that, if he had once overthrown the Parthians, and gotten an army of his own, he would make war against Tryphon, and eject him out of Syria; and the people of that country received him with great alacrity. So he raised forces, with which he fought against Arraeus, and lost all his army; and was himself taken alive, as we have elsewhere related.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW JONATHAN WAS SLAIN BY TREACHERY; AND HOW THEREUPON THE JEWS MADE SIMON THEIR GENERAL AND HIGH-PRIEST: WHAT COURAGEOUS ACTIONS HE ALSO PERFORMED, ESPECIALLY AGAINST TRYPHO.

§ 1. Now when Tryphon knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus, but contrived by subtlety to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom; but the fear that he was in Jonathan was an obstacle to his design, for Jonathan was a friend to Antiochus, for which cause he resolved first to take Jonathan of the way, and then to set about his design on Antiachus; but he judging it best to take
off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethshan, which by the Greeks is called Scympolis, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thousand chosen men, for he thought that he came to fight him; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by presents and kind treatment, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by these means was desirous to give assurance of his good-will, and to take the advantage of Jonathan out of his mind, so that he might make him careless and inconsiderate, and might take him when he was unguarded. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was no occasion for bringing it with him, when there was no war, but all was in peace. However, he desired him to retain a few about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for that he would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the fortresses that were in the country under his dominion; and he told him that he came with those very designs.

2. Yet did Jonathan return anything at all by this his management, but believed that Trypho gave this advice out of kindness, and with a sincere design. Accordingly, he dismissed his army, and retained no more than three thousand of them with him, and left two thousand in Galilee; and he himself, with one thousand, came with Trypho to Ptolemais; but when the people of Ptolemais had shut their gates, as it had been commanded by Trypho to do, he took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against those two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to destroy them: but those men, having heard the report of what had happened to Jonathan, they prevented the execution, and before those that were sent by Trypho came, they covered themselves with their armour, and went away out of the country. Now when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no disturbance, but returned back to Trypho.

3. But when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were defeated, they despised his sad fate; and there was earnest inquiry made about him by everybody, and a great and just fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest now they were deprived of the courage and conduct of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill-will; and as they were before quiet on account of Jonathan, they should now rise up against them, and by making war with them, should force them into the utmost dangers. And indeed what they suspected really befell them; for when those nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war with the Jews as now desirous of a governor; Trypho himself got an army together, and had an intention to go up to Judea, and make war against its inhabitants. But when Simon saw that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and thereby to render them more resolute in opposing Trypho when he should come against them. He then called the people together into the temple, and there he began thus to encourage them:—

O my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our father, myself, and my brethren, have ventured to hazard our lives, and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty; since I have therefore such plenty of examples before me, and we of our family have determined with ourselves to die for our laws and our divine worship, there shall no terror be so great as to turn this resolution from our souls; nor to introduce in its place a love of life and a contempt of glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity whatsoever I shall lead you on, as not desirous, of any captain as is willing to suffer, and to do the greatest things for you; for neither am I better than my brethren that I should be sparing of my own life, nor so far worse than they as to avoid and renounce what they thought the most honourable of all things,—I mean to undergo death for your laws, and for that worship of God which is peculiar to you; I will therefore give such proper demonstrations as will show that I am their own brother, and I am so bold as to expect that I shall spare their blood upon our enemies, and deliver them with their wives and children, from the arms of their enemies, they intend against them, and, with God's assistance, to preserve your temple from destruction by them; for I see that these nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor, and that they are encouraged to make war against you.

4. By this speech of Simon he inspired the multitude with courage; and as they had before dispirited through fear, they were now raised to a good hope of better things, insomuch that the multitude of the people cried out all at once, that Simon should be leader; and that instead of Judea and Jonathan his brethren, he should have command over the whole, and that they promised to do as he should readily obey him in whatsoever he should command them. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and hastened in rebuilding the walls of the city, and strengthening them by very high and strong towers, and sent a friend of his, one Jonathan, the son of Absalom, to Joppa, and gave him order to expel the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid that they should deliver up the city to Trypho; but he himself said to secure Jerusalem.

5. But Trypho removed from Ptolemais with a great army, and came into Judea, and brought Jonathan with him in bands. Simon also met him with his army at the city Adila, which is upon a hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judea; when Trypho knew that Simon was by the Jews made their governor, he sent to him, and had him imprisoned upon men, and desired, if he would have his brother Jonathan released, that he would send him a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, that when he should be released, he may not cause Judea to revolt from the king; for that at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money he borrowed of the king, and now owed it him. Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho; and though he knew that if he gave him the money, he should lose it, and that Trypho would not set his brother free, and withal should deliver the nation to the enemy, yet because he was afraid that he should have a calumny raised against him among the multitude as the cause of his brother's death, if he should gain such money, nor send him his brother, he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made; and added this, that the offers were emasculating and strenuous, and yet that it was more eligible to resign the money and Jonathan's sons, than to be led to the imputation of not complying with Trypho's offers, and thereby refusing to save his brother.
Accordingly, Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money; but when Trypho had received them, he did not keep his promise, but set Jonathan free, but took his army, and went about all the country, resolved to go afterwards to Jerusalem, by the way of Idumea, while Simon went over-against him with his army, and all along pitched his camp over-against his. 6. But when those that were in the citadel had sent to Trypho, and besought him to make haste and come to them, and to send them provisions, he prepared his cavalry as though he would be at Jerusalem that very night; but he did not think of it, though, he left all the night, and a very great part of it, and that it covered the roads, and made them so deep, that there was no passing, especially for the cavalry. This hindered him from coming to Jerusalem; whereupon Trypho removed thence, and came into Cæsarea, and falling vehemently upon the land of Gilead, he slew Jonathan there; and when he had given order for his burial, he returned himself to Antioch. However, Simon sent some to the city Busea to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Medin; and all the people made a great lamentation. Simon also erected a large monument for his father and his brethren, of white and polished stone, and raised it a great eight, and so as to be seen a long way off, and made cloisters about it, and set up pillars, which were of one stone apiece; a work it was wonderful to see. Moreover, he built seven pyramids also for his parents and brethren, one for each of them, which were made very surprising, both for their ruggeness and beauty, and which have been preserved to this day; and we know that it was Simon so bestowed so much zeal about the burial of his father and the raising of those monuments for Simon and his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high-priest four years, and had been also the viceroy of his nation. And these were the circumstances that concerned his death. 7. But Simon, who was made high-priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high-priesthood, set his people free from their slavery under Macedonians, and permitted them to pay tribute to them no longer; which liberty and freedom in tribute they obtained, after a hundred and seventy years, of the kingdom of the Jews, which was after Scæneus, who was called Nicata, the dominion over Syria. Now the affection the multitude towards Simon was so great, that their contracts one with another, and in their title records, they wrote, "in the first year of the benefactor, and ethnarch of the Jews;" under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies that were round about them; for Simon overthrew the city Gaza, and Elam, and Jannia. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel-happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And indeed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to do it, and all the multitude of the House of David not only putting them in mind what miseries they had suffered by its garrison and the Jewish deserters; and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should obtain the kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to a compliance, because he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good; so they all set themselves to the work, and levelled the mountain, and in that work spent both day and night without intermission, which cost them three whole years before it was brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city. After which the temple was the highest of all the buildings, now the citadel, as well as the mountain whereon it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

CHAPTER VII

BY SIMON CONFEDERATED HIMSELF WITH ANTI
CHUS PUS, AND MADE WAR AGAINST TRYPHO, AND
A LITTLE AFTERWARDS, AGAINST CHERDEBUS,
THE GENERAL OF ANTICHUS'S ARMY; AS ALSO
HOW SIMON WAS MURDERED BY HIS SON-IN-LAW, PF
OLEMY, AND THAT BY TREACHERY.

§ 1. But a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor destroyed Antiochus, the son of Alexander, who was also called The God, and this when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under

† It must here be diligently noted, that Josephus's copy of the first book of Maccabees, which he had received, as far as the fiftieth verse of the thirteenth chapter, seems to have ended. What few things there are afterwards common to both, must probably be learned by him from some other more imperfect record. However, we must exactly observe here, what the remaining part of that book of the Maccabees informs us of, and what Josephus would never have omitted had his copy contained so much,—that this Simon the Great, the Maccabaeus, made a league with Antiochus Soter, the son of Demetrius Soter, and brother of the other Demetrius, who was now a captive in Persia; upon that his coming to the crown, about the tenth year before the Christian era, he granted great privileges to the Jewish nation and to Simon his high-priest and etharch: which advantages Simon soon after took in his own hands, about four years before. In particular, he gave him leave to coin money for his country with his own coinage; and to set up in the city, that they should be free, or, as the vulgar Latin hath it, "Holy and free." (1 Macc. xv. 7, 17), which I have now cited, under the authority of my father's translation. The reason why I rather subjoin that of Josephus, who is the more authentic, than that of the Maccabees, which seems to have been (most of them at least) copied in the first four years of this Simon the Antiochus, and having upon them these words on one side, "The Year of Freedom," or 2, or 3, or 4; or which, although, therefore, are original monuments of these times, and undeniable marks of the time of the history of this war, is, being the more shadowed and less agreed by Josephus. See Rabb. on the Old Test. p. 127, 128. The reason why I rather subjoin that of Josephus, than that of the Maccabees, is, because Josephus is the more authentic, and the more agreeable to the time of Antiochus the Great, than that of the Maccabees, was afterwards called Syria." B. x. ch. x. See of the ch. x. x. ch. 4, where Philistia is mentioned, at the very same place, where the Syriac is mentioned, to be called Syria; as Josephus observes. "B. x. ch. 4, where the Philistia is mentioned, is called Syria by Josephus and in the same sense is considered as called Syria."
Jonathan should remember how ill Demetrius had formerly treated him, and should join with him in this war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armour made, and should receive back the hostages of the Jewish nation whom Bacchides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had fallen upon Jonathan, by the conception of Demetrius, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king’s letter in the audience of the people, and of those that kept the citadel. When these were read, these wicked and deserts, who were in the citadel, were greatly afraid, upon the king’s permission,Jonathan to raise an army, and to receive back the hostages: so he delivered every one of them to his own parents; and thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renewing the city to a better state, and reforming the buildings as he pleased; for he gave orders that the walls of the city should be rebuilt with square stones, that it might be more secure from their enemies; and when those that kept the garrisons that were in Judea saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, excepting those that were in the city Bethanim, and Antipatris, and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, for the greater part of these were of the wicked Jews and deserters, and on that account these did not deliver up their garrisons.

2. When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had made Jonathan, and that he would keep his, and what great things he had done when he fought with the Macedonians, and besides what hardships he had undergone by the means of Demetrius, and of Bacchides, the general of Demetrius’s army, he told his friends that he could not at present find any one else that might afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who was both courageous against his enemies, and had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as having suffered many hard things from him, and acted many hard things against him. If, therefore, they were of opinion that they should make him their friend against Demetrius, it was more for their advantage to invite him to assist them now than at another time. It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote to him this epistle:—"King Alexander, my brother Jonathan, sendeth greeting. We have long ago heard of thy courage and thy fidelity, and for that reason have sent thee, to make with thee a league of friendship and mutual assistance. We therefore do ordain thee this day the high-priest of the Jews, and that thou beest called my friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe and a golden crown, and that thou keep as a token, that thou art at my command."

3. When Jonathan had received this letter, he put on the pontifical robe at the time of the feast of tabernacles, four years after the death of his brother Judas, for at that time no high-priest had been made. So he raised great forces, and had abundance of armour got ready. This greatly grieved Demetrius when he heard of it, and made him blame himself for his slowness, that he had not prevented Alexander, and got the good-will of Jonathan, but had given him time so to do. However, he also himself wrote a letter to Jonathan, and to the people, the contents whereof are these:—"King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Since you have preserved your friendship with us, and when you have been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined yourselves to them; I commend you for this your fidelity, and exhort you to continue in the same disposition; for which you shall be repaid, and receive rewards from us; for we will free you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid, to the kings your predecessors, and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt, and the value of the crowns which you used to offer in me; and instead of the third part of the fruits of the field, and the half of the fruits of the trees.

I relinquish my part of them from this day; and as to the poll-money, which ought to be given us for every head of the inhabitants of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, and Perea, that I relinquish it to you for this time, and for all time to come. I also, that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from the taxes, and from the taxes unto its utmost bounds; and I so far recede from my title to the citadel, as to permit Jonathan and his high-priest to possess it, that he may place such a garrison in it as he approves of for fidelity and good-will to himself, that they may keep it for me; and I also make free all those Jews who have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom, and I give order that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for our service: and let their Sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three days before each of them, be free from any impositions. In the same manner, I set free the Jews that are inhabitants in my kingdom, and order that no injury be done them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to list themselves in my army, that they may do it, and those as far as thirty thousand of which Jewish soldiers, whosoever they be, shall have the same pay that my own army has; and some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine own body, and as guards over those that are in my camp. I give them leave also to use the laws of their forefathers, and to serve them; and I will that they have power over the three tapharchies that are added to Judea; and that it shall be in the power of the high-priest to take the care that no one Jew shall have any other temporal power for worship but only that at Jerusalem. I bestow also, out of my own revenues, yearly, for expenses about the sacrifices, one hundred and ten thousand [drachmae]; and what money is to remain I will that it shall be your own. I also release you those ten thousand drachmae which the king received from the temple, because they appear to the priests that minister in that temple, and whosoever shall fly to the temple at Jerusalem, and to the places thereof belonging, or who owe no money, shall be there on any other account, let him be set free, and let their goods be in safety. I also give you leave to repair and rebuild your temples."

* Taken from the note here: "The Jews, and the present crown in the king's face, and the gold, and the crown in which, which was appointed at the time of Joseph, was called the crown gold and crown Pura." See 1 Macc. xii. 22.
and that all be done at my expenses. I also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high towers, and that they be erected at my charge. And if there be any fortified town that would be convenient for the Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so built at my expenses."

4. This was what Demetrius promised and granted to the Jews, by that letter. But king Alexander missed a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius. And when it came to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those who opposed them to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp; but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten; and as for all the rest, they ran away. But Demetrius fought courageously, and slew a great many of the enemy; but as he was in pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened, that upon his horse’s falling down, he could not escape being killed; for when his enemies saw what had befallen him, they turned back, and encompassed Demetrius round, and they all threw their darts at him; but he, being on foot, fought bravely. But at length he received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up any longer, but fell. And this is the account that Demetrius came to, when he had reigned even seven years, as we have elsewhere related.

CHAPTER III.

A FRIENDSHIP THAT WAS BETWEEN ONIAS AND PTOLEMY PHILOMETER; AND HOW ONIAS BUILT A TEMPLE IN EGYPT LIKE TO THAT AT JERU

SAL.

But then the son of Onias the high-priest, who was of the same name with his father, and who had been bishop of Alexandria, as was already described, when this Onias saw that Judea was oppressed by the Macedonians and their kings, out of a desire to have him both a memorial and eternal fame, he resolved to send to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to ask leave of them that he might build a temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem, and that ordain Levites and priests out of their own nation. The chief reason why he was desirous so far to go was, that he relied upon the prophet Isaiah, which lived above six hundred years before, and told that there certainly was to be a temple to Almighty God in Egypt by a man that was wise. Onias was elevated with this prediction, wrote the following epistle to Ptolemy and cleopatra:—

Having done many and great things in the affairs of the war, by the assistance of God, and that in Celesyria and Phoenicia, I came with the Jews to Leontopolis, and to other places of my nation, where I found that the greatest part of my people had temples in an improper place, and that on this account they bare ill will against another, which happens to the Egyptians, by reason of the multitude of their temples, the difference of their opinion about divine worship. I found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the country Diana; this place is full of materials of several sorts, and replenished with sacred animals: I desire, therefore, that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which is devoted to no master, and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions, that may be for the benefit of myself, and thy wife and children, and of thyself, and thy wife and children, and of the Jewish children who dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and be subservient to thy advantages; for the prophet Isaiah foretold, that there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God; and many other such things did he prophesy relating to that place.

2. And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy. Now any one may observe his piety, and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra, by that epistle which they wrote in answer to it; for they laid the blame and the transgression of the law upon the head of Onias. And this was their reply:—

"King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra to Onias, send greeting. We have read thy petition, wherein thou desirdest to have given thee to purify that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomeus of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country Babasia; on which account we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But since thou dost say that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have at all offended God herein." 

3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like indeed to that at Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe its dimensions, or its vessels, which have been already described in my seventh book of the Wars of the Jews. However, Onias found other Jews like himself, together with priests and Levites, that there performed divine service. But we have said enough about this temple.

4. Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian
Jews, and those Samaritans who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander at Mount Gerizim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself, the Jews saying that, according to the law of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying that it was to be built at Gerizim. They desired therefore the king to sit with his friends and hear the debates about these matters, and punish those with death who were baffle. Now Sabbeus and Theodosius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus, the son of Messalas, for the people of Jerusalem; and they took an oath by God and the king, to make their demonstrations according to the law; and they desired of Ptolemy, that whosoever he should find that transgressed what they had sworn to, he would put him to death. Accordingly, the king took several of his friends into the council, and sat down, in order to hear what the pleading said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were in great concern for those men, whose lot it was to contend for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of that temple, which was so ancient and so celebrated all over the habitable earth. Now when Sabbeus and Theodosius had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate outside of the law, and out of the successions of the high-priests, how they every one in succession from his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple; and how all the kings of Asia had honoured that temple with their donations, and with the most splendid gifts dedicated thereto: but as for that at Gerizim, he made no account of it, and regarded it, as if it had never had a being. By this speech, and other arguments, Andronicus persuaded the king to determine that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses; and to put Sabbeus and Theodosius to death. And these were the events that befell the Jews at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometer.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW ALEXANDER HONOURED JONATHAN AFTER AN EXTRAORDINARY MANNER; AND HOW DEMETRIUS, THE SON OF DEMETRIUS, OVERTAKEN ALEXANDER, AND MADE A LEAGUE OF FRIENDSHIP WITH JONATHAN.

§ 1. Demetrius being thus plain in battle, as we have above related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria; and wrote to Ptolemy Philometer, and desired his daughter in marriage; and said it was but just that he should be joined in affinity to one that had now received the principality of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God’s providence, and had conquered Demetrius; and that was on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this proposal of marriage gladly; and wrote him an answer accepting of his daughter for his principal; and did promise him that he would give him his daughter in marriage; and assured him that he was coming to meet him at Ptolemais, and desired that he would therewith him, that he would accompany him from Egypt as far, and would there marry his child to him. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and brought his daughter Cleopatra along with him: and as he found Alexander there before him, as he desired him to come, he gave him his child in marriage, and for her portion gave as much silver and gold as became such a king to give.

2. When the wedding was over, Alexander came to Jonathan, the high-priest, and desired him to come to Ptolemais. So when he came to these kings, and had made them magnificent presents, he was honoured by them both. Alexander commended him also to put off his own garment, and to take a purple garment, and made him sit with him on his throne; and commanded his captains that they should go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who knew him ill-will, when they saw the honour that was done him by proclamation, and that by the king’s order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he set him down as the principal of his friends.

3. But then, upon the hundred and sixty fifth year, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Cilicia, with a great number of mercenary soldiers: when he came to Antioch, the Cretan, and sailed to Cilicia. This thing cast Alexander into great concern and disorder when he heard it; so he made haste immediately out of Ptolemais and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there before Demetrius should come. He left Apollonius Darius, governor of Cappadocia, coming to Jamnia with a great army, sent to Jonathan, the high-priest, and told him that it was his right that he alone should live at rest, and with authority, and not be subject to the king; that this thing made him a reproach among all men, that he had yet made subject to the king.

4. Do not thou therefore deceive thyself; and not among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee; but if thou hast any dependence on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be compared together; and the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the most courageous. However, take notice, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and that these are the very men who have always been my proconsuls; but let us have the battle in such a place of the country where we may fight with...
pains, and not with stones, and where there may be no place whither those that are beaten may fly."

4. With this Alexander was content, and sent forth ten thousand of his soldiers, who went out of Jerusalem in haste, with his brother Simon, and came to Joppa, and pitched his camp on the outside of the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him, for they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius. But when Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take them by force, and so they opened the gates to him. But Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footmen, and came to Ashdod; and removing hence, he made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, he made as if he was retiring from the place, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himself highly upon his horsemen, and having his hopes of victory principally in them. However, Jonathan rallied out, and pursued Apollonius to Ashdod; but as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle. But Apollonius had added a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might be sent by their enemies as behind them, when he was taken; and the latter man perceived the former; and in a square battle array, he gave them a large force to fall on the enemy on both sides, and set them to face those that attacked them both before and behind; and while the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies; but himself he charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armour, and receive the darts of the horsemen, who did as they were commanded; so that the enemy's horsemen, while they threw their darts till they had no more left, received no harm, for the darts that were thrown not entered into their bodies, being thrown upon shields that were united and conjoined together, the closeness of which easily overcame the force of darts, and they flew about without any effect.

5. When the enemy grew remiss in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their weakness, and fell upon the body of a horseman before him; and because his soldiers showed at alacrity, he put the enemy into flight: and as the horsemen saw the footmen ran away, they did also, and scattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod, and slew many of them, and compelled the rest, in fear of escaping, to fly to the temple of Dagon; which was at Ashdod: but Jonathan took the city the first onset, and burnt it, and the villages about it; nor did he abstain from the temple of itself, but burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of enemies that fell in the battle, and were concealed in the temple, were eight thousand. When Jonathan therefore had overcome so great an army, removed from Ashdod, and came to Askelon: when he had pitched his camp without the city, and the people of Askelon came out and met him, giving him hospitable presents, and honouring him; so he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jerusalem with a great deal of glory, which he brought thence when he came to his enemies. But when Alexander heard that Apollonius, the general of his army, was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, because he had fought with Jonathan his friend and ally against his directions. Accordingly, he sent to Jonathan, and gave him an answer to his letters, and allowed him honorary rewards, as a golden button, which is the custom to give the king's kinsmen, and allowed him Ekron and its suburbs for his own inheritance.

6. About this time it was that king Ptolemy, who was called Antiochus, sent letters to sea and land by land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Ashdod; where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt, and accused Jonathan of having laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to meet Ptolemy, and gave him presents obtained from him hospitable presents, and those glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honour; and when he had conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem.

7. But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction; for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, by the means of Ammonius, who was his friend; and as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him what snares had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desired that he might be accordingly punished for it; but when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who laid the design, and was very angry at him. Alexander had also formerly been on very ill terms with the people of Antioch, for they had suffered very much by this means; yet did Ammonius at length undergo the punishment his insolent crimes deserved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner, like a woman, while he was accustomed to conceal himself in a feminine habit, as we have elsewhere related.

8. Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him to assist him against Demetrius; so he dissolved his relation to him, and took his daughter away from him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make a league of mutual assistance and friendship with him, and agreed with him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this embassage, and accepted of his assistance, and of the marriage of his daughter; but Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do, and that was to persuade the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius, because they were greatly displeased at him, on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them; yet did he bring this about; for as the people of Antioch hated Alexander on Ammonius' account of the temple of Dagon, he was welcomed by them, and received information that his daughter would be given him in marriage.
ANTIOCHUS THE JEWS.

CHAPTER V.

Now Tryphon, after he had beaten Demetrius, delivered the kingdom to Antiochus, the son of Alexander, and gained Jonathan for his assistant; and concerning the actions and embassies of Jonathan.

§ 1. Now there was a certain commander of Alexander's forces, an Asian by birth, whose name was Diodotus, and was also called Tryphon, who took notice of the ill-will the soldiers bare to Demetrius, and went to Malethus the Arabian, who had heard, and took his army, and came from Antioch, against Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly to Ptolemais: upon which Jonathan did not intermit the siege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people, and the priest, and carried with him gold and silver, and garments, and a great number of presents of friends, and came to Demetrius, and presented him with these, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high-priesthood, as he had possessed it by the grants of the kings his predecessors. And when the Jewish desertsers accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when he petitioned him that he would demand more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judea, and the three toparchies of Samaria, and Perea, and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter confirming those grants; the contents of which were as follows:—"King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. We have sent you a copy of that epistle which we have written to thee, our kinsman, that you may know its contents:—"King Demetrius to Laasthes our father, sendeth greeting. I have determined to return thanks, and to show favour to the nation of the Jews, who have observed the rules of justice in our concerns. Accordingly, I remit to them the three prefectures, Apherina, and Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judea out of Samaria, with their appurtenances: as also what the kings my predecessors received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, and what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, and what else belongs to us, with the salt-pins, and the crowns that used to be presented to us. Nor shall they be compelled to pay any of these taxes from this time to all future. Take care, therefore, that a copy of this epistle is taken, and given to Jonathan, and be set up in an eminent place of their holy temple." And these were the contents of this writing. And now when Demetrius saw that there was peace in the country, and that there was no danger of war, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and diminished their pay, and even retained in pay no other than such foreigners as came up with him from Crete, and from the other islands. However, he procured him ill-will and hatred from the soldiers, on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, while the kings before him used to pay them in time of peace, as they did before, that they might be their good-will, and that they might be very ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if any occasion should require it.
Brought up Antiochus, the son of Alexander, and told him what ill will the army bare Demetrius, and persuaded him to give him Antiochus, because he would make a good and kind ruler over to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at first opposed him in this attempt, because he could not believe him; but when Trypho lay hard at him for a long time, he ever persuaded him to comply with Trypho's intentions and entreaties. And this was the state Trypho was now in.

2. But Jonathan the high-priest, being desirous to get clear of those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters and wicked men, as well as those in all the garrisons in the country, sent presents and ambassadors to Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his soldiers out of the strong holds of Judæa. Demetrius made answer, that after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that also: and he desired he would send him some assistance, and informed him that his army had deserted him. So Jonathan chose out three thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, on account of what mischief he had himself done, and became a thing they remembered in account of his father Demetrius, who had greatly bashed them; so they watched some opportunity which they might lay hold on, to fall upon him. And when they were informed of the assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevented him and seized upon him, they took their weapons immediately, and encompassed his palace in the way of age, and seizing upon all the ways of getting out, they sought to subdue their king. And when he saw that the people of Antioch became his utter enemies, and that they were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers which he had with him, and those Jews who were sent by Jonathan, and sailed the Antiochians; but he was overpowered, for they were many ten thousands, and so beaten. But when the Jews saw that the Antiochians were superior, they went up to the top of a palace, and shot at them from thence; and because they were so remote from them by their height, that they suffered nothing on their side, they executed on the others as fighting in such an elevation, they drove them out of the adjoining houses, and immediately set them on fire, whereupon the flame spread itself over the whole; and burnt it all down. This happened by reason of the closeness of the houses, and because they were generally built of wood; so the Antiochians, as they were not able to help themselves, nor to set the fire, were put to flight. And as the Jews pitched from the top of one house to another, and used them after that manner, it happened that the pursuit was very surprising. But when he saw that the Antiochians were very busy in saving their children and their wives, and so did fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow passages, and fought them, and slew a great number of them, till at last they were forced to withdraw their army, and to deliver themselves to Demetrius. So he forgave them their former behaviour, and put an end to the sedition: when he had given rewards to the Jews out of rich spoils he had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cause of his victory, he sent them away to Jerusalem to Jonathan, with an ample testimony of the assistance they had afforded him. Yet did he not go to Jonathan afterward, and break the promises he had made; and he threatened that he would make war upon him, unless he would pay all that tribute which the Jewish nation owed to the first kings [of Syria]. And this he had done, if Trypho had not hindered him, and diverted his preparations against Jonathan to a concern for his own preservation; for he now returned out of Arabia into Syria, with the child Antiochus, for he was yet in age but a youth, and put the diadem on his head; and as the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay, came to his assistance, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him both his elephants and the city of Antioch.

4. Demetrius, upon this defeat, retired into Cilicia: but the child Antiochus sent ambassadors and an epistle to Jonathan, and made him his friend and confederate, and confirmed to him the high-priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefections which had been added to Judea. Moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold, and a purple garment, and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a golden button, and styled him one of his principal friends; and appointed his brother Simon to be the general over the forces, from the Ladder of Tyre unto Egypt. So Jonathan was so pleased with these grants made him by Antiochus, that he sent Ambassadors to him and to Trypho, and professed himself to be their friend and confederate, and said he would join with him in a war against Demetrius, informing him that he had made no proper returns for the kindness he had done him; for that when he had received many marks of kindness from him, when he stood in great need of them, he, for such good turn, had requited him with further injuries.

5. So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raise himself a numerous army out of Syria and Phoenicia, and to make war against Demetrius's generals; whereupon he went in haste to the several cities, which received him splendidly indeed, but put no forces into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Askalon, the inhabitants of Askalon came and brought him presents, and met him in a splendid manner. He exhorted them, and every one of the cities of Cilicia, to forsake Demetrius, and to join with Antiochus, and in assisting him, to endeavour to punish Demetrius for what offences he had been guilty of against themselves; and told them there were many reasons for that their procedure, if they had a mind so to do. And when he had persuaded those cities to promise their assistance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza, in order to induce them also to be friends to Antiochus; but he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alien from him than he expected, for they had estates against him; and although they had Demetrius, they had not resolved to join them to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to them, and to harass their country; for as part of his army round about Gaza itself, the rest he overran their land, and spoiled and pillaged the abodes of Gaza, and it grieved them to see themselves and their assistance to Antiochus, that was distressed.
what should profit them was still at a great distance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer continuance with him, and to cultivate friendship with the other; so they armed themselves and returned to the Romans, being desirous of renewing that friendship which their nation had with them formerly. He enjoined the same ambassadors, that, as they came back, they should go to the Spartans, and put them in mind of their friendship and kindness. So when the ambassadors came to Rome, they went in to their senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan his high-priest to say, how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendship with the Jews, and put letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might safely conduct them to their own country. Accordingly, as they returned, they came to Sparta, and delivered the epistle which they had received of Jonathan to them ; a copy of which is here follows:—Jonathan the high-priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate, and body of the people of the Jews, to the ephori and senate, and body of the people of the Lacedemonians, send greeting. If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be agreeable to your mind, it is an object of our wishes. We are well. When in some time an epistle was brought to Onias, who was then our high-priest, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, concerning the kindness that was between us and you, a copy of which is here subjoined, we both joyfully received the epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteles and Areus, although we did not need such a demonstration, because we were well satisfied about it from the sacred writings, yet did not we think fit to begin the claim of this relation to you, but should seem too early in taking to our own glory which is now given us by you. It is a long time since this relation of yours to us hath been renewed; and when we, upon holy and sacred days, offer sacrifices to God, we pray to him for your preservation and victory. As to ourselves, although we have had many wars that have passed us around, by reason of the overreaching of our neighbours, yet did not we determine to be troublesome either to you or to others that were related to us; but since we have now overthrown our enemies, and have occasion to send Nicanor, the son of Antochus, and Antipater, the son of Alexander, who are both honourable men belonging to the senate, to the Romans, we gave them this letter also to you, that they might renew that friendship which is between us. You will therefore do yourselves to write to us, and send us an account of what you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things disposed to act according to your desires. So the Lacedemonians received the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendship and mutual assistance, and sent it to the Jews as a proclamation of their intentions.

9. At this time there were three sects among the Jews, which differed concerning human actions; the one was called the sect of the Pharisees, another the sect of the Sadducees, and the other...
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The sect of the Essenes. Now for the Pharisees,* it may be said that some actions, but not all, are of the stock of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not made by fate. But the sect of the Essenes affirms, if fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls us but what is according to its determination, for the Sadducees, they take away fate, and there is no such thing, and that the events of man affairs are not at its disposal; but they suppose that all our actions are in our power, so that we are the causes of what is good, and give what is evil from our own folly. However, we give more a more exact account of these opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

But now the generals of Demetrius being anxious to recover the defeat they had had, gathered their army together, and set out against Jonathan; but as soon as he was informed of their coming, he went suddenly to meet them at the country of Hamath, for he resolved to take the opportunity of coming into Judaea, and to pitch his camp at fifty furlongs' distance from their encampment, and sent out spies to take a view of their forces; and after what manner they were encamped and what spies had given him full information, and seized upon some of them by night, who told the success of the enterprise; he, thus spurred beforehand, provided for his security, and his watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his armament at night, and gave them a charge of acting with great courage, and to have their minds proof against suffering in the night-time, if they should be so ordered, lest their enemy's designs should be concealed from them. But when Demetrius' forces were informed that Jonathan knew the stratagem they had intended, their counsel was to disperse, and they were alarmed to find, that the enemy had been able to carry out their intentions; and did they ever overcome them in any other way, they were defeated, and their losses were not slight. They were then forced to flee, and having lighted many torches, got away, and escaped to their camp, and found it deserted, and when they were surprised; they fled, they pursued them; but did not overtake them, for they had already crossed the river Eleutherus, and were out of reach.

So when Jonathan was returned thence, he set out for Arabia, and fought against the Nabataeans, and drove away a great deal of their prey, of which captives, and came to their assistance, and were sold off what he had taken. About the same time it was that Simon his brother went over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askalon, and fortified the strong holds; and when he had made them very strong, both in the edifices erected, and in the garrisons placed therein, he came to Joppa; and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it, for he heard that the people of Joppa were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius' generals.

11. When Simon and Jonathan had finished these affairs, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the temple, which had been thrown down, and to make the places adjoining stronger by very high towers; and besides that, to build another wall in the midst of the city, in order to exclude the market-place from the garrison, which was in the citadel, and by that means to hinder them from any plenty of provisions; and moreover, to make the fortresses that were in the country much stronger, and more defensible than what they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jonathan himself took care of the building that belonged to the city, and sent Simon away to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over [Euphrates], and came into Mesopotamia, as desirous to retain that country still, as well as Babylon; and when he had obtained the dominion of the upper provinces, to lay the foundation for recovering of his entire kingdom; for these Greeks and Macedonians that dwelt there, frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised that if he would come to them, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against Arsaces.* the king of the Parthians. So he was elevated with these hopes, and came hastily to them, as having resolved that, if he had once overthrown the Parthians, and gotten an army of his own, he would make war against Titypho and eject him out of Syria; and the people of that country received him with great acclamations. So he raised forces, with which he fought against Arsaces, and lost all his army; and was himself taken alive, as we have elsewhere related.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW JONATHAN WAS SLAIN BY TREACHERY; AND HOW THEREUPON THE JEWS MADE SIMON THEIR GENERAL AND HIGH-PRIEST: WHAT COURAGEOUS ACTIONS HE ALSO PERFORMED, ESPECIALLY AGAINST TITYPHO.

§ 1. Now when Titypho knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus, but contrary by subtlety to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom; but the fear that he was in of Jonathan was an obstacle to this his design, for Jonathan was a friend to Antiochus, for which cause he resolved first to take Jonathan out of the way, and then to set about his design relating to Antiochus; but he judg'd it best to take him

* The king, who was of the famous race of Arameans, is both here and I. Macc. ch. 2, called by the family-name Arseas; but Appian says his proper name was Ptolemaus. He is here called by Josephus, the king of the Parthians, as the Greeks used to call them; but by the elder author of the First Maccabees, the king of the Persians and Medes, according to the language of the eastern nations. See Ant. Jer. part. II. p. 1088.
off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethshan, which by the Greeks is called Scymnopolis, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thousand chosen men, for he thought that he came to fight him; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by presents and kind treatment, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by these means was desirous to give assurance of his good-will, and to take away all suspicions out of his mind, that so he might make him careless and inconsiderate, and might take him when he was unguarded. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was no occasion for bringing it with him, when there was no war, but all was in peace. However, he desired him to retain a few about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for that he would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the fortresses that were in the country under his dominion; and he told him that he came with those very designs.

2. Yet did not Jonathan suspect anything at all by this his management, but believed that Trypho gave this advice out of kindness, and with a sincere design. Accordingly, he dismissed his army, and retained no more than three thousand of them with him, and left two thousand in Galilee; and he himself, with one thousand, came with Trypho to Ptolemais; but when the people of Ptolemais had shut their gates, as it had been commanded by Trypho to do, he took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against those two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to destroy them: but those men having heard the report of what had happened to Jonathan, they prevented the execution, and before those that were sent by Trypho came, they covered themselves with their armour, and went away out of the country. Now when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no disturbance, but returned back to Trypho.

3. But when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were destroyed, they deplored his sad fate; and there was earnest inquiry made about him by everybody, and a great and just fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest now they were deprived of the courage and conduct of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill-will; and as they were before quiet on account of Jonathan, they should now rise up against them, and by making war with them, should force them into the utmost dangers. And indeed what they suspected really befell them; for when those nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war with the Jews as now destitute of a governor; Trypho himself got an army together, and had an intention to go up to Judea, and make war against its inhabitants. But when Simon saw that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and thereby to render them more secure. He therefore sent to Trypho, and he should come against them. He then called them together into the temple, and thence began thus to encourage them:—O my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our father, myself, and all my brethren, have ventured to hazard our lives and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty; since I have therefore such plenty of examples before me, and we of our family have determined to die for our laws and our divine worship, there shall no terror be so great as to banish this resolution from our souls, nor to introduce in us a place of life and a contempt of glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity, whatever I shall lead you to; for I am willing to suffer, and to do the greatest things for you; for neither am I better than my brethren that I should be sparing of my own life, nor so far worse than they as to avoid and refuse what they thought the most honourable of all things,—I mean to undergo death for your laws, and for that worship of God which is pleasing to you; I will therefore give such proper demonstrations as will show that I am their own brother: and I am so bold as to expect that I shall save their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you, with your wives and children, from the injuries they intend against you, and, with God's assistance, to preserve your temple from destruction by them; for I see that these nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor, and that they are encouraged to make war against you.

4. By this speech of Simon he inspired the multitude with courage; and as they had before been dispirited through fear, they were now raised to a good hope of better things, insomuch that that multitude of the people cried out all at once, that Simon should be leader; and that instead of Judas and Jonathan his brethren, he should have government over them; and they promised that they would readily obey him in whatsoever he should command them. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and made haste in rebuilding the walls of the city, and strengthening them by very high and strong towers, and sent a friend of his, one Jonathan, the son of Abasalom, to Joppa, and gave him order to eject the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho; but he himself staid to secure Jerusalem.

5. But Trypho removed from Ptolemais with a great army, and came into Judea, and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon also met him with his army at the city Adissa, which is upon a hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judea. And when Trypho knew that Simon was by the Jews made their governor, he sent to him, and had imposed upon him by deceit and treachery, and desired, if he would have his brother Jonathan released, that he would send him a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, that when he shall be released, he may not make Judea revolt from the king; for that at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and now owed to him. But Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho; and although he knew that if he gave him the money, he should lose it, and that Trypho would not be brother free, and withal should deliver his sons to the enemy, yet because he was afraid that he should have a calamity raised against him in the multitude as the cause of the brother's death, if he neither gave the money, nor sent Jonathan's sons, he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made; and added this, that the offers were empty and treacherous, and yet that it was more eligible to receive the money and Jonathan's sons, than to be subject to the imputation of not complying with Trypho's offers, and thereby refusing to save his brother.
recording, Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money; but when Trypho had received them, he did not keep his promise, nor set Jonathan free, but took his army, and went about all the country, resolved to go afterwards to Jerusalem, by the way of Idumæa, while Simon went over-against him his army, and all along pitched his camp over-against his.

6. But when those that were in the citadel had put to Trypho, and besought him to make haste and come to them, and to send them provisions, he spared his cavalry as though he would be at Jerusalem very night; but when it came to light in the morning, he made such deep, so that there was no passing, especially for the cavalry. This hindered him in coming to Jerusalem; whereupon Trypho reviled them, and came into Cæsarea, and falling suddenly upon the land of Gilead, he slew Jonathan there; and when he had given order for his death, he returned himself to Antioch. However, he sent some to the city Basa in to bring away brother's bones, and buried them in their own place, and brought back their bodies, and gave them burial over him. Simon also erected a very re-monument for his father and his brethren, of a statue and polished stone, and reared it a great height, and so as to be seen a long way off, and cloister about it, and set up pillars, which were of one stone a piece; a work it was wonderful for.

Moreover, he built seven pyramids also his parents and brethren, one for each of them, and were made very surprising, both for their size and beauty, and which have been preserved to this day; and we know that it was Simon who built the temple of the house of Jerusalem, and the building of the monuments for relations. Now Jonathan died when he had high-priest for years,* and had been also the near of his nation. And these were the circumstances that concerned his death. But Simon, who was made high-priest by the tude, on the very first year of his high-priesthood, met and delivered them to the Temple, as was the custom, which has been observed, both in the Jewish chronology, in Antiq. b. x. ch. 2, and that there were forty-seven years between the death of Jonathan, and the ascension of Simon, the priest, and the reign of Jonathan, so that sixty-six years went to pass, and the years went here so to be recited, as a part of them to be found, Antiq. b. xii. ch. 8, sect. 6. Now Simon, besides these there are intercessions in the postscript, we are told, Actus, b. x. ch. 3, that there were forty-seven years between the death of Jonathan, or Asaiah, the priest, and the high-priest of Jonathan, so that sixty-six years went to pass, and the years went here so to be recited, and as a part of them to be found, Antiq. b. xii. ch. 8, sect. 6. Now Simon, besides these there are intercessions in the postscript, we are told, Actus, b. x. ch. 3, that there were forty-seven years between the death of Jonathan, or Asaiah, the priest, and the high-priest of Jonathan, so that sixty-six years went to pass, and the years went to pass, and the years went to pass, and the years went here so to be recited, and as a part of them to be found, Antiq. b. xii. ch. 8, sect. 6. Now Simon, besides these there are intercessions in the postscript, we are told, Actus, b. x. ch. 3, that there were forty-seven years between the death of Jonathan, or Asaiah, the priest, and the high-priest of Jonathan, so that sixty-six years went to pass, and the years went here so to be recited, and as a part of them to be found, Antiq. b. xii. ch. 8, sect. 6.

1. Now a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor destroyed Antiochus, the son of Alexander, who was also called The God,] and this when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the enemies that were round about them; for Simon overthrew the city of Gaza, and Joppa, and Jamnia. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And indeed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to level up the mountain, and they putting them in mind what miseries they had suffered by its garrison and the Jewish deserters; and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should obtain the kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to a compliance, because he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good: so they all set themselves to the work, and levelled the mountain, and that in work spent both day and night without intermission, which cost them three whole years; and now it was brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city. After which the temple was the highest of all the buildings, as well as the mountain wherein it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW SIMON CONFEDERATED HIMSELF WITH ANTIOCHUS PUS, AND MADE WAR AGAINST TRYPHO, AND A LITTLE AFTERWARDS, AGAINST CENDERGES, THE GENERAL OF ANTIOCHUS'S ARMY; AS ALSO HOW SIMON WAS MURDERED BY HIS SON-IN-LAW, PTOLEMY, AND THAT BY TREACHERY.

§ 1. Now a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor destroyed Antiochus, the son of Alexander, who was also called The God, and this when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the enemies that were round about them; for Simon overthrew the city of Gaza, and Joppa, and Jamnia. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And indeed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to level up the mountain, and they putting them in mind what miseries they had suffered by its garrison and the Jewish deserters; and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should obtain the kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to a compliance, because he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good: so they all set themselves to the work, and levelled the mountain, and that in work spent both day and night without intermission, which cost them three whole years; and now it was brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city. After which the temple was the highest of all the buildings, as well as the mountain wherein it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

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1. It must here be diligently noted, that Josephus's copy of the first book of Maccabees, which I have before, is abridged, as far as the fifteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter, seems to have ended. What few things there are afterwards common to both, might probably be learned by him from some other more imperfect records. However, we must exactly observe here, what the remaining part of that book of the Maccabees informs us of, and what Josephus would never have omitted had his copy contained so much,—that is to say, the high-priest of the Temple, the son of Demetrius, the governor of the city, and brother of the other Demetrius, who was now a captive in Parthia; and upon him coming to the crown, about two years before the Christians era, he granted great privileges to the Jewish nation and to Simon his high-priest and etharch; which privileges Simon seems to have extended to his country. He confirmed the same, and also to himself the governorship of Jerusalem, about two years before. In particular, he gave him leave to coin money for his own use, and to have a seal with his own name and the title of king. He also bestowed upon him a thousand talents of money, a year's income for the temple, a large and spacious palace, and a royal form of sanctuary, that they should be free, or, as the vulgar Latin hath it, "holy and free." It is also said, that he gave him besides a temple of one hundred paces square; and after in Præstiss. Had. ii. ch. 18. 2. Now what makes this date so clear and great a marvel, is the state of the remaining genuine existence of the Jews with the Samaritan chronicles, which seem to have been (most of them at least) compiled in the first four years of this Simon the Antiochenus, and having upon them the same words in one and the same order, in the year 185, and continuing in the year 186: "The Year of Freedom," 1 or 2 or 3 or 4; which snippet, therefore, are original monuments of these times, and unsailable records of the history of the Jews, as will be found in the books of Maccabees, which so perfectly agree with these chapters, that their own copies are here imperfect in this. It is thus that the Samaritans and the Jews continued, till the year 186, to write one and the same history, except, that the name given to the emperor Hadrian, in both, was Maccabaeus, instead of Antiochus. Now Trypho killed this Antiochus, the emperor of Rome, and宣言ed a war against the Jews, and he was perishing with the stones, as they cast him for it, killed him, which exactly agree with Josephus. 2. He was this Antiochus, the son of Alexander, who was also called The God, is evident from his name, which Josephus assures us is borne in the inscription: "King Antiochus the God; Ephphatha the Victorious."
the hands of the surgeons. He then sent his friends, and those that were most intimate with him, to the soldiers, and promised that he would give them a great deal of money if they would make him king. He intimated to them that Demetrius was made a captive by the Parthians; and that Demetrius's brother Antiochus, if he came to be king, would do them a great deal of mischief, in way of revenge for revolting from his brother. So the soldiers, in expectation of the wealth they should get by bestowing the kingdom upon Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when Trypho had gained the management of affairs, he demonstrated his disposition to be wicked; for while he was a private person, he cultivated a familiarity with the multitude, and pretended to great moderation, and so drew them on artfully to whatsoever he pleased; but when he had once taken the kingdom, he laid aside any farther dissimulation, and was the true Trypho; which behaviour made his enemies superior to him; for the soldiers hated him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children; but as Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, who was called Soter, was not admitted by any of the cities, on account of Trypho, Cleopatra sent to him, and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom. The reasons why she made this invitation were these: That her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

2. As Antiochus was now come to Seleucia, and his forces increased every day, he marched to fight Trypho; and having beaten him in the battle, he executed him out of the Upper Syria into Phoenicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Doras, which was a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled. He also sent ambassadors to Simon the Jewish high-priest, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance; who readily accepted of the invitation, and sent to Antiochus great sums of money and provisions for those that besieged Doras, and thereby supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends; but still Trypho fled from Doras to Antiochus, where he was taken during the siege, and put to death, when he had reign'd three years.

3. However, Antiochus forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded him in his necessity, by reason of his covetous and wicked disposition, and committed an army of soldiers to his friend Cendebeus, and sent him at once to ravage Judea, and to seize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus's breaking his league with him, although he were now in years, yet, provoked with the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and taking a resolution braver than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army. He also sent his sons before among the most hardy of his soldiers, and he himself marched on with his army another way, and laid many of his men in ambushes in the narrow valleys between the mountains; nor did he fail of success in any one of his attempts, but was too hard for his enemies in every one of them. So he led the rest of his life in peace, and did also himself make a league with the Romans.

4. Now Antiochus was ruler of the Jews in all eight years; but at a feast came to his end. It was caused by the treachery of his son in law Ptolemy, who caught also his wife, and two of his sons, and kept them in bonds. He also sent some to kill John the third son, whose name was Hyrcanus; but the young man perceiving them coming, he avoided the danger he was in from them, and made haste into the city [Jerusalem], as relying on the good-will of the multitude, because of the benefits they had received from his father, and because of the hatred the same multitude bare to Ptolemy; so that when Ptolemy was endeavoring to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, as having already admitted Hyrcanus.

CHAPTER VIII.

HYRCAUS RECEIVES THE HIGH-PRIESTHOOD, AND EXPELS PTOLEMY OUT OF THE COUNTRY. ANTIOCHUS MAKES WAR AGAINST HYRCAUS, AND AFTERWARDS MAKES A LEAGUE WITH HIM.

§ 1. So Ptolemy retired to one of the fortress that was above Jericho, which was called Do. But Hyrcanus having taken the high-priesthood that had been his father's before, and in the first place propitiated God by sacrifices, he then made an expedition against Ptolemy; and when he saw his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him, but was rendered weaker than he, by the comminution he had for his mother and his brethren, and by that only; for Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus would leave off the siege; and as he thought that, so far as he relaxed to the siege and taking of the place, much favour did he show to those that were distant from him by preventing their misery, his heart about it was cooled. However, his mother took her hands, and begged of him that he would not grow remiss on her account, but indulge her indignation so much the more, and that he would do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get their enemy under his power, and then to avenge upon him what he had done to those that were dear to himself; for that death would be the sweetest thing, though with torment, if that enemy of his might be brought to the judgment for his wicked dealings to them. Now when his mother said so, he resolved to take the fortress immediately; but when he saw her beaten and torn to pieces, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with what his mother suffered, and was thereby overcome; and as the siege was drawn out in length by this means, that year on which the Jews use to rest, came on; for the Jews observe the rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day; so that Ptolemy being for this cause released from the war, he slew the brethren of Hyrcanus.
end his mother: and when he had so done, he fled to Zenon, who was called Cotylas, who was then the gnostic of the city Philadelphia.

2. But Antiochus being very uneasy at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, he invaded Idumaia in the fourth year of his reign, and the first war of the principalities, against Zenon, the antichristian, in the hundred and sixty-second Olympiad.* And when he had burnt the country, he shut up Hyrcanus in the town, which he encompassed round with seven enencumbrants; but did nothing at the first, because of the strength of the walls, and because of the hour of the besieged, although they were once in aunt of water, which yet they were delivered from by a large shower of rain, which fell at the setting of the Pleiades.† However, about the north part of the wall, where it happened the city was upon a hill with the outward ground, the king raised a high tower of three stories high, and placed five of soldiers upon them; and as he made his acts every day, he cut a double ditch, deep and wide, and confined the inhabitants within it as if it were a wall; but the besieged contrived to make want sallies out; and if the enemy were not where upon their guard, they fell upon them; and did them a great deal of mischief; and if they received them, they then retired into the city with fire. But because Hyrcanus discerned the incencience of so great a number of men in the city, the provisions were the sooner spent by them, yet as is natural to suppose, they did nothing; he separated the useless part, and put them out of the city, and retained that only who were in the flower of their age, and on war. However, Antiochus would not let them be excluded away; who, therefore, fearing about between the walls, and consuming by famine, died miserably; but when the tabernacles was at hand, those that were in commissarized their condition, and received in again. And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce for seven days, he gave him leave to come to him and make a peace towards God, and made that truce according; and besides that, he sent in a magnificent ficer, bulls with their horns gilded; with all of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver. So that those that were at the gates received presents from those that brought them and led to the temple, Antiochus the meanwhile flashes among, which was a quite different conduct in the Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken Troy, offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled maple with the broth of their flesh, in order to the laws of the Jews, and the religion they stood from their forefathers; for which reason our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him; but for this Antiochus, all men called him Antiochus the Phineas, for the great zeal he had about religion.

3. Accordingly, Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly, and when he understood how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an embassy to him, and desired that he would restore the solemnities they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counsel of those that would have him utterly destroy the nation by reason of their way of living, which was to others unspecious, and did not regard what they said. But being persuaded that all they did was out of a religious mind, he answered the ambassadors, that if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute for Joppa, and the other cities which bordered upon Judea, and admit a garrison of his on these terms, he would make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, did not agree to admit the garrison, because they could not associate with other people, nor converse with them; yet were they willing, instead of the admission of the garrison, to give them hostages, and five hundred talents of silver; of which they paid down three hundred, and sent the hostages immediately, which king Antiochus accepted. One of those hostages was Hyrcaurus's brother. But still he broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city. And upon these conditions Antiochus broke up the siege, and departed.

4. But Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on this wealth, maintained foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual assistance made between them, upon which Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatsoever his army wanted in great plenty, and with great generosity, and relieved along with him who was in expedi- tion against the Parthians, of which Nicanor of Damascus is a witness for us; who, in his history writes thus:—"When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lyue, upon his conquest of Indianus, the general of the Parthians, he stood there two days. It was the desire of Hyrcanus the Jew, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he did not speak falsely in saying so; for that festival, which we call Pentecost, did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath; nor is it lawful for us to journey, either on the Sabbath day, or on a festival day. But when Antiochus joined battle with Aranes, the king of the Parthia, he lost a great part of his army, and was himself slain; and his brother Demetrius succeeded in the kingdom of Syria, by the permission of Aranes, who freed him from his captivity at the same time that Antiochus attacked Parthia.
CHAPTER IX.

HOW, AFTER THE DEATH OF ANTIOCBUS, HYRCANUS MADE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST SYRIA, AND MADE A LEAGUE WITH THE ROMANS. CONCERNING THE DEATH OF KING DEMETRIUS AND ALEXANDER.

§ 1. But when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he presently made an expedition against the cities of Syria, hoping to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba, and that not without the greatest distress of his army. After this he took Samaga, and the neighboring places, and, besides these, Shechem and Gerizim, and the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt at the temple which resembled that temple which was at Jerusalem, and which Alexander permitted Sanballat, the general of his army, to build for the sake of Manassesch, who was a son-in-law to Judas the high-priest, as we have formerly related; which temple was now deserted two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took also Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumea, and subdued all the Idumeans; and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise their genitals, and make use of the laws of the Jews; and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted to the use of circumcision, and the rest of the Jewish ways of living, at which time therefore this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.

2. But Hyrcanus the high-priest was desirous to renew the league of friendship they had with the Romans: accordingly he sent an ambassador to them; and when the senate had received their epistle, they made a league of friendship with them, after the manner following:—Fanius, the son of Marcus, the pretor, gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the Ides of February, in the senate-house, when Lucius Manlius, the son of L. Manlius, of the Mettite tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, were senators. The occasion was, that the ambassadors sent by the people of the Jews, Simon, the son of Dothieus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Diodorus the son of Jason, who were good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted between them and the Romans, and about other public affairs, who desired that Joppa, and the Idumaeans, and Gazara, and the springs of Jordan, and the several other cities and countries of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them; and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, and the countries of those that are subject to them: and that what Antiochus had made during that war, without the decree of the senate, might be made void; and that they would send ambassadors, who should take care that restitution be made of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they should make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the war: and that they would grant them letters of protection to the kings and free people, in order to their quiet return home. It was therefore decreed as a point, to renew their league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good men, and who were sent by a good and friendly people.

But as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter when their own affairs would give them leave, and that they would endeavour, for the time to come, that no like injury should be done them: and that their pretor Fanius should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expenses home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury, and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and to take care that they should return home in safety.

3. And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus the high-priest. But as for king Demetrius, who had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus, there was no opportunity nor room for it, while both the Syrians and the soldiers bare ill-will to him, because he was an ill man. But when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, who was called Phyamas, that he would send them one of the family of Seleucus, in order to take the kingdom, and he sent them Alexander, who was called Zebine, with an army, and there had been a battle between them, Demetrius was beaten in the fight, and fled to Cleopatra his wife, to Ptolemis; but his wife would not receive him. He went thence to Tyre, and was there caught; and when he had suffered much from his enemies before his death, he was slain by them. So Alexander took the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus. Yet, when afterward fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius, who was called Gryppus, he was also beaten in the fight, and slain.

CHAPTER X.

HOW, UPON THE QUARREL BETWEEN ANTIOCBUS CYPRIUS AND ANTIOCBUS CYZICUS, ABOUT THE KINGDOM, HYRCANUS TOOK SAMARIA, AND OTHER POLICE DEMOLISHED IT; AND HOW HYRCANUS JOINED HIMSELF TO THE SECT OF THE SADUCHARI, AND LEFT THAT OF THE PHARISEES.

§ 1. When Antiochus had taken the kingdom, he was afraid to make war against Judea, because he heard that his brother by the same name, who was called Antiochus, was raising an army against him out of Cyzicus; so he stayed in his own land, and resolved to prepare himself for the attack; expected from his brother, who was called Cyprius.
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was, because he had been brought up in that city. He was the son of Antiochus that was called Soter, who died in Partia. He was the brother of Decebalus, the father of Grypus; for it had so happened, that one and the same Cleopatra was married to two rulers of the same name, and was loved by both. But Antiochus Cyzicenus coming to Syria, continued many years at war with his brother. Now Hyrcanus lived all this while in peace; but after the death of Antiochus, he revolted from the Macedonians, nor did he any longer pay them the least regard, either as their subject or their friend, but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the times of Alexander the Great, and especially under these brethren, the war which they had with one another gave those the opportunity of enjoying himself in it quietly, insomuch that he got an immense quantity of money. However, when Antiochus Cyzicenus disturbed his land, he then openly showed what he meant. And when he saw that Antiochus instituted of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were in an ill condition in the struggles they had one with another, he despaired at both.

So he made an expedition against Samaria, and it was a very strong city; of whose present aspect, we must not believe the descriptions of Strabo, or Diodorus, because they would not like to believe it; but he made his attack on it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains; he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for injuries they had done to the people of a colony of the Jews, and and in compliance to the kings of Syria. He had therefore drawn a ditch, and built a rampart round the city, which was fourscore fathom long, he set his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus over the siege; which brought the Samarians to great distress by famine, that they forced to eat what was not to be eaten, and for Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who readily to their assistance, but was beaten by these, and when he was pursued as far as Apolis by the two brethren, he got away: so returned to Samaria, and shut them again the wall, till they were forced to send for Antiochus a second time to help them, procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy, which were sent them without the king's consent, who had then in a manner turned against the government. With these Egyptians he first instructed and ravaged the country of Hyrcanus after the manner of a robber, for he did not meet him in the face to fight with him, having an enemy sufficiently for that purpose, from this supposition, that by thus harassing he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria; but because he fell into snare, and any of his soldiers therein, he went away to Antiochus at Cilicia, and committed the prosecution of the war in Cilicia, and against the Jews to Callimachus and Epacrites. At Callimachus, he attacked the enemy in his camp, and raised three hundred pieces to Samaria, that his brother and sister were not to be expected in it; and as to Epacrites, he was such a lover of his, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis, and those near it, to the Jews; but was not able to take them by the siege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken the city, which was not done till after a year's siege, he was not contented with doing that only, but demolished it entirely, and brought ripples to it to drown it, for he dug such hollows as might let the waters run under it.

2 The original of the Sabinus, as a considerable party among the Jews, being contained in the two following sections, take Dean Pridmore's note upon this their first public appearance, which I suppose to be true. 'Hyrcanus,' says he, 'was the first of all the successors of Herod to be overthrown. This is, to be sure, a strange tale, for it is not in the traditions of the Rabbinists, and such a fact made no more mention by the Phrygians, as there are no references to it in the Jewish history, or in the book of the scribes.' For this cannot be supposed against so good and pious a man as John Hyrcanus is said to be. In the most probable and certain traditions, Sabinus had gone no further in the doctrines of that sect than to deny all the new written traditions, and those of the Pharisees and the Essenes. Josephus mentions no other differences at this time between them, yet Sabinus he says that Hyrcanus went over to the Sabinus in any other particular than in the rejection of all the written traditions, and those of the Pharisees, which our authors confound as well as they. [At the end of the 19th century, Sabinus was associated with the Sabaean tribe, which had their own traditions and practice, distinct from those of the Pharisees and Essenes.]

3 This slander, that arose from a Pharisee, has been preserved by that ancestor of Sabinus, and rendered more famous in this age; for Dr. Hales, in his Chronology, S. F., p. 77, in Varisco's version of the Jewish War, says that Hyrcanus's mother was taken captive in Mount Hermon, and...
seditious practices. This man said, "Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high-priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people." And when he desired to know for what cause he ought to lay down the high-priesthood, the other replied, "We have heard it from our old mother that her brother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." This story was false, and Hyrcanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him.

6. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus that Eleazar had cast such a reproach upon him, according to the common sentiments of all the Pharisees, and that this would be made manifest if he would but ask him the question, What punishment they thought this deserved for that he might depend upon, that the reproach was not laid on him with their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deserved. So the Pharisees made answer, that he deserved stripes and bonds; but that it did not seem right to punish reproaches with death; and indeed the Pharisees, even upon other occasions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this gentle sentence, Hyrcanus was very angry, and thought that this man reproached him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan who chiefly irritated him, and influenced him so far, that he made him leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and punish those that observed them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude: but of these matters we shall speak hereafter. What I would now explain is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the law of Moses; and foretelling the manner of things that the Sadducees hold them, and say that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers; and concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them, while the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude of their side; but about these two sects, and of the Essenes, I have treated accurately in the second book of the Jewish affairs.

7. But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died, leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of his three privileges—the government of his nation, the dignity of the high-priesthood, and prophecy for God was with him, and enabled him to foresee futurities; and to foretell this he had shown him all things that the people of the Israel were foretold they would not long continue in the government of public affairs; whose unhappy catastrophe will be worth our description, that we may discern how very much they were inferior to their father's happiness.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW ARISTOBULUS, WHEN HE HAD TAKEN THE VERNMENT, FIRST OF ALL PUT A DIADEM ON HIS HEAD, AND WAS MOST BARBAROUSLY CROSSED TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHERS; AND HENCE HE HAD SLAIN ANTIGonus, HE HIMSELF DIED.

§ 1. Now when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldest son Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for so he resolved to do, first of all put a diadem on his head, four hundred and eighty years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babylonian slavery, and were returned to their own land again, and was also in the same year that Antigonus, his next brother, was slain, and treated him as his equal; but the others he held in bonds. He also cast his mother into prison, because she disputed the government with him; for Hyrcanus had left her to be queen of all. He also proceeded to that degree of inhumanity, as to kill her in prison with hunger; and yet he was alienated from his brother Antigonus by calumnies, and added him to the rest whom he slew; and yet he seemed to have an affection for him, and made him above the rest a partner with him in his kingdom. Those calumnies he at first did not credit, partly because he loved him, and partly because he thought the reproaches derived from the envy of the rulers. But when Antigonus was once returned from the army, that feast was then at hand when they made sacrifices to [the honour of] God, it happened Aristobulus was fallen sick, and that Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned, and with soldiers about him in their armour to the temple to celebrate the feast, and to put up many presents in the recovery of his brother, when some of the soldiers, persons who had a great mind to raise a discord between the brethren, made use of this opportunity of the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and the great actions which he had done, and went to the king, and spitefully aggravated the praise of his at the feast, and pretended that the circumstances were not like those of a private person; that these actions were indications of a pretension of royal authority; and that his coming forward to a strong body of men must be by an imminent danger, and that his coming was by a way of necessity. That it was a silly thing in him, while it was in his power to reign himself, to look upon it as a favour that he was honoured with a lower dignity by his brother.

Judge from the very different characters of the Pharisees and Sadducees, in the two preceding centuries, we may well suppose, that the difference of these sects was not less, than that which there are among the Pharisees and Sadducees.
2. Aristobulus yielded to these imputations, but not care both that his brother should not suspect him, and that he himself might not run the hazard of his own safety; so he ordered his guards to lie in a certain place that was underground, and dark himself then lying sick in the tower which was in Antigonus came to him unarmed, they did not touch any body, but if armed, they said kill him; yet did he send to Antigonus, and said that he would come unarmed; but the men, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, provoked the messenger to tell the direct contrary, how his brother had heard that he had made himself a fine suit of armor for war, and desired him to come in to him in armor, that he might see how fine it was. So Ignatius, suspecting no treachery, but depending on good-will of his brother, came to Aristobulus ed, as he used to be, with his entire armor, in to shew it to him; but when he was come to a tower which was called Strato's Tower, where the gates happened to be exceeding dark, the guards him; which death demonstrates that nothing longer than a story and calumny, and that no more certainly divide the gods and naturals affections of men than those passions. But one may take occasion to wonder at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essenes, and who told the truth in his predictions; for this when he saw Antigonus passing by the tem- presented his companions and friends who abode him as his scholars, in order to learn the art stelling things to come. If that it was good to die now, since he had spoken falsely Antigonus, who is still alive, and I see him g by, although he had foretold that he should the place called Strato's Tower that very while; yet the place is six hundred furlongs ere he had foretold he should be slain; and his day is a great part of it already past, so was in danger of proving a false prophet. was saying this, and that in a melancholy the news came that Antigonus was slain in underground, which itself was called also a Tower, or of the same name with that which is seated at the sea. This event procreated into a great disorder. 10. Aristobulus repeated immediately of his test place of his brother; on which account his increased upon him, and he was disturbed mind, upon the guilt of such wickedness, in that his entrails were corrupted by his in- le pain, and he vomited blood: at which of the servants that attended upon him, was carrying his blood away, did, by divine nes, as I cannot but suppose, slip down and of his blood at the very place where there lots of Antigonus's blood there slain, still no; and when there was a cry made by the yeas, as if the servant had on purpose shed mind on that place, Aristobulus repeated it, and I what the matter was; and as they did ever him, he was the more earnest to know was, it being natural to men to suspect that thus concealed is very bad; so upon his threatening, and forcing them by terror to speak, they at length told him the truth; whereupon he shed many tears, it is that disorder of mind which arose from his consciousness of what he had done, and gave a deep groan, and said, "I am not therefore, I perceive, to be concealed from God, in the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of; but a sudden punishment is coming upon me for the shedding the blood of my relations. And now O thou most impudent body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die, in order to appease the ghost of my brother and my mother? Why dost thou not give it all up at once! And why do I deliver up my blood, drop by drop, to those whom I have so wickedly done harm in saying which last words he died, having reigned a year. He was called a lover of the Grecians; and had conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Icture, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumsized, and to live according to the Jewish laws. He was naturally a man of candour, and of great modesty, as Strabo bears witness in the name of Timagenes: who says thus:—"This man was a person of candour, and very serviceable to the Jews, for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Ictureans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the circumcision of their genitals."

CHAPTER XII.

HOW ALEXANDER, WHEN HE HAD TAKEN THE GOVERNMENT, MADE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST PTOLEMAIS, AND THEN RAISED THE SIEGE, OUT OF FEAR OF PTOLEMY LATHRYUS; AND HOW PTOLEMY MADE WAR AGAINST HIM, BECAUSE HE HAD SENT TO CLEOPATRA TO PERSUADE HER TO MAKE WAR AGAINST PTOLEMY, AND YET PRETENDED TO BE IN FRIENDSHIP WITH HIM, WHEN HE WENT TO BEAT THE JEWISH IN BATTLE.

§ 1. When Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who, by the Greeks, was called Alexandra, let his brethren out of prison (for Aristobulus had kept them in bonds, as we have said already), and made Alexander Janneus king, who was the superior in age and in moderation. This child happened to be hated by his father as soon as he was born, and who could never be permitted to come into his father's sight till he died. The occasion of which hatred is thus reported: when Hyrcanus chiefly loved the two eldest of his sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus, God appeared to him in his sleep, of whom he inquired which of his sons should be his successor. Upon God's representing to him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was but to be the heir of all his goods, and suffered him to be brought up in Galilee. However, God did not receive Hyrcanus, for after the death of Aristobulus, he certainly took the kingdom; and one of his brethren who affected the kingdom he slew; and the other who chose to live a private and quiet life, he had in esteem.

1 The reason why Hyrcanus suffered not this son of his whom he did not love to come into Judæa, but ordered him to be brought up in Galil- le, is suggested by Dr. Hales, that Galilee was not esteemed or held such an honourable country as Judæa, Mat. xxi. 7. John viii. 13. Acts iv. 7, although another opinion was also, that he shut out of his sight in Galilee than he would have had in Judæa.
2. When Alexander Jannaeus had settled the government in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having overcome the men in battle, he shut them up in the city, and sat round about it, and besieged it; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, besides Strato's Tower and Dorra, which were held by the tyrant Zalus. Now while Antiochus Philometor, and Antiochus who was called Cyzicenus, were mustering against one another, and destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could have no assistance from them; but when they were distressed with this siege, Zalus, who possessed Strato's Tower and Dorra, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and, on occasion of the contest between the kings, affected tyranny himself, came and brought some small assistance to the people of Ptolemais; nor indeed had the king such a friendship for them as that they should hope for any advantage from them. But both those kings were in the case of wrestling, who finding themselves deficient in strength, and yet being resolved to yield, put off the fight by laziness, and by lying still as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who now held Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt by Cleopatra his mother: so the people of Ptolemais sent to this Ptolemy Lathyrus and desired him to come as a confederate, to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of Alexander. And as the ambassador gave him hopes, that if he would pass over into Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais; as they also said that Zalus, and besides these the Sidonians and many others would assist them, so he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

3. But in this interval Demetrius, one that was of abilities to persuade men to do as he would have them, and a leader of the populace, made those of Ptolemais change their opinions; and said to them, that it was better to run the hazard of being subject to the Jews than to submit to evident slavery by delivering themselves up to a master; and besides that, to have not only a war at present, but to expect a much greater war from Egypt; for that Cleopatra would not overlook an army raised by Ptolemy for himself out of the neighbourhood, but would come against them with a great army of her own, and this because she was labouuring to eject her son out of Cyprus also: that as for Ptolemy, if he fail of his hopes, he can still retire to Cyprus; but that yet they should be in the greatest danger possible; and Ptolemy himself had heard of the change that was made in the people of Ptolemais, yet did he still go on with his voyage, and came to the country called Sycamine, and there set his army on shore. This army of his, in the whole horse and foot together, were about thirty thousand, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp; but when the people of Ptolemais neither received his ambassadors nor would hear what they had to say, he was under a very great concern.

4. But when Zalus and the people of Gaza came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by the Jews, and by Alexander—Alexander raised the siege, for fear of Ptolemy: and when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he used a stratagem afterwards, by privately inviting Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual assistance with him; and promising to give him four hundred talents of silver, he desired that, by way of requital, he would take off Zalus the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy, with pleasure made such a league of friendship with Alexander and subdued Zalus; but when he was afterwards heard that he had privily sent to Cleopatra his mother, he broke the league with him, and yet had confirmed with an oath, and fell upon him, and besieged Ptolemais, because it would not receive him. However, leaving his generals, with some part of his forces, to go on with the siege, he went himself immediately with the rest to the scena waste: and when Alexander understood this to be Ptolemy's intention, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country; and as some writers have said, eighty thousand. He took stock of his army, took off the field by laziness, and by lying still as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who now held Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt by Cleopatra his mother: so the people of Ptolemais sent to this Ptolemy Lathyrus and desired him to come as a confederate, to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of Alexander. And as the ambassador gave him hopes, that if he would pass over into Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais; as they also said that Zalus, and besides these the Sidonians and many others would assist them, so he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

5. He then tried to take Sepphoris, which was a city not far from that which was destroyed, and lost many of his men; yet did he then go to fight with Alexander. Alexander met him at the river Jordan, near a certain place called Saphoth [as it is said from the river Jordan], and pitched his camp against the enemy. He had however eight thousand men in the first rank, which he called Macedonians, having shields of brass. Those in the front rank of Ptolemy's soldiers also had shields covered with brass; but Ptolemy's soldiers in other respects were inferior to those of Alexander, and therefore were more fearful of running hazards; but Ptolemaus, the camp-master, put great care into him, and ordered them to pass the river, which was between their camps: nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it: for he thought that if the enemy had once gotten the river, they would come back, and so the rest, and would have been of great service, when they could not flee out of the battle: in the beginning of which, the acts on both sides with their hands, and with their alacrity, were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies; but Alexander was superior, till Philometor opportunely brought up the auxiliaries, to help those that were giving way; but as there were so auxiliaries to afford help to that part of the Jews that gave way, it fell out that they fled, and those of them did not assist them, but fled along with them. However, Ptolemy's soldiers, which were three thousand, for they followed the Jews, and killed them, till at last those that slew them pursued after them, when they had made them all run away, and slew them so long, that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter; for the report was, that thirty thousand men were slain. Timagenes says, they were fifty thousand. As for the rest, they were part of those that were taken captive; and the other part ran away to their own country.
6. After this victory, Ptolemy overran all the country; and when night came on, he abode in certain villages of Judea, which when he found full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to strangle them, and to cut them in pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons, and then to roar their limbs as sacrifices. This commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, should come to them in such manner that their enemies were cannibals, and eat men's flesh, and might on that account be still more terrified at them upon a sight. And both Strabo and Nicholas of Damascus affirm, that they used these people after this manner, as I have already related. Ptolemy toook Ptolemais by force, as we have declared elsewhere.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF ALEXANDER, UPON THE LEAGUE OF MUTUAL DEFENCE WHICH CLEOPATRA HAD AGREED WITH HIM, MADE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST CELESYRIA, AND OTHER WHE HE SLEW MANY TEN THOUSANDS OF JEWS THAT HAD REBELLED AGAINST HIM; ALSO CONTAINING ANTIQUITIES OF CYRUS, SELUCUS, ANTIQUITIES ZICENUS, AND ANTIQUITIES PUS, AND OTHERS.

When Cleopatra saw that her son was grown up, and that Judea was without disturbance, she took the city of Gaza under his power, resolved no longer to overlook what he did, he was almost at her gates; and she concluded, that now he was so much stronger than before, could be very desirous of the dominion over the brothers; but she immediately marched against with a fleet at sea and an army on foot, landed Greece and another, the Jews, generals of the whole army, while she sent the greatest part of the riches, her grandchildren, and her testament, the people of Coz. Cleopatra also ordered her son to sail with a great fleet to Phoenicia and Lebanon, that when the city had revolted, she came to Ptolemais; and because the people of Ptolemais, not receive her, she besought the people of Gaza, that they went out of Syria, and made haste unto, supposing that she should find it destitute of money, and soon take it, though he failed of forces. At this time Chelisa, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Chelisia, as he pursued Ptolemy.

When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed, as his expectations, she sent thither part of her army, and drove him out of that country; so he was returned out of Egypt, and some part of his army went out of Syria, and made haste upon, supposing that he should find it destitute of money, and soon take it, though he failed of forces. Now there were some of her friends who desired her to seize Alexander, and to overrun the possession of the country, not to sit still, such a multitude of brave Jews subject to

one man; but Ananias's counsel was contrary to theirs, who said that she would do an unjust action if she deprived a man that was her ally of that authority which belonged to him, and this a man who is related to us; as (said he) I would not have thee ignorant of this, that what injustice thou dost to him will make all us that are Jews to be thine enemies. This desire of Ananias, Cleopatra complied with; and did no injury to Alexander, but made a league of mutual assistance with him at Sythopolis, a city of Chelisia.

3. So when Alexander was delivered from the fear he was in of Ptolemy, he presently made an expedition against Chelisia. He also took Gadara, after a siege of ten months. He took also Ama
tus, a very strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, where Theodorus, the son of Zenon, had his chief treasure, and what he esteemed most precious. This Zenon fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and slew ten thousand of them, and seized upon Alexander's baggage; yet did not this misfortune terrify Alexander; but he made an expedition upon the maritime parts of the country, Raphia and Anthedon (the name of which king Herod afterwards changed to Agrippias), and took even that by force. But when Alexander saw that Ptolemy was retired from Gaza to Cyprus, and his mother Cleopatra was returned to Egypt, he grew angry at the people of Gaza, because they had invited Ptolemy to assist them, and besieged their city, and ravaged their country. But as Apollodorus, the general of the army of Gaza, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night, with two thousand foreign, and ten thousand of his own forces, while the night lasted, the city of Gaza prevailed, because the enemy was made to believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them; but when day was come on, and that mistake was corrected, and the Jews knew the truth of the matter, they came back again and fell upon those of Gaza, and slew of them about a thousand. But as those of Gaza stoutly resisted them, and would not yield for either their want of anything, nor for the great multitude that were slain (for they would rather suffer any hardship whatsoever, than come under the power of their enemies), Aretas, king of the Arabians, a person then very illustrious, encouraged them to go on with alacrity, and promised them that he would come to their assistance; but it happened that, before he came, Apollodorus was slain; for his brother Lysimachus, envying him for the great reputation he had gained among the citizens, slew him, and got the army together, and delivered up the city to Alexander; who, when he came in at first, lay quiet, but afterwards set his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave them leave to punish them; so some went in one way, and some went another, and slew the inhabitants of Gaza; yet were not they of cowardly hearts, but opposed them that came to say them, and slew as many of the Jews; and some of them, when they saw themselves deserted, burnt their own houses, that the enemy might get none of their spoils: nay, some of them, with their own hand slew their children and their wives, having no other way but this of avoiding slavery for them; but the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled Apollo's temple (for this attack happened to them as they were sitting), whom Alexander and when he had utterly overthrown returned to Jerusalem, having escaped

siege.
4. About this very time Antiochus, who was called Grypus, died.* His death was caused by Heracleon's treachery, when he had lived forty-five years, and had reigned twenty-nine.† His son Seleucus succeeded him in the kingdom, and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicus, and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him; but after a while Antiochus,‡ the son of Cyzicus, who was called Pius, came to Aradus, and put the diadem on his head, and made war with Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of all Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopsuestia again, and levied money upon them; but the people of Mopsuestia had indignation at what he did, and burnt down his palace, and slew him, together with his friends.

But when Antiochus, the son of Cyzicus, was king of Syria, Antiochus,§ the brother of Seleucus, made war upon him, and was overcome, and destroyed, he and his army. After him, his brother Philip put on the diadem, and reigned over some part of Syria. But Seleucus sent for his brother Demetrius, who was called Euerclus, from Cnidus, and made him king of Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose, but presently died; for when he was come as an auxiliary to Laodice, queen of the Gileadites, when she was making war against the Parthians, and he was fighting courageously, he fell, while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as hath been elsewhere related.

5. As to Alexander, his own people were sedulous against him at a festival which was then held, when he stood upon the altar, and was going to sacrifice, the nation rose upon him and pelted him with citrons [which they then had in their hands, because the law of the Jews required, that at the feast of tabernacles every one should have branches of palm-tree and citron-tree; which thing we have elsewhere related. They also reviled him, as derived from a captive,¶ and so unworthy of his dignity and of sacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and slew of them about six thousand. He also built a partition-wall of wood round the altar, and the temple, as far as that partition within which it was not for the priests to enter; and by this means he obstructed the multitude from coming as him. He also maintained foreigners of Thasius and Cilicia; for as to the Syrians, he was at war with them, and so made no use of them. He also overcame the Arabians; such as the Moabites and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute. Moreover, he demolished Amathus, while Theodorus** durst not fight with him; but as he had joined battle with Oebdes, king of the Arabians, and fell into an ambush in the places that were rugged and difficult to be travelled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley, by the multitude of the enemy at Gadaras, a village of Gil猹ed, and hardly escaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where, besides his other ill success, the nation insulted him, and he fought against them for four years, and slew no fewer than fifty thousand of them; and when he desired that they would desist from their ill-will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he had asked them what he ought to do, they all cried out, that he ought to kill himself. They also sent to Demetrius Euerclus, and desired him to make a league of mutual defence with them.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW DEMETRIUS EUCERBUS OVERCAME ALEXANDER, AND, YET, IN A LITTLE TIME, RETURNED OUT OF THE COUNTRY FOR FEAR OF THE JEWES; AS ALSO HOW ALEXANDER SLEW MANY OF THE JEWES, AND THEREBY GOT CLEAR OF ALL HIS TROUBLES, CONCERNING THE DEATH OF DEMETRIUS.

§ 1. So Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invited him, and pitched his camp near the city Shechem; upon which Alexander gathered six thousand two hundred mercenary, and about seventy thousand men, of his party, and against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen. Now there was great endeavours used on both sides, Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks; and Alexander tried to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius. However, when neither of them persuaded them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror; in which Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they were given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain. 2. Now as Alexander fled to the mountains, a thousand of the Jews hereupon came together, and made war upon him; upon which Demetrius also returned and retired out of the country, after which Jews fought against Alexander, and being against them, were slain in great numbers in the several parts which they had; and when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethge, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most hazardous actions in the world to them for; for as he was feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified; and while they were living, he put the throats of their children and wives to their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done, but the punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, as we suppose that he had been so much得罪ed, as indeed he had been, by his wars, for he had by their means come to the last of hazard, both of his life and of his kingdom, that they were not satisfied by themselves only in revenge against him, but introduced foreigners also the
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER XV.

ANTIOCHUS, WHO WAS CALLED DIONYSIUS, AND TERRITORY ARABIA, MADE EXPEDITIONS INTO JUDEA; AS ALSO HOW ALEXANDER TOOK MANY CITIES, AND THEN RETURNED TO JERUSALEM, AND AFTER A SICKNESS OF THREE YEARS DIED; AND AT COUNSEL HE GAVE TO ALEXANDER.

After this, Antiochus, who was called Dionysius, and was Philip's brother, aspired to the throne, and came to Damascus, and got over the power of his hands, and there he reigned; but as he was on the way against the Arabians, his brother heard of it, and came to Damascus, where he had always been the governor of the city, and Damascus themselves delivered up the city; yet because Philip was become unmindful of him, and had bestowed upon him no favor in hopes whereof he had received him to city, but had a mind to have it believed was rather deliverance from fear than by blindness of Milesius; and because he had not led him as he ought to have done, he became by him, and so he was obliged to leave again; for Milesius caught him marching out of the Hippodrome, and shut him up in it, and kept Damascus for Antiochus [Eucerus], who, hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came back out of Arabia. He also came immediately, and made an expedition against Judea, with eight thousand armed footmen, and eight hundred horsemen. So Alexander, out of fear of his coming, dug a deep ditch, beginning at Chabarzabla, which is now called Antipatris, to the sea of Joppa, on which part only his army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, and intermediate redoubts, for one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and there expected the coming of Antiochus; but he soon burnt them all, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king [Arethas] at first retreated, but afterward appeared upon the sudden with ten thousand horsemen. Antiochus gave them the meeting, and fought desperately; and indeed when he had gotten the victory, and was bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress, he was slain. When Antiochus was fallen, his army fled to the village Cana, where the greatest part of them perished by famine.

2. After him, Arethas reigned over Clesyria, being called to the government by those that held Damascus, by reason of the hatred they bare to Ptolemy Menennes. He also made thence an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Adida; yet did he, upon certain conditions agreed on between them, retire out of Judea.

3. But Alexander marched again to the city, and took it; and then made an expedition against Ega, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken the city by fighting, he marched to Galata and Seleucia; and when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took that valley which is called The Valley of Antiochus, as also the fortress of Camala. He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out; and after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country, where the Jews joyfully received him upon his going away.

4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the Syrians, and Idumeans, and Phoenicians: At the seaside, Strato's Tower, Appollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinoc≊; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adora, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Sycopolitan, and Gadara; of the country of the Golanites, Seleucia, and Gaftala; in the country of Maob, Heshbon, and Medaba, Lembia, and Oronas, Gilead, Zara, the valley of the Cilicians and Yella; which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not be able to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews. The Jews also possessed others...
of the principal cities of Syria, which had been destroyed.

5. After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a distemper by hard drinking, and had a quar- tan ague which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite spent with the labours he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Ragaba, a fortress beyond Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was ready to die, and had no longer any hopes of surviving, she came to him weeping and lamenting, and appeared before him, in the same condition as the dead body and as the living body; she said to him: "To whom dost thou then leave me and my children, who are destitute of all other supports, and this when thou knowest how much ill-will thy nation bears thee?" But he gave her the following advice: that she needed but follow what he would suggest to her in order to retain the kingdom securely, with her children: that she should conceal his death from the soldiers till she should have taken that place; after this, she should go in triumph, as upon a victory, to Jerusalem, and put herself instanter at the head of the Pharisees; for that they would commend her for the honours she had done them, and would reconcile the nation to her; for he told her they had great authority among the Jews, both to do hurt to such as they hated, and to bring advantages to those to whom they were friendly disposed; for that they are then believed best of all by the multitude when they speak any severe thing against others, though it be only out of envy at them. And he said, that it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation, whom indeed he had injured. 1 So he sent her to Alexandria, that he might come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and shew them his body, and with great appearance of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they will dis honoured the dead body by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered by my means, or whether in anger they will offer any other injury to that body. Promise them also, that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou dost but say this to them, I shall have the honour of a more glorious funeral from them than thou couldst have had from the people in their sins, in their sin to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in safety." So when he had given his wife this advice, he died,—after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years, within one.

* It is clear, by this dying advice of Alexander James to his wife, that he had himself purposed the measure of his father Hyrcanus, and taken part with the Judaeans, who kept close to the written law against the Phari sees, and that he had dissolved the Chaldean, and reduced his own nation, ch. xvi. and that he now saw a political necessity of submitting to the Pharisees, and their traditions; whereas, his widow, Josephus, is chiefly related to their monarchial government or tyranny over the Jewish nation; which sect, thus supported, were at last in a great measure the ruin of the government, and nation of the Jews, and brought them into so wicked a state, that the vengeance of God came upon them to their utter extirpation. Just thus did Calpurnius politely advise the Jewish historian, John xx. 50, "that it was unjust for them that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish; and this in consequence of their own political sapport, ver. 49, that, "if they converted all men would befall him; and the Romans would come and take away both their place and nation." Which political conversion of Jews of Nazareth brought about the great destruction which befell them, and occasioned these very Romans, of whom they seemed so much afraid, that, in order to prevent them the Jews acted, actually to "come out and take away both their place and nation," within thirty-eight years after this. I hereby wish the politicians of Christianity to cease carrying on the example, and would that the world would sacrifice all virtue and religion to their pernicious schemes of government. The Roman people have preserved themselves from all the several nations interested in their care. But this is a digression: I wish it were an unnecessary one also. Josephus himself several times makes such digressions, and I have ventured to follow him, see one of these at the conclusion of the very next chapter.

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW ALEXANDRA, BY GAINING THE GOOD-WILL OF THE PHARISEES, RETAINED THE KINGDOM THIRTY YEARS, AND THEN, HAVING DONE MANY GLORIOUS ACTIONS, DIED.

§ 1. So Alexandra, when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spoke to the Pharisees, and put all things into their hands; for she knew the folly of the kingdom, and thereby pacified their rage against Alexander, and made them bear good-will and friendship to him; who then came among the multitude, and made speeches to them, and last before them the actions of Alexander, and told them that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendation they gave him, they brought them to grieve, and to be in heaviness for him, so that he had a funeral more splendid than had set of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but escaped these two, Hyrcanus was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus, was an active and a bold man; and for this woman hence Alexandra, she was loved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offences her husband had been guilty of.

2. So she made Hyrcanus high-priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he could not to meddle with politics, and permitted the Pharisees to do every thing; to whom also she ordered the multitude to be obedient. She also restored again those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated. So she had indeed the name of Regent; but the Pharisees had the authority; for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, and say all at once, they differed in nothing from her. However, the queen also took care of the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of servile soldiers, and increased her own army such a degree, that she became terrible to all the neighbouring tyrants, and took hostages of them, and the country was entirely at peace, except the Pharisees; for they disturbed the queen, and desired that she would kill those that persuaded Alexander to slay the eight hundred men, which they cut the throat of one of them, Demas, and after him they did the same to several, after another, till the men that were the most present came into the palace, and Aristobulus there, for he seemed to be displeased at what was done; and it appeared openly that, if he had opportunity, he would not permit his mother to do so. These put the queen in mind what great dangers they had gone through, and great care they had done, whereby they had demonstrated the firmness of their fidelity to their master, because they had received the greatest marks of favour from him; and they begged of her, that she would not utterly blast their hopes, as it now happened, that when they had escaped the hazards that came from their [open] enemies, they were to be cut at home, by their [private] enemies, like beasts, without any help whatsoever. They and
dangerous distemper, Aristobulus resolved to attempt the seizing of the government; so he stole away secretly by night, and, with the consent of his friends, went to the fortresses, wherein his father was left, and the septimess, who were such from the days of his father, were settled; for as he had been a great while displeased at his mother's conduct, so he was now much more afraid, lest, upon her death, their whole family should be under the power of the Pharisees; for he saw the incapacity of his brother, who was to succeed in the government; nor was any one conscious of what he was doing but only his wife, whom he left at Jerusalem with their children. He first called all to Agrippa, who was Galatian, one of the potent men before mentioned, and was received by him. When it was day the queen perceived that Aristobulus was fled; and for some time she supposed that his departure was not in order to make any innovation; but when messengers came one after another with the news that he had secured the first place, the second place, and all the places, for as soon as one had begun, they all submitted to his disposal, then it was that the queen and the nation were in the greatest disorder, for they were sure that it would not be long ere Aristobulus would be able to settle himself firmly in the government. What they were principally afraid of was this, that he would inflict punishment upon them for the mad treatment his house had had from them: so they resolved to take his wife and children into custody, and keep them in the fortress that was over the temple. Now there was a mighty concourse of people that came to Aristobulus from all parts, insomuch that he had a kind of royal attendants about him; for in little more than fifteen days, he got twenty-two strong places, which gave him the opportunity of raising an army from Libanus and Trachonitis, and the monarchs; for men are easily led by the greater number, and easily submit to them. And besides this, that by affording him their assistance, when he could not expect it, they, as well as he, should have the advantages that would come by his being king, because they had been the occasion of his gaining the kingdom. Now the elders of the Jews, and Hyrcanus with them, went in unto the queen, and desired that she would give them her sentiments about the present posture of affairs, for that Aristobulus was in every head of the kingdom, by possessing of so many strong holds, and that it was absurd for them to take any counsel by themselves, how ill soever they were, whilst she was alive, and that the danger would be upon them in no long time. But she bade them do what they thought proper to be done: that they had many circumstances in their favour still remaining; a nation in good heart, an army, and money in their several treasuries; for that she had small concern about public affairs now, when the strength of her body already failed her.

6. Now a little while after she had said this to them, she died, when she had reigned nine years, and had in all lived seventy-three. A woman she was who showed no signs of the weakness of her sex, for she was sagacious to the greatest degree in her ambition of governing, and demonstrated by her doings at once, that her mind was fit for action,
and that sometimes men themselves show the little understanding they have by the frequent mistakes they make in point of government; for she always preferred the present to futurity, and preferred the power of an imperious dominion above all things, and in comparison of that, had no regard to what was good or what was right. However, she brought the affairs of her house to such an unfortunate condition, that she was the occasion of the taking away that authority from it, and that in no long time afterward, which she had obtained by a vast number of hazards and misfortunes, and this out of a desire of what does not belong to a woman, and all by a compliance in her sentiments with those that were ill-will to their family, and by the administration desist of a proper support of great men; and indeed, her management during her administration, while she was alive, was such as filled the palace after her death with calamities and disturbances. However, although this had been her way of governing, she preserved the nation in peace;—and this is the conclusion of the affairs of Alexandra.

BOOK XIV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA TO THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS.

CHAPTER I.

THE WAR BETWEEN ARISTOBULUS AND HYRCANUS ABOUT THE KINGDOM; AND HOW THEY MADE AN AGREEMENT THAT ARISTOBULUS SHOULD BE KING, AND HYRCANUS LIVE A PRIVATE LIFE; AS ALSO, HOW HYRCANUS, A LITTLE AFTERWARDS, WAS PERSUADED BY ANTIPATER TO FLY TO ARETHAS.

§ 1. We have related the affairs of queen Alexandra, and her death, in the foregoing book, and will now speak of what followed, and was connected with those histories; declaring, before we proceed, that we have nothing so much at heart as this, that we may omit no facts either through ignorance or laziness; for we are upon the history and explication of such things as the greatest part are unacquainted withal, because of their distance from our times; and we aim to do it with a proper beauty of style, so far as that is derived from proper words harmoniously disposed, and from such ornaments of speech also as may contribute to the pleasure of our readers, that they may entertain the knowledge of what we write with some agreeable satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal scope that authors ought to aim at, above all the rest, is to speak accurately, and to speak truly, for the satisfaction of those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions, and obliged to believe what these writers have written.

2. Hyrcanus then began his high-priesthood on the third year of the hundred and seventh Olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, who was called Metellus of Crete, were consuls at Rome; when presently Aristobulus began to make war against him, and as it came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Jericho, many of his soldiers deserted him, and went over to his brother: upon which Aristobulus fled into the citadel, where Aristobulus’s wife and children were imprisoned by his mother, as we have said already, and attacked and overcame those his adversaries that had fled thither, and lay within the walls of the temple. So when he had sent a message to his brother about agreeing the matters between them, he laid aside his enmity to him on these conditions, that Aristobulus should be king, that he should live without meddling with public affairs, and quietly enjoy the estate he had acquired. When they had agreed upon these terms in the temple, and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands, and embracing one another in the sight of the whole multitude they departed; the one Aristobulus, to the palace, and Hyrcanus, as a private man, to the former house of Aristobulus.

3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus, an Idumean, called Antipater, who was very rich, and in his nature an active and a sedulous man, who was at enmity with Aristobulus, and had differences with him on account of his good will to Hyrcanus. It is true, that Nicolaus of Damascus says, that Antipater was of the stock of the royal Jews who came out of Babylon into Judea; but that assertion of his was to gratify Hierob, who was his son, and who, by certain revolutions of fame came afterwards to be king of the Jews, whose history we shall give you in its proper place hereafter. However this Antipater was at first called Jaspas, and that was his father’s name also; of whom they relate this: That king Alexander and his wife made him general of all Idumea, and that he made a league of friendship with those Arabinians, and Czites, and Ascalonites, that were of his own party, and had, by many and large presents, made them his fast friends; but now this younger Antipater was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus, and was afraid of some mischief he might do him, because of his hatred to him; so he stirred up the
Antiquities of the Jews.

CHAPTER II.

Areitas and Hyrcanus made an expedition against Aristobulus, and besieged Jerusalem; how Scaurus, the Roman general, raised the siege, concerning the death of Onias.

After these promises had been given to Areitas, he made an expedition against Aristobulus, an army of fifty thousand horse and foot, and him in the battle. And when after that victory went over to Hyrcanus as deserters; Metellus was left desolate, and fled to Jerusalem; upon which the king of Arabia took all his army and made an assault upon the temple, and besieged Aristobulus therein, the people still supporting Hyrcanus, and assisting him in the siege, while none but the priests continued with Aristobulus. So Aretas united the forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together, and pressed on the siege vigorously. As this happened at the time when the feast of unleavened bread was celebrated, which we call the Passover, the principal men among the Jews left the country, and fled into Egypt. Now there was one, whose name was Onias, a righteous man he was, and beloved of God, who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat, and whose prayers God had heard, and had sent them rain. This man had hid himself, because he saw that this sedition would last a great while. However, they brought him to the Jewish camp, and desired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the drought, so he would in like manner make imprecatory on Aristobulus and those of his faction. And when, upon his refusal, and the excuses that he made, he was still by the multitude compelled to speak, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, “O God, the King of the whole world! I since those that stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are also thy priests, I beseech thee, that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these, nor bring to effect what these pray against those.” Whereupon such wished that he should, as soon as he had made this prayer, stone him to death.

2. But God punished them immediately for this barbarity, and took vengeance of them for the murder of Onias, in the manner following:—While the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast called the Passover was come, at which it is our custom to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; but those that were with Aristobulus wanted sacrifices, and desired that the countrymen should furnish them with such sacrifices, and assured them they would give as much money for them as they should desire; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmae for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the priests willingly undertook to pay for them accordingly; and those within let down the money over the walls, and gave it them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the sacrifices, but arrived at that height of wickedness as to break the assurances they had given, and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with sacrifices. And when the priests found they had been cheated, and that the agreements they had made were violated, they prayed to God that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that their punishment, but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind, that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was then bought for eleven drachmae.

3. In the meantime Pompey sent Scaurus into Syria, while he was himself in Armenia, and making war with Tigranes; but when Scaurus was come to Damascus, and found that Lysimachus and Metellus newly taken the city, he came himself hastily into Judea. And when he was come thither, ambassadors came to him, both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and both desired he would assist them; and when both of them promised to give him mo-
ney, Aristobulus four hundred talents, and Hyrcanus no less, he accepted of Aristobulus’s promise, for he was rich, and had a great soul, and desired to obtain nothing but what was moderate; whereas the other was poor and temeculous, and made incredible promises in hope of greater advantages; for it was not the same thing to take the Tyrians by surprise, as was exceeding strong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a great number of Nabateans, who were no very warlike people. He therefore made an agreement with Aristobulus, for the reason before mentioned, and took his money, and raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans. So Scaurus returned to Damascus again; and Aristobulus, with a great army, made war with Aretas and Hyrcanus, and fought them at a place called Papyron, and beat them in the battle, and slew about six thousand of the enemy, with whom fell Phaius also, the brother of Antipater.

CHAPTER III.

HOW ARISTOBULUS AND HYRCANUS CAME TO POMPEY, IN ORDER TO ARGUE WHO OUGHT TO HAVE THE KINGDOM; AND HOW, UPON THE FLIGHT OF ARISTOBULUS TO THE FORTRASSES ALEXANDRIUM, POMPEY LED HIS ARMY AGAINST HIM, AND ORDERED HIM TO DELIVER UP THE FORTRASSES WHEREOF HE WAS POSSESSER.

§ 1. A little afterward Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Cæsarya; at which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria, and Egypt, and out of Judea also, for Aristobulus had sent him a great present, which was a golden vine, of the value of five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in these words;—

"There came also an embassy out of Egypt, and a crown of the value of four thousand pieces of gold; and out of Judea there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden; they called the thing Terpole, the Delight. However, we ourselves saw the present reposited at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription: 'The Gift of Alexander, the King of the Jews.' It was valued at five hundred talents; and the report is, that Aristobulus, the governor of the Jews, sent it." 2.

2. In a little time afterward came ambassadors again to him, Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Aristobulus; which last also accused such as had taken bribes; first Gabinus, and then Scaurus,—the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred; by which procedure he made these two his enemies, besides those he had before; and when Pompey had ordered those that had controversies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country of Damascus; and as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Aphanes, which Antichus Cyzicenus had built, and took cognizance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus, a wicked man, and not less so than Dionysius of Tripoli, who had been beleaguered, who was also his relation by marriage; yet did he buy off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called Lyssus, of which Sisaa was a Jew, a tyrant; and when he had passed over the cities of Heliopolis and Chalaeis, and over the mountain which is on the limit of Cæsarea, he came from Pella to Damascus; and there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews, and the governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were at difference one with another, as also of the nation against them both, which did not desire to be under kingsy government, because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subjecting to the priests of that God whom they worshipped; and [they complained], that those two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation another form, in order to enslave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he were the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus, and that he had but a part of the territory under him, Aristobulus having taken away the rest from him by force. He also accused him, that the incursions which had been made in their neighbours’ countries, and the parricides that had been at sea, were owing to him; and that the nation would not have revolted, unless Aristobulus had been a man given to violence and disorder; and there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem among them, who confirmed this accusation; which conclusion was procured by Antipater; but Aristobulus charged against him, that it was Hyrcanus’s own temple, which was inactive, and on that account contemptible, which caused him to be deprived of the government; and that for himself he was necessary to take it upon him, for fear lest it should be transferred to others; and that as to his title of king, it was no other than what his father had made him before him. He also called for witnesses of what he said, some persons who were both young and insolent; whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, were decorated by the court]; and which they appeared in, not as they were to plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.

3. When Pompey had heard the causes of these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his vicious procedure, he then spake civily to them, and sent them away; and told them, that when he again into their country he would settle all their affairs, after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans. In the meantime, he ordered them to submit; and treated Aristobulus kindly, lest he should make the nation revolt; and in his return which yet Aristobulus did; for without expecting any further determination, which Pompey had promised them, he went to the Delius, and thence marched into Judea.

4. At this behaviour Pompey was angry, and taking with him that army which he was making against the Nabateans, and the auxiliary
ne from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, the Roman legions which he had with him, he made an expedition against Aristobulus; and as he passed by Selea and Scythopolis, he came to Jerusalem, which is the first entrance into Judea one pass over the midland countries, where stood a most beautiful fortress that was built on the top of a mountain called Alexandria, where Aristobulus had fled; and thence Pompey made his command to him, that he should come up. Accordingly, at the persuasion of many that could not make war with the Romans, he came up; and when he had disputed with his brother about the rights of the government, he went up to the citadel, as Pompey gave him leave to do, and this he did two or three times, as flatteringly with the hopes of having the kingdom he desired; so that he still pretended he would Pompey in whatsoever he commanded, although at the same time he retired to the fortress, he might not depress himself too low, and that might be prepared for a war, in case it should be necessary. So Pompey would transfer government to Hyrcanus; but when Pompey led Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses of, and to send an injunction to his governor, he submitted and consented. His forces were the same as he had been in Judea, and prepared for a war. A little after this, some persons came out of Pontus, and informed him, as he was on his way, and conducting his army against Aristobulus, that Mithridates was and was slain by his son Pharnaces.

CHAPTER IV.

POMPEY, WHEN THE CITIZENS OF JERUSALEM HAD TISED THE GATES AGAINST HIM, DESIGNE THE, AND TOOK IT BY FORCE; AND ALSO WHAT MEN HE DID IN JERUSALEM.

Now when Pompey had pitched his camp at Joppa, where the salt-plain is, and that which is an ointment made in the wood called rock-rose, distilled thereon as a juice, chished in the morning to Jerusalem. Here Aristobulus repented of what he was doing, and retired to Pompey, and promised to give him and received him into Jerusalem, and that he would leave off the war, and do what was peaceably. So Pompey, upon his en-gavaged him, and sent Gabinius, and soldiers with, to receive the money and the city: part of this performed; but Gabinius came back from the city, and received none of the money promised, because Aristobulus would not permit the agreements.

[The particular depth and breadth of this ditch, where the stones on the wall about the temple were probably taken, are omitted in one or two places, and also of Josephus, but set down by Strabo, p. xvi. p. 283; from whom we learn that this ditch was six hundred and two hundred feet broad. However, its depth is, in the next section, said by Josephus to be nineteen, which certainly to Strabo's description, and his numbers in Stiles are a strong confirmation of the truth of the description given.]
on the altar; nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened, by the stones that were thrown among them; for although the city was taken on the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the hundred and seventy-ninth olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls, and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple, yet could not those that offered the sacrifices be compelled to run away, neither by the fear they were in of their own lives, nor by the number that were already slain, as thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them at their very altars, than to omit any thing that their laws required of them; and that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to manifest a degree of our piety that was false, but is the real truth, I appeal to those that have written of the acts of Pompey; and among them, to Strabo and Nicolaus [of Damascus]; and besides these, to Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman History, who wrote forthright.

4. But when the battering-engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by it, and fell down, and broke down a part of the fortifications, so the enemy poured in space; and Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, with his soldiers, first of all ascended the wall, and next to him Marcus Furius the centurion, with those that followed, on the other part; while Fabius, who was also a centurion, ascended it in the middle, with a great body of men after him; but now all was full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another; nor, some there were who threw themselves down the precipices, or put fire to their houses, and burnt them, as not able to bear the miseries they were under. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand; but of the Romans very few. Absalom, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law to Aristobulus, was taken captive; and no small enormities were committed about the temple itself, which, in former ages, had been inaccessible, and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and saw not a few of those that were with him alone, and saw all that which was unlawful for any other men to see, but only for the high-priests. There were in it a golden throne, a great holy emerald-stone, and the pouring vessels, and a great quantity of spices; and besides these there were among the treasures two thousand talents of sacred money; yet did Pompey touch nothing of all this, on account of his regard to religion; and in this point also he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to God; and restored the high-priesthood to Hyrcanus, both because he had been useful to him in other respects, and because he had hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in his war with him. He also cut off those that had been the authors of that war; and restored proper rewards to Faustus, and those others that mounted the wall with such acclivity; and he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans; and took away those cities of Cæsarea, which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued, and put them under the government of the Roman president, and confined the whole nation, which had elevated itself so high before, within its own bounds. Moreover, he rebuilt Gadera, which had been demolished a little before, to gratify Demetrius of Gadera, who was his freed-man, and restored the rest of the cities, Hippus and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Dios, and Samaria, as also Maris and Asidus, and Janus, and Arethusa, to their own inhabitants; they were in the inland parts. Besides those that had been demolished, and also of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Doras, and Strabo's Tower, which latter was razed, which made the thing in a little time.

5. Now the occasions of this misery which came upon Jerusalem were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by raising a sedition one against the other; he now lost his liberty, and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians, and were compelled to restore it to the Syrians. Moreover, the Romans exacted of us, in a little time, above ten thousand talents; and the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly bestowed on those that were high-priests, by the right of their family, became the property of private men; but of those matters we shall treat in their proper places. Now Pompey committed Cæsarea, as far as the two Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus, with two Roman legions, and then went away to Cilicia, and thence to Rome. He also carried bound with him Aristobulus and his children; for he had many daughters, and as many sons; the one of whom ran away; but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.

CHAPTER V.

HOW SCABURS MADE A LEAGUE OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE WITH ARETAS; AND WHAT GABINIAS BECAME IN JUDEA, AFTER HE HAD CONQUERED ALEXANDER, THE SON OF ARISTOBULUS.

§ 1. Scaurus made now an expedition against Petrea, in Arabia, and set on fire all the plains round about it, because of the great difficulty of access to it; and as his army was pinsized by mine, Antipater furnished him with corn of Judea, and with whatever else he wanted, and the army was sent to Aretas as an ambassador, by Scaurus, because he had lived with him formerly, he persuaded Aretas, to give Scaurus a sum of money, to prevent the burning of his country; and undertook to send his surety for three hundred talents. So Scaurus, upon these terms, ceased to make war any longer: *

* That is on the twenty-third of Bimah, the annual fast for the dedication andidelity of Jerusalem, "who made Israel to sin," or possibly the second fast might fall into that month, before or in the days of Hophni.

† It is better here to note, that this Pharisaical superstition no more, that offensive fighting was unlawful to Jews, even under the authority of the leaders, on the sabbath-day of which we hear nothing; the times of the Maccabees, was the proper occasion of Jerusalem's being taken by Pompey, by accident, and by Titus, as appears from the places already quoted in the note on Ant. b. xiii. ch. vii. sect. 11; which expressly superstitiously, as to the observation of such a rigorous rest upon the sabbath-day, our Saviour always opposed, when the Pharisaical Jews insisted on it, as is evident in many places in the New Testament; though he still intimated how permitted that superstitious tendency may be from paradise to his right from the Romans. Matt. xxv. 95.

‡ This is fully confirmed by the testimony of Cicero, who says, in his oration for Flaccus, that "Asinus Pompeius, when he was consular, and first took Jerusalem, did not touch any thing belonging to that temple."
CHAPTER VI.

NOW GABINIUS CAUGHT ARISTOBULUS AFTER HE HAD FLED FROM ROME, AND SENT HIM BACK TO ROME AGAIN; AND HOW THE SAME GABINIUS, AS HE RETURNED OUT OF EGYPT, OVERCAME ALEXANDER AND THE NABATEANS IN BATTLE.

§ 1. Now Aristobulus ran away from Rome to Judea, and set about the rebuilding of Alexandria, which had been newly demolished: hereupon Gabinius sent soldiers against him, and for their commanders Sisenna, and Antonius, and Servilius, in order to hinder him from getting possession of the country, and to take him again; and indeed many of the Jews ran to Aristobulus on account of his former glory, as also because they should be glad of an innovation. Now there was one Pitlo- lassus, a lieutenant at Jerusalem, who deserted to him with a thousand men, although a great number of those that came to him were unarmed; and when Aristobulus had resolved to go to Macherus, he dismissed those people, because they were unarmed; for they could not be useful to him in what actions he was going about; but he took with him eight thousand that were armed, and marched on; and as the Romans fell upon them severely, the Jews fought valiantly, but were beaten in the battle; and when they had fought with alacrity, but were overcome by the enemy, they were put to flight; of whom were slain about five thousand, and the rest being dispersed, tried, as well as they were able, to save themselves. However, Aristobulus had with him still above a thousand, and with them he fled to Macherus, and fortified the place; and though he had an ill success, he still had good hope of his affairs; but when he had struggled against the siege for two days time, and had received many wounds, he was brought as a captive to Gabinius, with his son Antonius, who also fled with him from Rome; and this was the fortune of Aristobulus, who was sent back again to Rome, and was there retained in bonds, having been both king and high-priest for three years and six months; and was indeed an eminent person, and one of a great soul. However, the senate let his children go, upon Gabinius's writing to them that he had promised their mother so much when she delivered up the fortresses to him; and accordingly they then returned to Jerusalem.

2. Now when Gabinius was making an expedition against the Parthians, and had already passed over Euphrates, he changed his mind, and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom. This hath also been related elsewhere. However, Antipater supplied his army, which he sent against Archelaus, with corn, and weapons, and money. He also made those Jews who were above Pelusium his friends and confederates, and had been the guardians of the passes that led into Egypt. But when he came back out of Egypt, he found Syria in disorders, with seditions; and the name of Aristobulus, having seized on the government a second time by force, made many of the Jews revert against Gabinius at Rome, Josephus gives him a hostile cheer if he had acquitted himself with honour in the charge committed to him [in Judea]. See at the year 68. This history is best illustrated by Dr. Hudson out of Livy, who narrates this passage. Gabinius, the presumptuous Ptolemy of Egypt, and noted Archelaus, whom he had set See note at the year 64 and 63.
him; and so he marched over the country with a great army, and slew all the Romans he could light upon, and proceeded to besiege the mountain called Gerizim, whither they had retreated.

3. But when Gabinius found Syria in such a state, he sent Antipater, who was a prudent man, to those that were seditious, to try whether he could cure them of their madness, and persuade them to return to a better mind; and when he came to them, he brought many of them to a sound mind, and induced them to do what they ought to do. But he could not restrain Alexander, for he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and met Gabinius, and, joining battle with him, was beaten, and lost ten thousand of his men about Mount Tabor.

4. So Gabinius settled the affairs which belonged to the city Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination, and went against the Nabateans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner, Mithridates and Oraneas, who were Parthian deserters, and came to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinius had performed great and glorious actions, in his management of the affairs of the war, he returned to Rome, and delivered the government to Crassus. Now, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo, of Cappadocia, both describe the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews, while neither of them say anything new which is not in the other.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW CRASSUS CAME INTO JUDEA, AND PILLAGED THE TEMPLE; AND THEN MARCHED AGAINST THE PARTHIANS, AND PERISHED, WITH HIS ARMY, ALSO HOW CRASSUS OBTAINED SYRIA, AND PUT A STOP TO THE PARTHIANS, AND THEN WENT UP TO JUDEA.

§ 1. Now Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Judea, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left, being two thousand talents, and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it, which was eight thousand talents. He also took a beam, which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minas, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, and whose name was Eleazar, that gave him this beam, not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and a righteous man; but being intrusted with the custody of the vails belonging to the temple, which were of admirable beauty, and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, when he saw that Crassus was busy in gathering money, and was in fear of the entire ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold as a ransom for the whole, but this not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only, which he should give him, being worth ten thousand [shekels]. Now, this beam was contained in a wooden beam that was hollow, but was known to no others; but Eleazar alone knew it; yet did Crassus take away this beam, upon the condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple,—and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.

2. And let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all the Jews throughout the habitable earth, and those that worshipped God, nay, even those of Asia and Europe, sent their contributions to it, and this from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums without its atestation; nor is that greatness owing to our vanity, as raising it without ground is so great a height; but there are many witnesses to it, and particularly Strabo of Cappadocia, who says thus:—"Mithridates sent to Cos, and took the money which queen Cleopatra had deposited there:—as also eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews." Now we have no public money but only what appertains to God; and it is evident that the Asian Jews removed this money, out of fear Mithridates; for it is not probable that those of Judea, who had a strong city and temple, should send their money to Cos; nor is it likely that the Jews who are inhabitants of Alexandria, should so readily give up, without hesitation, all their Mithridates. And Strabo himself bears witness to the same thing in another place; that at the same time the Sylia passed over into Greece, in order to fight against Mithridates, he sent Lucullus to put an end to a sedition that our nation, of whom the habitable earth is full, had raised in Cyrene; where he spoke thus:—"There were four classes of men among those of Cyrene; that of citizens, that of Hebrews, the third of strangers, and the fourth of Jews. Now these Jews are already gotten into all cities; and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by them; and it hath come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the same governors, and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living, and maintain gods and bodies of these Jews in a peculiar manner, and grow up to greater prosperity with them, and make use of the same laws with that nation also. Accordingly, the Jews have places assigned them in Egypt, wherein they inhabit, besides what is particularly allotted to this nation at Alexandria, which is a large part of that city. There is also an alliance with them; for they allow them, who govern the cities, and distributes justice to them, and takes care of the contracts, and of the laws to them belonging, so he were the ruler of a free republic. In Egypt, therefore, this nation is powerful, because the Jews were originally Egyptians, and because the land wherein they inhabit, since they went there, is near to Egypt. They also removed into Cyrene, because that this land adjoins to the government of Egypt, as well as does Judea, or rather is formerly under the same government." And this is what Strabo says.

3. So when Crassus had settled all things so himself pleased, he marched into Parthia, where both he himself and all his army perished, as has been related elsewhere. But Caesar, as he died from Rome to Syria, took possession of it, and was an impediment to the Parthians, who, by reason of their victory over Crassus, made incursions upon it; and as he came back to Tyre, he went up to Judea also, and fell upon Tarsiche, and peace took it, and carried about thirty thousand Jews captive; and slew Ptolemaus, who succeeded Antiochus in his solemn practices, and that by the persuasion of Antipater, who proved to have great
rest in him, and was at that time in great re-
with the Idumeans also; out of which nation
married a wife, who was the daughter of one of
men, and her name was Cypros,* by whom he
four sons, Phasael, and Herod, who
himself king, and Joseph, and Phero-
and a daughter, named Salome. This Anti-
cultivated also a friendship with Phasael,
with other potentates, but especially with the
of Arabia, to whom he committed his children,
he fought against Aristobulus. So Cassius
his camp, and marched to Ephrapolis, to
that were coming to attack him, as he was
related by others.

But some time afterwards, Cassar, when he
himself to Rome, and after Pompey and the senate
to the Ionian Sea, freed Aristobulus
in his bonds, and resolved to send him into
and delivered two legions to him, that he
matters right, as being a potent man in
but Aristobulus had no enjoyment of
he hoped for from the power that was given
Cassar; for those of Pompey’s party pre-
, and destroyed him by poison; and those
party buried him. His dead body also
in a good while, embalmed in honey, till
herself sent it to Judea, and caused him
royal sepulchre. But Scipio,
uy’s sending to him to slay Alexander,
of Aristobulus, because the young man was
of what offences he had been guilty of at
against the Romans, cut off his head; and
he die at Antioch. But Ptolemy, the son
who, was the ruler of Chaleis, under
Libanus, took his brethren to him, and sent
Philippos to Askelon to Aristobulus’s wife,
her to send back with him her son
and her daughters: the one of whom,
name was Alexander, Philippos fell in love
married her; though afterwards his fa-
dom slew him, and married Alexander,
thow to take care of her brethren.

CHAPTER VIII.

WS BECOME CONFRONTED WITH CESAR.
HE FUGHT AGAINST EGYPT. THE GLO-
TIONS OF ANTIPATER, AND HIS FRIEND-
WITH CESAR. THE HONOURS WHICH THE
RECEIVED FROM THE ROMANS AND ATHE-

After Pompey was dead, and after that
esar had gained over him, Antipater, who
the Jewish affairs, became very useful to
en he made war against Egypt, and that
order of Hyrcanus; for when Mithridates
us was bringing his auxiliaries, and was
to continue his march through Pelusium,
to stay at Askelon, Antipater came to
incting three thousand of the Jews, armed
and also took care the principal men of
should come to his assistance; and
he said it was the will of all the Syrians assisted
as not willing to appear behindhand in
Cassar, viz. Jamblichus the ruler,

and Ptolemy his son, and Tholomy the son of
Socinus, who dwelt at Mount Libanus, and almost
all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of
Syracuse, and came to Pelusium; and when its in-
habitants would not admit him, he besieged the city.
Now Antipater signalized himself here, and was
the first who plucked a part of the wall, and
so opened a way to the rest, whereby they might
enter the city, and by this means Pelusium was
taken. But it happened that the Egyptian Jews,
who dwelt in the country called Oinone, would not
let Antipater and Mithridates, with their soldiers,
pass to Cassar; but Antipater persuaded them
to come over to their party, because he was of the
same people with them, and that chiefly by show-
ing them the epistles of Hyrcanus the high-priest,
wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship
with Cassar; and to supply his army with money,
and all sorts of provisions which they wanted; and
accordingly, when they saw Antipater and the high-
priest of the same sentiments, they ascribed it
to their desires. And when the Jews about Memphis
heard that these Jews were come over to Cassar,
they also invited Mithridates to come to them; so
he came and received them also into his army.

2. And when Mithridates had gone over all
Delta, as the place is called, he came to a pitched
battle with the enemy, near the place called the
Jewish Camp. Now Mithridates had the right
wing, and Antipater the left; and when it came to
fight, that wing where Mithridates was gave way,
and was likely to suffer extremely, unless Antipater
had come running to him with his own soldiers
along the shore, when he had already beaten the
enemy that opposed him; so he delivered Mithri-
dates, and put those Egyptians who had been too
hard for him to flight. He also took their camp,
and continued, in the pursuit of them. He also
recalled Mithridates, who had been worsted, and
was retired a great way off, of whose soldiers eight
hundred fell; but of Antipater’s fifty. So Mithri-
dates sent an account of this battle to Cassar, and
openly declared that Antipater was the author of
this victory, and of his own preservation; inso-
much that Cassar commended Antipater then, and
made use of him all the rest of that war in the most
hazardous undertakings: he also happened to be
wounded in one of those engagements.

3. However, when Cassar, after some time, had
finished that war, and was sailed away for Syria,
he honoured Antipater greatly, and confirmed Hyr-
canus in the high-priesthood; and bestowed on
Antipater the privilege of a citizen of Rome, and a
freedom from taxes everywhere; and it is reported
by many, that Hyrcanus went along with Antipater
in this expedition, and came himself into Egypt.
And Strabo of Cappadocia bears witness to this,
when he says thus, in the name of Ausinus:
“After Mithridates had invaded Egypt, and with
him Hyrcanus the high-priest of the Jews.” Nay,
the same Strabo says thus again, in another place,
in the name of Hypsicrates, that “Mithridates at
first went out alone; but that Antipater, who had
the care of the Jewish affairs, was called by him
to Askelon, and that he had gotten ready three
thousand soldiers to go along with him, and encor-
aged other governors of the country to go alone
with him also; and that Hyrcanus the high-priest
was also present in this expedition.” This is what
Strabo says.

4. But Antigonus, the son of Aristob
at this time to Caesar, and lamented his father's fate; and complained, that it was by Antipater's means that Aristobulus was taken up by poison, and his brother was beheaded by Scipio, and desired that he would take pity of him who had been one of the great men, and which was due to him. He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater as governing the nation by violence, and offering injuries to himself. Antipater was present, and made his defence as to the accusations that were laid against him. He demonstrated, that Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and were seditious persons. He also put Caesar in mind what difficult services he had undergone when he assisted him in his wars, and discoursed about what he was a witness of himself: He added, that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one that was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be a friend to them, and that his brother had no more than he deserved from Scipio, as being seized in committing robberies; and that this punishment was not inflicted on him in a way of violence or injustice by him that did it.

5. When Antipater had made this speech, Caesar appointed Hyrcanus to be high-priest, and gave Antipater what principality he himself should choose, leaving the determination to himself; so he made him procurator of Judea. He also gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up the walls of his own city, upon his asking that favour of him, for they had been demolished by Pompey. And this grant he sent to the consul of Rome, to be engraved in the capitol. The decree of the senate was this that follows: *"Lucius Valerius, the son of Lucius the praetor, referred this to the senate, upon the Ideas of December, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree Lucius Coponius, the son of Lucius of the Colline tribe, and Papius of the Quarum tribe, concerning the affairs which Alexander, the son of Jason, and Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander, the son of Diodorus, ambassador of the Jews, good and worthy men proposed, who came to request that league of good-will and friendship with the Romans which was in being before. They also brought a shield of gold, as a mark of confederacy, valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold; and desired that letters might be given them, directed both to the free cities and to the kings, that their country and their haven might be at peace, and that no one among them might receive any injury. It therefore pleased [the senate] to make a league of friendship and good-will with them, and to bestow on them whatsoever they stood in need of, and to accept of the shield which was brought by them.

This was done in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high-priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus." Hyrcanus also received honours from the people of Athens, as having been useful to them on many occasions; and when they wrote to him, they sent him this decree, as it here follows: *"Under the prutaneia and priesthhood of Dionysus, the son of

Esculapius, on the fifth day of the latter part of the month Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders, when Agathocles was archon, and Eudicus, the son of Munnar of Alimucus, was the scribe. In the month May, in the fourteenth of the month of Paurus, a council of the presidents was held in the theatre. Dorotheus the high-priest, and the fellow-presidents with him, put it to the vote of the people. Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, gave the sentence. Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, continues to bear good-will to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambassadors, or on any occasion of their own, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are conducted back in safety, of which we have had several former testimonies: it is now also decreed, in the report of Theodosius, the son of Theodorus, and upon his putting the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his purpose is to do us all the good that is, in his power, to honour him with a crown of gold, the usual reward accorded to the law, and to erect his statue in brass in the temple of Demus and of the Graces; and that this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publicly in the theatre, in the Dionysian shows, while the tragedies are acting; and in the Panathenaean, Eleusinian, and Gymnical shows also; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and preserves his good-will to us, to return all possible honour and favour to the man, for his affection and generosity; that by his treatment it may appear how our people receive the good kindly, and repay them a suitable reward and may be induced to proceed in his affections towards us, by the honours we have already given him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him, and desire him to accept the honours sent to him, and to endeavour always to be doing some good to our city." And this shall suffice us to have spoken, as the honours that were paid by the Romans and by the people of Athens to Hyrcanus.

CHAPTER IX.

HOW ANTIPATER COMMITTED THE CARE OF HIS SON TO THE ELDERS, AND THAT OF JERUSALEM TO ELIAS ELI; AS ALSO, HOW HEROD, UPON THE JEWISH ENVY AT ANTIPATER, WAS ACCUSED BEFORE HYRCANUS.

§ 1. Now when Caesar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away; and as soon as Antipater had conducted Caesar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then immediately raised the sum which had been thrown down by Pompey; and, on coming thither, he pacified that tumult which had been in the country, and this by both threats and advising them to be quiet; for the future he would be a friend to Hyrcanus, and would frequently visit him, and lead their lives without disturbances, and the enjoyment of their own possessions; but if they were addicted to the hopes of what might come of innovation, and aimed to get wealth thereby, they should have him a severe master, instead of a

* Taka Dr. Hudson's note upon this place, which I suppose to be the truth. * Here is some mistake in Josephus, for whom he had promised to write an account of the affairs of Egypt, if he put in the greater antiquity, and that a league of friendship and union only. Our Roman authority is from Hadrian, who, in his letter written to Josephus, gave order for one thing, and his ambassadors performed another, by transposing decrees that concerned the Hyrcanians and as defined by the same of the laws; for that which is in the first high-priest of this period (John Hyrcanus). Josephus here describes as one that lived later [Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander Jannaeus]. However, the decree which he proposes to set down follows a little later, in the collection of Roman decrees that concern the Jews, and to that dated when Caesar was consul the fifth time." Sec. ib. sect. 5.
governor, and Hyrcanus a tyrant instead of a king, and the Romans, together with Caesar, their ruler, enemies, instead of rulers, for that they would not bear him to be set aside from whom they had appealed to for help. And when Antipater had said to them, he himself settled the affairs of this city.

And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and tarlike character, he made Phasaelus, his eldest son, ruler of Jerusalem, and of the places that were t, but committed Galilee to Herod, his next son who was then a very young man, for he was fourteen years of age; but that youth of his was expedient to him; but as he was a man of good mind, he presently met with an opportunity seizing his courage; for, finding there was a band of robbers, who, at the neighbouring ports of Syria with a great deal of them, he seized him and slew him, as well at number of the other robbers that were there; for for which action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians; for when they were very desirous to his country far from this nest of robbers, ged it of them; so they sung songs in his adoration in their villages and cities, and favored them peace and the secure enjoyment of possessions; and, on this account it became known to Sextus Caesar, who was son of the great Caesar, and was now presiding in Syria. Now Phasaelus, Herod's brother, lived with emulation at his actions, and feared the fame he had thereby gotten, and became as not to be behind-hand with him in deed: so he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem to him the greatest good-will while he held himself, but did not manage his affairs properly, nor abuse his authority therein. This procured from the nation to Antipater as is due to kings, and such honours, that when he was out of the way, he became even as great, and was the first to seek him out. But now the principal men among the Jews, saw Antipater and his sons to grow so great; and the nation bare to them, and various which they received out of Judea, of Hyrcanus's own wealth, they devolved to him; for indeed Antipater had con-friendship with the Roman emperors; he had prevailed with Hyrcanus to send money, he took it to himself, and purloined it intended, and sent it as if it were his not Hyrcanus's gift to him. Hyrcanus this management, but took no care about him rather was glad of it; but the chief of Jews were therefore in fear, because that Herod was a violent and bold man, desirous of acting tyrannically; so they hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater d said to him, "How long will thou bear such actions as are now done! Or dost see that Antipater and his sons have raised upon the government, and that it is

only the name of a king which is given thee! But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee; nor do thou think to escape danger by being careless of thyself and of thy kingdom; for Antipater and his son are not now stewards of this house; do not thou deceive thyself with such a notion; they are evidently absolute lords; for Herod, Antipater's son, had slain Herodion and those that were with him, and hath thereby transgressed our law, which hath forbidden to slay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unless he had been first condemned to suffer death by the sanhedrin, yet hath he been so insolent as to do this, and that without any authority from thee."

Upon Hyrcanus hearing this he complied with them. The mothers also of those who had been slain by Herod raised his indignation; for those women continued every day in the temple, persuading the king and the people that Herod might undergo a trial before the sanhedrin for what he had done. Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came; but his father had persuaded him to come not like a private man, but with a guard, for the security of his person; and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could for his own advantage, he should come to his trial, but still with a body of men sufficient for his security on his journey, yet so that he should not come so great a force as might look like terrorizing Hyrcanus, but still such a one as might not expose him naked and unguarded to his enemies. However, Sextus Caesar, president of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, and desired him to clear Herod, and dismiss him at his trial, and threatened him beforehand if he did not do it. Which epistle of his was the occasion of Hyrcanus delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the sanhedrin, for he loved him as his own son; but when Herod stood before the sanhedrin, with his body of men about him, he infringed them all, and no one of his former accusers dared after that bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done. When affairs stood thus, one whose name was Sameas, a righteous man he was, and for that reason above all fear, rose up, and said, "O you that are assessors with me, and O thou that art our king, I neither have ever myself known such a case, nor do I suppose that any one of you can name its parallel, that one who is called to take his trial by us ever stood in such a manner before us; but every one, however he be, that comes to be tried by this sanhedrin, presents himself in a submissive manner, and like one that is in fear of himself, and that endeavours to move our compassion, with his hair dishevelled, and in a black and mournful garment: but this admirable man Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so heavy an accusation, stands here clothed in purple, and with the hair of his head finely trimmed, and with his armed men about him, that if we shall condemn him by our law, we may slay us, and by overbearing justice
may himself escape death; yet do not I make this complaint against Herod himself: he is to be sure more concerned for himself than for the laws; but my complaint is against yourselves and your king, who give him a licence so to do. However, take you notice, that God is great, and that this very man, whom you are going to absolve and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanius, will one day punish both you and your king himself also.” Nor did Simeon mistake in any part of this prediction; for when Herod had received the kingdom, he slew all the members of this sanhedrin, and Hyrcanius himself also, excepting Simeon, for he had a great honour for his own account of his righteousness, and because, when the city was afterwards besieged by Herod and Susias, he persuaded the people to admit Herod into it; and told them, that for their sins they would not be able to escape his hands:—which things will be related by us in their proper places.

5. But when Hyrcanias saw that the members of the sanhedrin were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial to another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to fly out of the city; for that by this means he might escape. So he retired to Damascus, as though he fled from the king; and when he had been with Sextus Caesar, and had put his own affairs in a sure posture, he resolved to do thus:—That in case he were again summoned before the sanhedrin to take his trial, he would not obey that summons. Hereupon the members of the sanhedrin had great indignation at this posture of affairs, and endeavoured to persuade Hyrcanias that all these things were against him; which state of matters he was not ignorant of; but his temper was so unmanly and so foolish, that he was able to do nothing at all; but when Sextus had made Herod general of the army of Cappadocia, for he sold him that post for money, Hyrcanias was in feart lest Herod should make war upon him; nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him, for Herod came, and brought an army along with him to fight with Hyrcanias, as being angry at the trial he had been summoned to undergo before the sanhedrin; but his father Antipater, now king, feared Herod, and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also pacified his vehement temper, and persuaded him to do no overt action, but only to afford them with their men, and to proceed no further against one who had given him the dignity he had; they also desired him not only to be angry that he was summoned, and obliged to come to his trial, but to remember withal how he was dismissed without condemnation, and how he ought to give Hyrcanias thanks for the same; and that he was not to regard only what was disagreeable to him, but to be thankful for his deliverance. So they desired him to consider, that since it is God that turns the scales of war, there is great uncertainty in the issue of battles, and that therefore he ought not to expect the victory when he should fight with his king, and him that had supported him, and bestowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing of itself very severe to him; for that his accusation, which was derived from evil counsellors, and not from himself, had rather the suspicion of some severity, than any thing really severe in it. Herod was persuaded by these arguments, and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a show of his strength before the nation, and done no more to it,—and in this were the affairs of Judea at this time.

CHAPTER X.

THE HONOURS THAT WERE PAID THE JEWS; IN THE LEAGUES THAT WERE MADE BY THE ROMANS, AND OTHER NATIONS, WITH THEM.

§ 1. Now when Caesar was come to Rome, he was already ready to sail into Africa to fight against Scipio and Cato, when Hyrcanias sent ambassadors to him, and by them desired that he would ratify the league of friendship and mutual alliances which was between them; and it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperors paid to our nation, and of the leagues of mutual assistance that they made with it, that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Rome have had to us, and that they have been abundantly satisfied of our courage and fidelity; for whereas many will not believe what has been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are not everywhere met with, nor do lie in public places, but must be sought for and read; and certain other barbarians, while there is no contradiction to be made against the decrees of the Romans, for they are laid down in the public places of the cities, and are engraved in the capitol, and engraved upon pillars of brass, besides this, Julius Caesar made a league of brass for the Jews at Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexander. Out of these evidences will I demonstrate what I say; and will now set down the decrees made by the Senate and by Julius Caesar, which relate to Hyrcanias and to our nation.

2. “Caius Julius Caesar, imperator and high-priest, and dictator the second time, to the enerates, senate, and people of Sidon, sends greeting. If you be in health, it is well. I also, the army are well. I have sent you a copy of that decree, registered in the table, which concerns Hyrcanias, the son of Alexander, the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be openly proposed in a table of brass, both in Greek and in Latin. It is as follows:—I Julius Caesar, imperator the second time, and high-priest, have made this decree, with the approbation of the Senate: Whereas Hyrcanias, the son of Alexander, the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and firmness about our affairs, and this both more and more, both in peace and in war, inasmuch as many of our generals have been our witnesses, and came to us in assistance in the Alexandrian war, with five hundred soldiers; and when he was sent up to Mithridates, showed himself superior in talent to all the rest of that army; for these reasons will I that Hyrcanias, the son of Alexander, and his children be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high-priesthood of the Jews for ever, according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he shall...”
canus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as a
tribute of that city, from those that occupy the
land, for the country, and for what they export
every year to Sidon, twenty thousand six hundred
and seventy-five modii every year, the seventh
year, which they call the Sabbath Year, excepted;
whereon they neither plough, nor receive the pro-
duct of their trees. It is also the pleasure of the
senate, that as to the villages which are in the
great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers
formerly possessed, Hyrcanus and the Jews have
them, with the same privileges with which they
formerly had them also; and that the same original
ordinances remain still in force which concern
the Jews with regard to their high-priests; and
that they enjoy the same benefits which they have had
formerly by the concession of the people, and of the
senate; and let them enjoy the like privileges in
Lydda. It is the pleasure also of the senate, that
Hyrcanus the etharch, and the Jews, retain those
lands, countries, and cities which belonged to the
kings of Syria and Phoenicia, the confederates of
the Romans, and which they had bestowed on
them as their free gifts. It is also granted to Hy-
rcanus, and to his sons, and to the ambassadors by
the senate, to send to them, in the fights between
single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall sit
among the senators to see those shows; and that
when they desire an audience, they shall be intro-
duced into the senate by the dictator, or by the
general of the horse; and when they have intro-
duced them, their answers shall be returned to them
ten days at the farthest, after the decree of the
senate is made about their affairs.”

7. “Caius Caesar, imperator, dictator the fourth
time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be per-
petual dictator, made this speech concerning the
rights and privileges of Hyrcanus, the son of Alex-
ander, the high-priest and etharch of the Jews.
Since those emperors* that have been in the pro-
vinces before me have borne witness to Hyrcanus
the high-priest of the Jews, and to the Jews them-
Selves, and this before the senate and people of
Rome, when the people and senate returned
thanks to them, it is good that we now also re-
member the same, and provide that a requital be
made to Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to
the sons of Hyrcanus, by the senate and people of
Rome, and that suitably to what good-will they
have shown us, and to the benefits they have be-
stowed upon us.”

8. “Julius Caesar, praetor [consul] of Rome, to
the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parian,
sends greeting. The Jews of Delos, and some
other Jews that sojourn there, in the presence of
your ambassadors, signified to us, when you
ordered, you forbade them to make use of the cus-
toms of their forefathers, and their way of sacred
worship. Now it does not please me that such de-
crees should be made against our friends and con-
 federationes, whereby they are forbidden to live ac-
cording to their customs, or to bring in con-
tributions for common suppers and holy festivals,
while they are not forbidden so to do even at Rome
itself; for even Caius Caesar, our imperator and
consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Bac-

* Dr. HUDSON justly supposes, that the Roman Emperors, or gene-
or of emperors, meant both here and sect. 2, who gave testimony to hy-
rcanus and the Jews' faithfulness and good-will to the Romans, the
private Pompey, Brutus, and Cassius; of all whom Josephus
already gives us this history, so far as the Jews were concerned.
chanal rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit these Jews, and these only, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, when I forbid other Bacechanal rioters, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you, that if you have made any decree against these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same, by reason of their virtue, and kind disposition to wards us."

9. Now after Caius was slain, when Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella were consules, they both assembled the senate, and introduced Hyrcanus's ambassadors into it, and discoursed of what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed, to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work, may have ready by them a demonstration of the truth of what we say.

10. The decree of the senate, copied out of the treasury, from the public tables belonging to the questors, when Quintus Rutilius and Caius Cornelius were questors, and taken out of the second table of the first class, on the third day before the ides of April, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Calpurnius Piso, of the Memenian tribe, Servius Papinius Postius of the Lemolian tribe, Caius Caius Lucius Ruitilius of the Terentine tribe, Publius Tidius, Lucius Apellus, the son of Lucius, the Sergian tribe, Fabius, the son of Lucius, of the Lemolian tribe, Publius Plaadius, the son of Publius, of the Papyrian tribe, Marcus Aelius, the son of Marcus, of the Medean tribe, Marcus Ercucius, the son of Lucius, of the Stellatine tribe, Marcus Quintus Plancillus, the son of Marcus, of the Pollian tribe, and Publius Serius. Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, the consules, made this reference to the senate, that as to those things which, by the decree of the senate, Caius Caesar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that decree been brought into the treasury, it is our will, as it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, our consules, to have these decrees put into the public tables, and brought to the city quators, that they may take care to have them put upon the double tables. This was done before the fifth of the ides of February, in the temple of Concord. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high-priest were these:—Lysonachus, the son of Pausanias, Alexander, the son of Theodorus, Patrocles, the son of Chereas, and Julian, the son of Alexander, the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, appeared before me, to show that his exeterns could not go into their armies, because they are not allowed to bear arms, or to travel on the Sab-thay-days, nor there to procure themselves those sorts of food which they have been used to sustin the times of their forefathers,—I do therefore grant them a freedom from going into the army, as the former prefects have done, and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as the law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices; and my will is, that you write to the several cities under your jurisdiction.

13. And these were the concessions that Dolabella made to our nation when Hyrcanus sent an embassy to him; but Lucius the consul's decree ran thus:—"I have at my tribunal set thse Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going into the army, or any thing they are under. This was done before the third of the calends of October, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus were consules, in the presence of Titus Appius Baalus, the son of Titus, and legate of the Hordian tribe; of Titus Terge, the son of Titus, of the Crustumine tribe; of Titus Resius, the son of Quintus; of Titus Pompatus Longius, the son of Titus; of Caius Servilius, the son of Caius, of the Terentine tribe; of Caius the military tribune; of Publius Lucius Caius, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe; of Caius Sergius, the son of Caius, of the Sabean tribe; of Titus Attius Bulbus, the son of Titus, legate and vice-pretor to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. Lucius Lentulus the consul freed the Jews that are in Ephesus from going into the armies, at my intercession for them; and when I had made the same peace some time afterward to Phanius the prefect, and Lucius Antonius the vice-quester, I obtained the privilege of them also; and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any disturbance." The decree of the Prefect of the pretors, when Beatus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Tharguleon. While Marcus Piso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed over the choice of the soldiers, the cavalry, and many other of the citizens, and gave orders that if there be here any Jews who are Roman citizens, no one is to give them any disturbance about going into the army, because Cornelius Lentulus, the consule, freed the Jews from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under; you are therefore obliged to submit to the pretor;"—and the like decree was made by the Sardians about us also.

15. "Caius Phanius, the son of Caius, imperial and consul, to the magistrates of Ces, sendeth greeting. I would have you know that the ambassadors of the Jews have been with me, and decrees they might have those decrees which the senate made about them: which decrees are one subjoined. My will is, that you have a regard and take care of these men, according to the senate's decree, that they may be safely conducted home through your country."
5. "Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, vic- 
estor, and vice-pretor, to the magistrates, 
and people of the Sardians, sendeth greetings.

6. Those Jews that are our fellow-citizens of Rome, 
to me, and demonstrated that they had an 
only of their own, according to the laws of 
forefathers, and this from the beginning, 
place of their own, wherein they determined 
suits and controversies with one another.

7. In their petition therefore to me, that these 
not be lawful for them, I give order that these 
privileges be preserved, and they be permitted 
accordingly.

8. The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son 
Pompeius, and of Marcus, the son of Marcus, and 
theo, the son of Publius:—We went to the 
and informed him of what Dositheus, 
son of Cleopatra of Alexandria, desired, that 
thought good, he would dismiss those Jews 
were Roman citizens, and were wont to observe 
ites of the Jewish religion, on account of the 
ition they were under. Accordingly he did 
as them. This was done before the thirteenth 
calends of October."

9. In the month Quintilis, when Lucius Len- 
Caius Marcellus were consuls; and there 
exist Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, 
ant of the Horatian tribe, Titus Togus of 
triumph, in the same line, Quintus Rustius, the son of 
us, Titus Pomponius, the son of Titus, Corne- 
lius, Caius Servilius Bracchus, the son of 
ary tribe, of the Terentian tribe, 
as Caius Gallius, the son of Publius, of the 
an tribe, Caius Tenthia, the son of Caius, a 
ary tribe, of the Eumelian tribe, Sextus Atti- 
trinas, the son of Sextus, of the Esquiline 
ium of Pompeius, the son of Caius, of the 
s the tribe, Titus Appius Menander, the son 
us, Publius Servilius Strabo, the son of Pub- 
aeus Capito, the son of Lucius of 
line tribe, Aulus Furius Petrus, the son of 
us, and Appius Menas. In the presence of these 
that Lutullus pronounced this decree: I have 
the tribunal dismissed those Jews that are 
citizens, and are accustomed to observe 
rites of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of 
erituation they are under.

10. The magistrates of the Lucidians to Caius 
us, the son of Caius, the consul, sendeth 
g. Sopater, the ambassador of Hyrcanus 
-priest, hath delivered us an epistle from 
hereby he lets us know that certain ambassadors 
were sent from Hyrcanus, the high-priest 
 Jews, and brought an epistle written con- 
g the nation, wherein they desire that they 
ay be allowed to observe their Sabbath 
d rites, according to the laws of their 
ers, and that they may be under no con- 
ecause they are our friends and confed- 
and that nobody may injure them in our 
e. Now although the Trallians there 
contradicted them, and were not pleased with 
epistle, yet did thou give order that they 
forbid it. It is informed us that thou 
been desired to write this to us about them. 
therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we 
ceived from thee, have received the epistle 
shent us, and have laid it up by itself 
among our public records; and as to the other 
thing which thou didst send to us, we will 
take care that no complaint be made against us."

11. "Publius Servilius, the son of Publius, of 
the Galban tribe, the proconsul, to the magistrates, 
and people of the Miliscians, sendeth greetings. 
Pftyanes, the son of Hermas, a citizen of 
yours, came to me when I was at Tralles, and held 
a court there, and informed me that you used 
the Jews in a way different from my opinion, and for 
bade them to celebrate their Sabbath, and to 
perform the sacred rites received from their 
heral, and to manage the fruits of the earth accord- 
ging to their ancient custom; and that he had him- 
self been the promulger of your decree, according 
as your laws require; I would therefore have you 
now, that upon hearing the pleadings on both 
sides, I gave sentence that the Jews should not be 
prohibited to make use of their own customs.

12. The decree of those of Pergamus:—When 
Caius Caicus was praetor, and the 12th of 
month Desius, the decree of the pretors was this: 
Since the Romans, following the conduct of their 
ancestors, undertake dangers for the common safety of 
all mankind, and are ambitious to settle their 
confederates and their friends in happiness, and in 
firm peace, and since the nation of the Jews, and 
their high-priest Hyrcanus, sent as ambassadors to 
them, Strató and the son of Theodos, and Apollonius, 
and the son of Alexander, and Icas, the son of Ani- 
pater, and Aristobulus, the son of Amyntas, and 
Scipio, the son of Philip, worthy and good men, 
who gave a particular account of their affairs, the 
senate thereupon made a decree about what they 
had desired of them, that Antiocchus the king, 
the son of Antiocchus, should do no injury to the Jews, 
the confederates of the Romans; and that the 
fortresses and the havens, and the country, and 
whatsoever else has taken from them, should be 
restored to them; and that it may be for them 
to export their goods out of their own havens; and 
that no king nor people may have leave to export 
any goods, either out of the country of Judæa, or 
out of their havens, without paying customs, but 
only Ptolemy, the king of Alexandria, because he 
is our confederate and friend: and that, according 
to their desire, the garrison that is in Joppa may 
be ejected. Now Lucius Pettius, one of our 
mentors, a worthy and good man, gave order that we 
ought to take care that these things should be done 
according to the senate’s decree; and that we 
ought to take care also that their ambassadors might 
return home in safety. Accordingly we admitted 
Theodorus into our senate and assembly, and took 
the epistle out of his hands, as a copy of the decree 
of the senate: and as he discoursed with great zeal 
about the Jews, and described Hyrcanus’s virtue 
and generosity, and how he was a benefactor to all 
men in common, and particularly to every body 
that comes to him, we laid up the epistle in our 
public records; and made a decree ourselves, that 
since we also are in confederacy with the Romans, 
we would do every thing we could for the Jews, 
according to the senate’s decree. Theodorus also, 
who brought the epistle, desired of our prectors, 
that they would send Hyrcanus a copy of that 
decree, as also ambassadors to signify to him the 
affection of our people to him, and to exhort them 
to preserve and augment their friendship for us, and 
be ready to bestow other benefits upon us, as 
justly expecting to receive proper requitals from
us; and desiring them to remember that our ancestors were friendly to the Jews, even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all the Hebrews, as we have also found it set down in our public records.

23. The decree of those of Halicarnassus. "When Memon, the son of Orestides by descent, but by adoption of Eunomius, was priest, on the 12th day of the month Aristion, the decree of the people, upon the representation of Marcus Alexander, was this: Since we have ever a great regard to pieté towards God, and to holiness; and since we aim to fortify the people of Halicarnassus by the strength of our wisdom, which is a common wisdom, in the education of all men, and what they have written to us about a league of friendship and mutual assistance between the Jews and our city, and that their sacred offices and accustomed festivals and assemblies may be observed by them; we have decreed, that as many men and women of the Jews as are willing so to do, may celebrate their Sabbaths, and perform their holy offices, according to the Jewish laws; and may make their prosenicon at the seashore, according to the customs of their forefathers; and if any one, shall it be a magistrate, or any person who hindereth them from so doing, he shall be liable to a fine, to be applied to the uses of the city."

24. The decree of the Sardians. "This decree was made by the senate and people, upon the representation of the pretors:—Whereas those Jews who are our fellow-citizens, and live with us in this city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon them by the people, and have come now into the senate, and desired of the people, that upon the restitution of their law and their liberty, by the senate and people of Rome, they may assemble together according to their ancient legal custom, and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and that a place may be given them where they may have their congregations, with their wives and children, and may offer, as did their forefathers, their prayers and sacrifices to God. Now the senate and people have decreed to permit them to assemble together on the days formerly appointed, and to act according to their own laws; and that such a place be set apart for them by the pretors, for the building and inhabiting the same, as they shall esteem fit for that purpose; and that those that take care of the provisions for the city, shall take care that such sort of food as they esteem fit for their eating, may be imported into the city."

25. The decree of the Ephesians. "When Menophius was prytanis, on the first day of the month Artemisius, this decree was made by the people:—Nicanor, the son of Ephemus, pronounced it, upon the representation of the pretors. Since the Jews that resided in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius, their proconsul, that they might be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, without impediment from any body, the pretor hath granted their petition. Accordingly, it was decreed by the senate and people, that in this affair that concerned the Romans, no one of them should be hindered from keeping the Sabbath-day, nor be fined for so doing; but that they may be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."

26. Now there are many such decrees of the senate and emperors of the Romans, and those different from these before us, which have been made in favour of Hyrcanus, and of our nation; so also, there have been more decrees of the cities, and rescripts of the pretors to such epistles as concerned our rights and privileges; and certainly such as are not ill-disposed to what we write, may believe that they are all to this purpose, and that by the specimens which we have inserted: for since we have produced evident marks that may still be seen, of the friendship we have had with the Romans, and demonstrated that those marks are engraved upon columns and tables of brass in the capitol, that are still in being, and preserved to this day, that have once been done, be as needless and disgraceful; for I cannot suppose any one so perverse as not to believe the friendship we have had with the Romans, while they have demonstrated the same by such a great number of their decrees relating to us; nor will they doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of these decrees, since we have shown the same in those we have produced. And thus have we sufficiently explained that friendship and confederacy we at those times had with the Romans.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW MARCUS SUCCEEDED SEXTUS WHEN HE HAD BEEN SLAIN BY BASSUS'S TREACHERY; AND HOW, AFTER THE DEATH OF CASAR, CASSIUS CAME INTO SYRIA, AND DISTRESSED JUDEA; AS ALSO, HOW MALICHUS SLEW ANTIPATER, AND WAS HIMSELF SLAIN BY HEROD.

§ 1. Now it so fell out, that about this very time the affairs of Syria were in great disorder, and this on the occasion following: Cæcilius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, laid a treacherous design against Sextus Caesar, and slew him, and then took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his own hand; so there arose a great war about Apamia, while Caesar's generals came against him with an army of horsemen and footmen; to these Antipater sent also succours, and his sons with them, as calling to mind the kindnesses they had received from Caesar, and on that account he thought it but just to require punishment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus came from Rome to take..."
Sixtus's government upon him; but Caesar was slain by Cassius and Brutus in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months. This fact, however, is related elsewhere.

2. As the war that arose upon the death of Caesar was now begun, and the principal men were all gone, some one way, and some another, to raise armies, Cassius came from Rome into Syria, in order to receive the [army that lay in the] camp at Apamia; and having raised the siege, he brought over both Bassus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and got together weapons and soldiers, and laid great taxes upon those cities; and he chiefly oppressed Judea, and exacted of it seven hundred talents; but Antipater, when he saw the state to be in so great consternation and disorder, he divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his sons to gather it; and so that part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill-disposed to him, and part by others. And because Herod did exact what is required of him from Galilee before others, he was in the greatest favour with Cassius; for he thought it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their good-will at the expense of others; whereas the curators of other cities, with their citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities into a state of slavery, the two most potent of which were Gophnah and Emmaus; and, besides these, Lydda and Thamna. Nay, Cassius was so very angry at Malichus, that he had killed him (for he assaulted him) had not Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, sent him an hundred talents of his own, and thereby pacified his anger against him.

3. But after Cassius was gone out of Judea, Malichus laid snares for Antipater, as thinking that his death would be the preservation of Hyrcanus's government; but his design was not unknown to Antipater, which, when he perceived, he retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However, Malichus being one of great cunning, denied that he had laid any snares for him, and made his defence with an oath, both to himself and his sons; and said that while Phassalus had a garrison in Jerusalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in his custody, he could never have thought of any such thing. So Antipater, perceiving the distress that Malichus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him; this was when Malichus was president of Syria; who yet perceiving that this Malichus was making a disturbance in Judea, proceeded so far that he had almost killed him; but still, at the intercession of Antipater, he saved him.

4. However, Antipater little thought that by saving Malichus, he had saved his own murderer: for now Cassius and Marcus had got together an army, and intrusted the entire care of it with Herod, and made him general of the forces of Cæsaria, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horsemen and footmen; and promised him, that after the war was over, they would make him king of Judea; for a war was already begun between Antony and the younger Caesar; but as Malichus was most afraid of Antipater, he took him out of the way; and by the offer of money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus, with whom they were both to feast, to kill him by poison. This being done, and he having armed men with him, settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phassalus, were acquainted with this conspiracy against their father, and had indignation at it, Malichus armed all, and utterly renounced any knowledge of the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man that had distinguished himself for piety and justice, and love to his country. And whereas one of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately to revenge their father's death, and was coming upon Malichus with an army for that purpose, the elder of his sons, Phassalus, thought it best rather to get this man into their hands by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country; so he accepted of Malichus's defence for himself, and pretended to believe him; but having in the violent death of Antipater his father but erected a fine monument for him. Herod also went to Samaria; and when he found them in great distress, he revived their spirits, and composed their differences.

5. However, a little after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival, came with his soldiers into the city; whereupon Malichus was affrighted, and persuaded Hyrcanus not to permit him to come into the city. Hyrcanus complied; and, for a pretence of excluding him, alleged that he ought not to be admitted while the multitude were purifying themselves. But Herod had little regard to the messengers that were sent to him, and entered the city in the night-time, and affrighted Malichus, yet did he remit nothing of his former dissimulation, but wept for Antipater, and bewailed him as a friend of his, with a loud voice; but Herod and his friends thought it proper not openly to contradict Malichus's hypocrisy, but to give him tokens of mutual friendship, in order to prevent his suspicion of them.

6. However, Herod sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father; who knowing what sort of man Malichus was as to his morals, sent him back word, that he should revenge his father's death; and also sent privately to the commanders of his army at Tyre, with orders to assist Herod in the execution of a very just design of his. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea, they all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money: and Herod thought that Malichus might be punished while he was there; but he was somewhat apprehensive of the design, and inclined to make some great attempt, and because his son was then an hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and resolved to steal him away privately, and to march thence into Judea; and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himself. But providence opposed his counsels; and Herod being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, he sent thither beforehand a servant, in appearance indeed to get a supper ready, for he had said before, that he would feast them all there, but in reality to the commanders of the army, whom he persuaded to go out against Malichus with their daggers. So they went out and met the man near the city, upon the sea-shore, and there stabbed him. Whereupon Hyrcanus was so astonished at what had happened, that his speech failed him; and when, after some difficulty, he had recovered himself, he asked Herod what the matter could be, and who it was that slew Malichus: and when he said that it was done by...
the command of Cassius, he commenced the action; for that Malichus was a very wicked man, and one that conspired against his own country. And this was the punishment that was inflicted upon Malichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

7. But when Cassius was marched out of Syria, disturbances arose in Judea: for Felix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sudden attempt against Phasaelus, and the people themselves rose in arms; but Herod went to Fabius, the prefect of Damascus, and was desirous to call in his brother's assistance, but was hindered by a dis-temper that seized upon him, till Phasaelus himself had been too hard for Felix, and had shut him up in the tower, and there, on certain conditions, dismissed him. Phasaelus also complained of Hyrcanus, that although he had received a great many benefits from them, yet did he support their enemies; for Malichus's brother had made many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them, and particularly Masada, the strongest fortress of them all. In the meantime, Herod was recovered of his disease, and came and took from Felix all the places he had gotten; and, upon certain conditions, dismissed him also.

CHAPTER XII.

HEROD EJECTS ANTIGONUS, THE SON OF ARISTOBULUS, OUT OF JUDEA, AND GAINS THE FRIENDSHIP OF ANTONY, WHO WAS NOW COMING TO SYRIA, BY SENDING HIM MUCH MONEY; ON WHICH ACCOUNT HE WOULD NOT ADMIT OF THOSE THAT WOULD HAVE ACCUSED HEROD: AND WHAT IT WAS THAT ANTONY WROTE TO THE TYRIANS IN BEHALF OF THE JEWS.

§ 1. Now Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, brought back into Judea, Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who had already raised an army, and had, by money, made Fabius to be his friend, and this because he was of kin to him. Marion also gave him assistance. He had been left by Cassius to tyrannize over Tyre; for this Cassius was a man that seized on Syria, and then kept it under, in the way of a tyrant. Marion also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighbourhood, and took three of its fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when Herod came, he took all from him; but the Tyrian garrison he dismissed in a very civil manner; nay, to some of the soldiers he made presents out of the good-will he bare to that city. When he had dispatched these affairs, and was gone from Tyre. He came in kind of haste with him, and beat him, and drove him out of Judea presently, when he was just come into its borders; but when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands about his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as being to marry the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus; by which wife he became the father of three male and two female children. He had also married before this another wife, out of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

2. Now Antony and Caesar had beaten Cassius near Philippi, as others have related; but after the victory, Caesar went into Gaul [Italy], and Antony marched into Asia, when he who was arrived at Bithynia, he had ambassadors that met him from all parts. The principal men also of the Jews came thither, to accuse Phasaelus and Herod, and they said that Hyrcanus had indeed the appearance of reigning, but that these men had all the power; but Antony paid great respect to Herod, who was come to him to make his defence against his accusers, on which account his adversaries could not so much as obtain a hearing; which favour Herod had gained of Antony by money; but still, when Antony was come to Phasa-elu, and he had been made a priest, and our nation, sent an embassy to him, which carried a crown of gold with them, and desired that he would write to the governors of provinces, to set those Jews free who had been carried captive by Cassius, and this without their having fought against him, and to restore them that country which, in the days of Cassius, had been taken from them. Antony thought the Jews' desires were just, and wrote immediately to Hyrcanus, and to the Jews. He also sent at the same time, a decree to the Tyrians; the contents of which were to the same purpose.

3. "Marcus Antony, imperator, to Hyrcanus the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, sendeth greeting. If you be in health, it is well; I am also in health, with the army. Lyсимachus, the son of Pausanias, and Josephus, the son of Menneus, and Alexander, the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, met me at Ephesus, and have renewed the embassy which they had formerly been upon at Rome, and have diligently acquainted themselves of the present embassy, which thou and thy nation have to make to them, and have sending the good will thou hast for us. I am therefore satisfied, both by your actions and your words, that you are well-disposed to us; and I understand that your conduct of life is constant and religious; so I reckon you as our own; but when those that were adversaries to you, and to the Roman people, abstained neither from cities nor temples, and did not observe the agreement they had confirmed by oath, it was not only on account of our contest with them, but on account of all that was done, and the general reputation on those who have been the authors of great injustice towards men, and of great wickedness towards the gods; for the sake of which we suppose that it was that the sun turned away his light from us, as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Caesar. We have also overcome their conspiracies, which threatened the gods themselves, which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and insolent attempts; and we have overcome that confused rout of men, half mad with spite against us, which
they got together at Philippi, in Macedonia, when they seized on the places that were proper for that purpose, and, as it were, walled them round with mountains to the very sea, and where the passage was open only through a single gate. This victory we gained, because the gods had condemned those wicked enterprises. Now Brutus, when he had fled as far as Philippi, was shot up by us, and became a partaker of the same misfortune with Cassius; and now these have received their punishment, we suppose that we may enjoy peace for the time to come, and that Asia may be at rest from war. We therefore make that peace which God hath given us common to our confederates also, insomuch that the body of Asia is now recovered out of that dis- temper it was under by means of our victory. I, therefore, bearing in mind both thee and your nation, shall take care of what may be for your advantage. I have also sent epistles in writing to the several cities, that if any persons, whether freemen or bondmen, have been sold under the spear by Caius Cassius or his subordinate officers, they may be set free; and I will that you kindly make use of the favours which I and Dolabella have granted you. I also forbid the Tyrians to use any violence with you; and for what places of the Jews they now possess, I order them to restore them. I have withal accepted of the crown which thou sentest me."

4. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magis- trates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting. The ambassadors of Tyreus, the high-priest and several of the Jews, appeared before me at Ephesus, and told me that you are in possession of part of their country, which you entered upon under the government of our adversaries. Since, therefore, we have undertaken a war for the obtaining the government, and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice, and have brought to punishment those that had neither any remem- brance of the kindness they had received, nor have kept their oaths, I will that you be at peace with those that are our confederates; as also, that what you have taken by force from our adversaries shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them; for none of them took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate, but they seized them by force, and bestowed them by violence upon such as became useful to them in their unjust proceedings. Since, therefore, those men have received the punishment due to them, we desire that our confederates may retain whatsoever it was that they formerly pos- sessed without disturbance, and that you restore all the places which belong to Tyreus, the ethmarch of Tyreus, which you have had, though it were but one day before Caius Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us, and entered into our province; nor do you use any force against him, in order to weaken him, that he may not be able to dispose of that which is his own; but if you have any contest with him about your respective rights, it shall be lawful for you to plead your cause when we come upon the places concerned, for we shall alike preserve the rights, and hear all the causes, of our confederates."

5. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magis- trates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting. I have sent you my decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraven on the public tables, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand en- graven in the most illustrious places, that it may be read by all. Marcus Antonius, imperator, one of the triumvirate over the public affairs, made this declaration:—Since Caius Cassius, in this revolt he hath made, hath pillaged that province which belonged not to him, and was held by garri- sons there encamped, while they were our con- federates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews which was in friendship with the Roman people, as in war; and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct, by our decrees and judi- cial determinations, what he hath laid waste, that those things may be restored to our confederates; and as for what hath been sold of the Jewish pos- sessions, whether they be bodies or possessions, let them be released; the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will, that he who shall not comply with this decree of mine, shall be punished for his disobedience; and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offenders suffer con- dign punishment."

6. The same thing did Antony write to the Si- donians, and the Antiochians, and the Arabians. We have produced these decrees, therefore, as marks for futurity of the truth of what we have said, that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOW ANTONY MADE HEROD AND PHASAEIUS TET- RARCHS, AFTER THEY HAD BEEN ACCUSED TO NO PURPOSE; AND HOW THE PARTHIANS, WHEN THEY BROUGHT ANTIGONUS INTO JUDEA, TOOK HYRA- NUS AND PHASAEIUS CAPTIVES. HEROD'S FLIGHT; AND WHAT AFFLICTIONS HYRCANUS AND PHASAE- IUS ENDURED.

§ 1. When after this, Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also a hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was Herod's father-in-law* already. When An- tony had heard both sides at Daphne, he asked Hyrcanus who they were that governed the nation best? He replied, Herod and his friends. Hereupon Antony, by reason of the old hospitable friendship he had made with his father [Antipater], at that time when he was with Gabinius, he made both Herod and Phasæius tetrarchs, and commended the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also bound fifteen of their adversaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

2. Yet did not these men continue quiet when they were come back, but a thousand of the Jews came to Tyre to meet him there, whither the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his bro- ther had given him; and so he gave order to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambas-
sadors, who were for making innovations, and to settle the government upon Herod: but Herod went out hastily to them, and Hyrcanus was with him (for they stood upon the shore before the city); and he charged them to go their ways, because great mischiefs would befall them if they went on with their accusation. But they did not acquiesce: whereupon the Romans ran upon them with their daggers, and slew some, and wounded more of them, and the rest fled away, and went home, and lay still in great consternation; and when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it that he slew the prisoners.

3. Now, in the second year, Pausoras, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzapharnes, a commander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, also was now dead, and Lyssanias his son took his government, and made a league of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus: and in order to obtain it, made use of promises, for who had a great interest in him. Now Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon condition they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and withal kill Herod. And although he did not give them what he had promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Paeorcurus went along the maritime parts; but the commander Barzapharnes, through the midland. Now the Tyrians excluded Paeorcurus; but the Sidonians, and those of Ptolemais, received him. However, Paeorcurus sent a troop of horsemen into Judea, to take a view of the state of the country, and to assist Antigonus; and sent also the king's butler, of the same name with himself. So when the Jews that dwelt about mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judea, Antigonus hoped to get some part of the country by their assistance. The place is called Drymilia, and when some others came and met them, the men privately fell upon Jerusalem; and when some more went to them, they went in great numbers, and came against the king's palace, and besieged it. But as Phasaelus's and Herod's party came to the other's assistance, and a battle happened between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and pursued them into the temple, and sent some armed men into the adjoining houses, to keep them in, who yet being destitute of such as should support them, were burnt, and the houses with them, by the people who rose up against them. But Herod was revenged on these seditionsaries of his a little afterward for this injury they had offered him, when he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

4. But while there were daily skirmishes, the enemy waited for the coming of the multitude out of the country to Pentecost, a feast of ours so called; and when that day was come, many ten thousands of the people were gathered together about the temple, some in armour, and some without. Now those that came, guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers. Phasaelus had the charge of the wall, while Herod with a body of his men, satillied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs, and fought courageously, and put many ten thousands to flight, some flying into the city, and some into the temple, and some into the outer fortifications, for some such fortifications there were in that place. Phasaelus came also to his assistance; yet was Paeorcurus the general of the Parthians, att the desire of Antigonus, admitted into the city, with a few of his horsemen, under pretence indeed as if he would still the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaelus met him, and received him kindly, Paeorcurus persuaded him to go himself as ambassador to Barzapharnes, which was done fraudulently. Accordingly, Phasaelus, suspecting no harm, complied with his proposal, while Herod did not give his consent to what was done, because of the perfidiousness of those barbarians, but desired Phasaelus rather to fight those that were come into the city.

5. So both Hyrcanus and Phasaelus went on the embassage; but Paeorcurus left with Herod two hundred horsemen, and ten men, who were called the tremors; and conducted the others on their journey; and when they were in Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them in their arms. Barzapharnes also received them at the first with cheerfulness, and made them presents, though he afterward conspired against them; and Phasaelus, with his horsemen, were conducted to the sea side; but when they heard that Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to assist him against them, they soon had a suspicion of the barbarians. Moreover, there was one who informed them that snares were laid for them by night, while a guard came about them secretly; and they had then been seized upon, had they not waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians that were about Jerusalem, lest, upon the slaughter of Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he should have an intimation of it, and escape out of their hands. And these were the circumstances they were now in; and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed would have persuaded Phasaelus to fly away on horseback, and not to stay any longer; and there was one Ophelthus, who, above all the rest, was earnest with him to do so, for he had heard of this treachery from Saramells, the richest of all the Syrians at that time, who also promised to provide him ships to carry him off; for the sea was just by them: but he had no mind to desert Hyrcanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Barzapharnes, and told him he did not act truly when he made such a contrivance against them, for that if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and besides, it was a horrible thing to stay those that came to him upon the security of their ships, and that whatever they had done them no injury. But the barbarian swore to him that they were all ruth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false proposals, and then went away to Paeorcurus.

6. But as soon as he was gone away some men came and bound Hyrcanus and Phasaelus; while Phasaelus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury. However, that butler who was sent against Herod had it in command to get him without the walls of the city, and seize upon him; but the messengers had been sent by Phasaelus to inform Herod of the perfidiousness of the barbarians. And when he knew that the enemy had seized upon them, he went to Paeorcurus, and to the most potent of the Parthians, as to the lords of the rest, who, although they knew the whole matter, assembled with him.
most haste, and that was to the fortress of Masada. And as he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him and pursued him, he was conqueror in them all.

9. Nor indeed was he free from the Jews all along as he was in his flight: for by the time he was gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hard to hand with him, whom also he put to flight, and overcame, not like one that was in distress and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And in this very place where he overcame the Jews, it was that he some time afterwards built a most excellent palace, and a city round about it, and called it Herodion. And when he was come to Iдумea, at a place called Thresva, his brother Joseph met him, and he then held a council to take advice about his affairs, and what was fit to be done in his circumstances, since he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the people of Masada, when he provided for them to take some of the great multitudes; so he sent away the greater part of his company, being above nine thousand, and bade them go, some one way, and some another, and so save themselves in Iдумea, and gave them what would buy them provisions in their journey. But he took with him those that were the least encumbered, and were most intimate with him, and came to the fortress, and placed there his wives and his followers, being eight hundred in number, there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn and wine, and other necessaries, and went directly for Petra, in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace, and abstained from nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was three hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money escaped, and principally all that the man had been so provident as to send into Iдумea beforehand; nor indeed did what was in the city suffice the Parthians; but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demolished the city Marissa.

10. And thus was Antipus brought back into Judea by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phasaelus for his prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as having promised they should have them, with the money, for their reward: but being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was under the guard of the Parthians, might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and thereby took care that the high-priesthood should never come to him any more; because he was maimed, while the law required that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire. But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phasaelus, who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not think death any terrible thing at all; but to die thus by the means of his enemy this he thought a most pittable and dishonourable thing; and therefore, since he had not his hands at liberty, for the bonds he was in prevented him from killing himself thereby, he dashed his head against a great stone, and thereby took away his own life, as he thought to be the best thing he could do in such a distress as he was in, and

* This law of Moses, that the priests were to be "without blemish," as in all the parts of their bodies, is in Levit. ch. 21. 24.
thereby put it out of the power of the enemy to bring him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent physicians to cure it, and, by ordering them to infuse poison into the wound, killed him. However, Phasaeus hearing, before he was quite dead, by a certain woman, that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, underwent his death cheerfully, since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and who was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW HEROD GOT AWAY FROM THE KING OF ARABIA, AND MADE HASTE TO GO INTO EGYPT, AND THEN WENT IN HASTE ALSO TO ROME; AND HOW, BY PROMISING A GREAT DEAL OF MONEY TO ANTONY, HE OBTAINED OF THE SENATE AND OF CESAR TO BE MADE KING OF THE JEWS.

§ 1. As for Herod, the great miseries he was in did not discourage him, but made him sharp in discovering surprising undertakings; for he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would let him have some money, either by way of loan, or as his free gift, on account of the many benefits he had received from him; for not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hand of his enemies, as willing to give three hundred talents for the price of his redemption. He also took with him the son of Phasaeus, who was a child of but seven years of age; for this very reason, that he might be an hostage for the repayment of the money. But there came messengers from Malchus to meet him, by whom he was desired to be gone, for that the Parthians had laid a charge upon him not to entertain Herod. This was only a pretence which he made use of, that he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him; and this he was farther induceth to do, by the principal men among the Arabians, that they might cheat him of what money they had received from [his father] Antipater, and which he had committed to their fidelity. He made answer, that he did not intend to be troublesome to them by his coming thither, but that he desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were to him of the greatest importance.

2. Hereupon he resolved to go away, and did go very prudently the road to Egypt; and then it was that he lodged in a certain temple; for he had left a great many of his followers there. On the next day he came to Rhinocolura, and there it was that he heard what had befallen his brother. Though Malchus soon repeated of what he had done, and came running after Herod; but with no manner of success, for he was gotten a very great way off, and made haste into the road to Pelusium; and when the stationary ships that lay there hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to their captains, by whose assistance, and that out of much reverence of, and great regard to him, he was conducted into the city [Alexandria], and was retained there by Cleopatra, yet was she not able to prevail with him to stay there, because he was making haste to Rome, even though the weather was stormy, and he was informed that the affairs of Italy were very tumultuous, and in great disorder.

3. So he set sail from thence to Paphlagonia, and falling into a violent storm, he had much ado to escape to Rhodes, with the loss of the ship's burden; and there it was that two of his friends, Sappius and Ptolemaeus, met with him: and as he found that city very much damaged in the war against Cassius, though he were in necessity himself, he neglected not to do it a kindness, but did what he could to recover it to its former state. He also built there a three-decked ship, and sailed thence, with his friends for Italy, and came to the part of Brundisium: and when he was come from thence to Rome, he first related to Antony what he had befallen him in Judea, and how Phasaeus his brother was seized on by the Parthians, and put to death by them; and how Hyrcanus was detained captive by them, and how they had made Antigonus king, who had promised them a sum of money, no less than a thousand talents, with five hundred women, who were to be of the principal families, and of the most stock; and that he had carried off the women by night; and that, by undergoing a great many hardships, he had escaped the hands of his enemies; as also that his own relations were in danger of being besieged and taken, and that he had sailed through a storm, and contended all these terrible dangers, in order to come, as soon as possible, to him who was his hope and only succour at this time.

4. This account made Antony commiserate the change that had happened in Herod's condition; and reasoning with himself that this was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they are liable to the mutations that come from fortune, he was very ready to give him the assistance that he desired; and this because he called to mind the friendship he had had with Antipater, because Herod offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly given it to him to make him tetrarch, and chiefly because of his hatred to Antigonus, for he took him to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the Romans. Caesar was also the forerunner to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him assistance in what he desired, on account of the toils of war which he had himself undergone with him in Egypt, and of the hospitality he had treated him withal, and the kindness he had always shown him; as also to gratify Antony, who was very zealous for Herod. So a senate was convocated; and Messala first, and then Atratinus, introduced Herod into it, and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from his father, and put them in mind of the goodwill he had borne to the Romans. At the same time, they accused Antigonus, and declared him an enemy, not only because of his former opposition to them, but that he had now overlooked the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the senate was iritated; and Antony informed them farther that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators; and so they made a decree accordingly.

5. And this was the principal instance of Antony's
affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect (for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom for himself, which he did not suppose the Romans would grant him, who used to bestow it on some of the royal family, but intended to desire it for his wife’s brother, who was grandson by his father to Aristobulus, and by Hyrcanus by his mother), but that he procured it for him so suddenly, that he obtained what he did not expect, and departed out of Italy in so few days as seven in all. This young man (the grandson) Herod afterward took care to have slain, as we shall show in its proper place. But when the senate was dissolved, Antony and Caesar went out of the senate-house, with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the capitol. Antony also feasted Herod the first day of his reign. And thus did this man receive the kingdom, having obtained it on the hundred and eighty-fourth olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [the first time].

6. All this while Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had plenty of all other necessaries, but were only in want of water, insomuch that on this occasion Joseph, Herod’s brother, was contriving to run away from it, with two hundred of his dependants, to the Arabians; for he had heard that Malchus repented of the offences he had been guilty of with regard to Herod; but God, by sending rain in the night-time, prevented his going away; therefore there was no need of running away on that account; but they were now of good courage, and the more so, because the sending of plenty of water which they had been in want of, seemed a mark of divine providence; so they made a sally and fought hand to hand with Antigonus’s soldiers (with some openly, with some privately), and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time Ventidius, the general of the Romans, was sent out of Syria, to drive the Parthians out of it, and marched after them into Judea, on purpose indeed to succour Joseph; but in reality, the whole affair was no more than a stratagem, in order to get money of Antigonus; so they pitched their camp very near to Jerusalem, and stripped Antigonus of a great deal of money, and then he retired himself with the greater part of the army; but, that the wickedness he had been guilty of might not be found out, he left Silo there, with a certain part of his soldiers, with whom also Antigonus cultivated an acquaintance, that he might cause him no disturbance, and was still in hopes that the Parthians would come again and defend him.

CHAPTER XV.

HOW HEROD SAILLED OUT OF ITALY TO JUDEA, AND Fought WITH ANTIGONUS; AND WHAT OTHER THINGS HAPPENED IN JUDEA ABOUT THAT TIME.

1. By this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten together no small army, both of strangers and of his own countrymen, and marched through Galilee against Antigonus. Silo also, and Ventidius, came and assisted him, being persuaded by Dellius, who was sent by Antony to assist in bringing back Herod. Now, for Ventidius, he was employed in composing the disturbances that had been made in the cities by the means of the Parthians; and for Silo, he was indeed in Judea, but corrupted by Antigonus. However, as Herod went along, his army increased every day, and all Galilee, with some small exception, joined him; but as he was marching to those that were in Masada (for he was obliged to endeavour to save those that were in that fortress, now they were besieged, because they were his relations), Joppa was a hinderance to him, for it was necessary for him to take that place first, it being a city at variance with him, that no strong-hold might be left in his enemies’ hands behind him when he should go to Jerusalem. And when Silo made this a pretence for rising up from Jerusalem, and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, and both put the Jews to flight and saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself; but when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to set free those of his family that were in Masada. Now of the people of the country, some joined him because of the friendship they had had with his father, and some because of the splendid appearance he made, and others by way of requital for the benefits they had received from both of them; but the greatest number came to him in hopes of getting something from him afterward, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom.

2. Herod had now a strong army; and as he marched on, Antigonus laid snares and ambuscades in the paths and places most proper for them; but in truth he thereby did little or no damage to the enemy: so Herod received those of his family out of Masada, and the fortress Reessa, and then went on for Jerusalem. The soldier also that was with Silo accompanied him all along, as did many of the citizens. And being some time after, when as he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the soldiers that were set to guard that part shot their arrows, and threw their darts at him; and when some sallied out in a crowd, and came to fight hand to hand with the first ranks of Herod’s army, he gave orders that they should, in the first place, make proclamation about the wall, that he came for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, and not to bear any old grudge at even his most open enemies, but ready to forget the offences which his greatest adversary had done him; but Antigonus, by way of reply to what Herod had caused to be proclaimed, made such a show of the Romans, and before Silo also, said, that they would not do justly if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was no more than a private man, and an Idumæan, i.e. a half Jew; whereas they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their custom was; for, that in case they at present bear an ill will to him, and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as having received it from the Parthians, 1

1 This affirmation of Antigonus, spoken in the days of Herod, and in a manner to his face, that he was an Idumæan, i.e. a half Jew, seems to have been such a gross and chargeless fallacy that it could not hold its ground in the presence of his favourite, Festus. In his Letters to Domitius, the author of the Memoirs of Cæsar, and in his Commentaries on the Jews, he was called Idumæus, and not Idumæan, which word was properly applied to those of the desert, whom Josephus always understands an Idumæan, though he says his father Antigonus was of the same people with the Jews (ch. viii. sect. 1), and a Jew of Idumæa (Antiq. b. xx. ch. vii. sect. 7), as indeed all such proselytes of Judea as the Idumæans were, in time assumed the very same people with the Jews.

2 This grievous want of water at Masada, till the place had like to have been taken by the Parthians (mentioned both here and of the War b. i. ch. xvi. sect. 1), is an indication that it was now summer-time.
yet were there many others of his family that might by their law take it, and those such as had no way offended the Romans; and being of the sacerdotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them by. Now while they said thus one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus permitted his own men that were upon the wall to defend themselves; who, using their bows, and showing great alacrity against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

3. And now it was that Silo discovered that he had taken bribes: for he set a great number of his soldiers to complain of the want of provisions they were in, and to require money to buy them food; and that it was fit to let them go into places proper for winter quarters, since the places near the city were a desert, by reason that Antigonus’s soldiers had carried all away; so he set his army upon removing, and endeavoured to march away; but Herod pressed Silo not to depart, and exhorted Silo’s captains and soldiers not to desert him, when Caesar and Antony, and the senate, had sent him thither, for that he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted, and easily procure them a great abundance of what they required; after which entreaty, he immediately went into the country, and left not the least pretence to Silo for his departure, for he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions, and sent to those friends of his who inhabited about Samaria, to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and all other provisions, to Jericho, that there might be no want of a supply for the soldiers for the time to come. Antigonus was sensible of this, and sent presently over the country such as might restrain and lie in ambush, that they might prevent the provisions that those men obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of armed men about Jericho, and sat upon the mountains, and watched those that brought the provisions. However, Herod was not idle in the meantime, for he took ten bands of soldiers, of whom five were of the Romans, and five of the Jews, with some mercenaries among them, and with some few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and as they found the city deserted, but that five hundred of them had settled themselves on the tops of the hills, with their wives and children, those he took and sent away; but the Romans fell upon the city and plundered it, and found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back again, and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be quartered at Lydda, in order to please Antony. So the Romans laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.

4. But Herod was not pleased with lying still, but sent out his brother Joseph against Idumes with two thousand armed footmen, and four hundred horsemen, while he himself came to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there, for they were already gone out of Masada, and went into Galilee, and took certain places which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus; and he passed on to Sephiroth, as God sent a snow, while Antigonus’s garrisons withdrew themselves, and had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence and resolved to destroy those robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country; so he sent a troop of horsemen, and three companies of armed footmen against them. They were very near to a village called Arbela; and on the fortieth day after, he came himself with his whole army: and as the enemy saluted out boldly upon him, the left wing of his army gave way; but he appearing with a body of men, put those to flight who were already conquerors, and recalled his men that ran away. He also pressed upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they ran away by different roads. So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmae apiece, and much more to their captains, and sent them into winter quarters; at which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer; for he supplied them for no more than one month; nay, he had sent to all the country round about, and ordered them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine; but Herod committed the care of that matter to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to repair Alexandria also. Accordingly, he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandria, which had been before desolate.

5. About this time it was that Antony continued some time at Athens, and that Ventidius, who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to assist Herod, in the first place, to finish the present state of the war, and then to come into the camp for the war they were themselves engaged in; but as for Herod, he went in haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Ventidius, while he marched against them. These caves were in mountains that were exceeding abrupt, and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves, and those caves were encompassed with sharp rocks, and in these did the robbers lie concealed, with all their families about them; but the king caused certain chest to be made, in order to destroy them, and to be hung down, bound about with iron chains, by an engine, from the top of the mountains; it being not possible to get up to them, by reason of the sharp ascent of the mountains, nor to creep down to them from above. Now these chests were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they might pull out such as resisted them, and then tumble them down, and kill them by so doing; but the letting the chests down proved to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth they were to be let down, although they had their provisions in the chests themselves; but when the chests were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst come near them, but lay still out of fear, some of the armed men got on their armour, and by both their hands took hold of the chain by which the chests were let down, and went into the mouths of the caves, because they frettet that such delay was made by the robbers not daring to come out of the caves; and when they were at any of those mouths, they first killed many of those that were in the mouths with their darts, and afterwards pulled those to them that resisted them with their hooks, and tum-
bled them down the precipices, and afterwards went into the caves, and killed many more, and then went into the chests again, and lay still there; but, upon this, terror seized the rest, when they heard the lamentations that were made, and they despised of escaping; however, when the night came on, that put an end to the whole work; and as the king proclaimed pardon by an herald to such as delivered themselves up to him, many accepted of the offer. The same method of assault was made use of the next day; and they went farther, and got out in baskets to fight them, and fought them at their doors, and sent fire among them, and set their caves on fire, for there was a great deal of chief among the sight, and thus Herod took the town.

6. And when the king had set Ptolemy over these parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria with six hundred horsemen and three thousand armed footmen, as intending to fight Antigonus; but still this command of the army did not succeed well with Ptolemy, but those that had been troublesome to Galilee before attacked him; and when they had done this, they fled among the lakes and places almost inaccessible, laying waste and plundering whatsoever they could come at in those places; but Herod soon returned, and punished them for what they had done; for some of those rebels he slew, and others of them, who had fled to the strong-holds, he besieged, and both slew them and demolished their strong-holds; and when he had thus put an end to their rebellion, he laid a fine upon the cities of a hundred talents.

7. In the meantime Ptolemy was fallen in a battle, and the Parthians were defeated, when Ventidius sent Macheras to the assistance of Herod, with two legions and a thousand horsemen, while Antony encouraged him to make haste; but Macheras, at the instigation of Antigonus, without the approba- tion of Herod, as being corrupted by money, went about to take a view of his affairs; but Antigonus, suspecting this intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but kept him at a distance, with throwing stones at him, and plainly showed what he himself meant; but when Macheras was sensible that Herod had given him good advice, and that he had made a mistake himself in not hearkening to that advice, he retired to the city Emmaus; and what Jews he met with he slew them, whether they were enemies or friends, out of the rage he was in at what hardships he had undergone.

The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samaria, and resolved to go to Antony about these affairs, and to inform him that he stood in need of such helpers, who could him more mis- chief than he did his enemies; and that he was able of himself to beat Antigonus. But Macheras followed him, and desired that he would not go to Antony; or, if he was resolved to go, that he would join his brother Joseph with them, and let them fight against Antigonus. So he was reconciled to Macheras, upon his earnest entreaties. Accordingly he left Joseph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macheras.

8. But for his own part, he made haste to Anto-

ny (who was then at the siege of Samosata, a place upon Euphrates) with his troops, both horse-
men and footmen, to be auxiliaries to him; and when he came to Antioch, and met there a great number of men gotten together that were very de-

sirous to go to Antony, but were not venturesome to go, out of fear, because the barbarians fell upon men on the road, and slew many, so he encouraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within two days' march of Samosata, the barbarians had laid an ambush there to disturb those that came to Antony, and where the woods made the passes narrow, as they led to the plains, they laid not a few of the horsemen, who were to lie still until those passenger-

ers were gone by into the wide place. Now as soon as those that were to lie ambush were gone by (for Herod brought on the rear), those that were to lay an ambush, who were about five hundred, fell upon them on the sudden, and when they had put the foremost to flight, the king came riding hard, with the forces that were about him, and immediately drove back the enemy; by which means he made the minds of his own men courageous, and emboldened them to go on, inasmuch that those who ran away before, now returned back, and the barbarians were slain on all sides. The king also went on killing them, and recovered all the baggage, among which were a great number of beasts for burden, and of slaves, and proceeded on in his march; and whereas there was a great number of those in the woods that attacked them, and were near the passage that led into the plain, he made a sally upon these also with a strong body of men; and put them to flight, and slew many of them, and thereby rendered the way safe for those that came after; and these called Herod their saviour and protector.

9. And when he was near to Samosata, Antony sent out his army before all their proper habitations to meet him, in order to pay Herod this respect, and because of the assistance he had given him; for he had heard what attacks the barbarians had made upon him [in Judea]. He also was very glad to see him there, as having been made acquaint-

ed with the great actions he had performed upon the road; so he entertained him very kindly, and could not but admire his courage. Antony also embraced him as soon as he saw him, and saluted him after a most affectionate manner, and gave him the upper hand, as having himself made him a king; and in a little time Antiochus delivered up the fortress, and on that account this war was at an end; then Antony committed the rest to Sossius, and gave him orders to assist Herod, and went himself to Egypt. Accordingly Sossius sent two legions before into Judea to the assistance of Herod, and he followed himself with the body of the army.

10. Now Joseph was already slain in Judea, in the manner following. He forgot what charge his brother Herod had given him not to go to Antony; and when he had pitched his camp among
the mountains, for Machera had sent him five regiments, with these he went hastily to Jericho, in order to reap the corn thereto belonging; and as the Roman regiments were but newly raised, and hence as all the desert was filled with armed men, and part collected out of Syria, he was attacked by the enemy, and caught in those places of difficulty, and was himself slain, as he was fighting bravely, and the whole army was lost, for there were six regiments slain. So when Antigonus had got possession of the dead bodies, he cut off Joseph's head, although Pheroras his brother would have redeemed it at the price of fifty talents. After which defeat, the Galileans revolted from their commanders, and took those of Herod's party, and drowned them in the river, and a great part of the Jews was become sedition; but Machera fortified the place Gitta [in Samaria].

11. At this time messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had been done; and when he was come to Daphne against Antioch, they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother, which yet he expected, from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams, which clearly foretold him his brother's death. So he hastened his march; and when he came to mount Libanus, he received about eight hundred men of that place, having already with him one Roman legion, and with these he came to Ptolemais. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded along Galilee. Here it was that the enemy met him, and fought him, and were beaten, and shut up in the same place of strength whence they had sailed out the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning; but, by reason of a great storm that was then very violent, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighbouring villages; yet as soon as the other legion that Antony sent him was come to his assistance, those that were in garrison in the place were afraid, and deserted it in the night-time. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to avenge himself on the enemy for the slaughter of his brother; and when he had pitched his tents, he made a feast for the principal commanders, and after this collation was over, and he had dismissed his guests, he retired to his own chamber: and here may one see what kindness God had for the king, for the upper part of the house fell down when nobody was in it, and he killed none, whereas all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, since he had escaped such a great and surprising danger.

12. But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight the Romans, which greatly terrified them; and the soldiers that were in light armour came near, and smote the king's guards that were come out with darts and stones, and one of them hit him on the side with a dart. Antigonus also sent a commander against Samaria, whose name was Pappus, with some forces, being desirous to show the enemy how potent he was, and that he had men to spare in his war with them: he sat down to oppose Machera: but Herod, when he had taken five cities, took such as were left in them, being about two thousand, and slew them, and burnt the cities themselves, and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Isana: and there ran in to him many out of Jericho and Judea, near to which place he was, and the enemy fell upon him this time, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the fight; and in order to be revenged on them for the slaughter of his brother, he pursued them sharply, and killed them as they ran away; and as the legs men were full of armour, and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houses, he got them under his power, and pulled down the roofs of the houses, and saw the lower rooms full of soldiers that were caught, and lay all on a heap; so they threw stones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and thereby killed them: nor was there a more frightful spectacle in all the war than this, where, beyond the walls, an immense multitude of dead men lay heaped one upon another. This action it was which chiefly brake the spirits of the enemy, who expected now what would come; for there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far distant, that were now about the village, but then ran away; and had it not been for the depth of winter, which then restrained them, the king's army had presently gone to Jerusalem, as being very courageous at this good success, and the whole work had been done immediately; for Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly away and leave the city.

14. When the rigour of winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by the city. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; and as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted, he pitched that camp before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the same manner as did Pompey. So he encompassed the place with three bulwarks, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands about the work, and cut down the trees that were round about the city, and when he had appointed proper persons to oversee the works, even while the army lay before the city, he himself went to Samaria, to complete his marriage, and to take to wife the daughter of Alexander son of Aristobulus; for he had betrothed her already, as I have before related. 
CHAPTER XVI.

HOW HEROD, WHEN HE HAD MARRIED MARIBAMNE, TOOK JERUSALEM, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF SO- SIUS, BY FORCE; AND HOW THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ASAMONEANS WAS PUT AN END TO.

§ 1. After the wedding was over, came Sosius through Phœnicia, having sent out his army before him over the midland parts. He also, who was the more daring, came himself, with a great number of horsemen and footmen. The king also came himself from Samaria, and brought with him no small army, besides that which was there before, for they were about thirty thousand; and they all met together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped at the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions, armed men on foot, and six thousand horsemen, with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The generals were two: Sosius, sent by Antony to assist Herod, and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus, who was declared an enemy to Rome; and that he might himself be king, according to the decrees of the senate.

2. Now the Jews that were inclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great acuteness and zeal (for the whole nation was gathered together); they also gave out many prophecies about the temple, and many things agreeable to the people, as if God would deliver them out of the dangers they were in; they had also carried off what was out of the city, that they might not leave any thing to afford resistance either for more or for less; and, by private robberies, they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod understood this, he opposed ambushes in the fittest places against their private robberies, and he sent legions of armed men to bring in provisions, and that from remote places, so that in a little time they had great plenty of provisions. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were continually at work upon it; for it was summer time, and there was nothing to hinder them in raising their works, neither from the air nor from the workmen: so they brought their engines to bear, and shook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get in; yet did not those within discover any fear, but they also contrived not a few engines to oppose their engines withal. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfected, but those that were; and when they came hand to hand, their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new works when the former were ruined, and making mines under ground, they met each other, and fought there; and making use of brutish courage rather than of prudent valour, they persisted in this war to the very last; and this they did while a mighty army lay round about them, and while they were distressed by famine and the want of necessaries, for this happened to be a Sabbath Year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty chosen men; the next were Sosius's centurions; for the first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the cloisters that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the tem-
BOOK XV.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTEEN YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS TO THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD.

CHAPTER I.
CONCERNING POLLO AND SAMEAS. HEROD SLAYS THE PRINCIPAL OF ANTIGONUS'S FRIENDS, AND SPOILS THE CITY OF ITS WEALTH. ANTONY BEHEADS ANTIGONUS.

§ 1. How Sosius and Herod took Jerusalem by force; and besides that, how they took Antigonus captive, has been related by us in the foregoing book. We will now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men of the city as had been of his party, but never left off avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies. And so about Pollio the Pharisaeus, and Sameas a disciple of his, were honoured by him above all the rest; for when Jerusalem was besieged, they advised the citizens to receive Herod; for which advice they were well requited. But this Pollio, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold, in a way of reproach, to Hyrcanus and the other judges, how this Herod, whom they suffered now to escape, would afterward inflict punishment on them all; which had its completion in time, while God fulfilled the words he had spoken.

accounts of the many great actions of Herod during the same interval, as fairly imply that interval, before Herod went to Samosata, to have been very considerable. However, what is wanting in Josephus, is fully supplied by Mommsen Chomerensis, the Armenian historian, in his history of that interval (b. 3, ch. xvii.); where he directly assures us that Tygranes, then king of Armenia, and the principal manager of this Parthian war, elapsed two years after Herod was made king at Rome, and yet Antony did not hear of his death, in that very neighbourhood, at Samosata, till he was come thither to besiege it; after which Herod brought him an army, which was three hundred and forty miles march, and through a difficult country, full of enemies also, and joined with him in the siege of Samosata all that city was taken; then Herod and Sameas marched back with their large armies the same number of three hundred and forty march. Thus to take it but by a siege of five months, fully supplies what is wanting in the history of these times beyond con-

2. At this time Herod, now he had got Jerusalem under his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and spoiled the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when, by these means, he had heaped together a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony, and his friends that were about him. He also slew forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus's party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out together with their dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatsoever was found, either of silver or gold, or other treasure, it was carried to the king; nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them; and this distress was in part occasioned by the covetousness of the prince regent, who was still in want of more, and in part by the Sabbatic Year, which was still going on, and forced the country to lie still uncultivated, since we are forbidden to sow the land in that year. Now when Antony had received Antigonus as his captive, he determined to keep him against his triumph; but when he heard that the nation grew sedition, and that, out of their hatred to Herod, they continued to bear good-will to Antigonus, he resolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwise the Jews could no way be brought to quiet. And Strabo of Capadocia attests to what I have said, when he thus speaks:—"Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there to be beheaded; and this Antony seems to me to have been the very first man who beheaded a king, as supposing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews so as to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead; for by no torment could they be forced to call him king, so great a fondness they had for their former king; so he thought that this dishonor to death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus's memory, and at the same time would diminish the hatred they bare to Herod." Thus far Strabo.
CHAPTER II.

HOW HYRCANUS WAS SET AT LIBERTY BY THE PARTHIANS, AND RETURNED TO HEROD; AND WHAT ALEXANDRA DID WHEN SHE HEARD THAT ANANELUS WAS MADE HIGH-PRIEST.

§ 1. Now after Herod was in possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high-priest, who was then a captive among the Parthians, came to him again, and was set free from his captivity in the manner following:—Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyrcanus, who was first made high-priest and afterwards king, and Herod's brother, Phasaelus, captives, and were carrying them away into Parthia. Phasaelus indeed could not bear the reproach of being in bonds; and thinking that death with glory was better than any life; whereas, he became his own executioner, as I have formerly related.

2. But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia, the king of Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner, as having already learned of what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and gave him a habitation at Babylon, 8 where there were Jews in great numbers. These Jews honoured Hyrcanus as their high-priest and king, as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Ephraïtes, which respect was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new hopes came upon him, as having been himself still of a kind disposition towards him; and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favour he had received from him, and when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger that a capital sentence would be pronounced against him, he delivered him from that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jews that were there, and made them to him with great affection; but they endeavoured to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honours they did him, and that those honours they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high-priests or their kings: and what was a greater motive to determine him, they said, was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judea] because of that main in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus; and that kings do not use to requite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons, the height of their fortune making usually no small changes in them.

3. Now, although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus still desire to depart. Herod also wrote to him, and persuaded him to desire of Phraates, and the Jews that were there, that they should not grudge him the royal authority, which he should have jointly with himself, for that now was the proper time for himself to make him amends for the favours he had received from him, as having been brought up by him, and saved by him also, as well as for Hyrcanus to receive it. And as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so did he send also Saraiān 9 his ambassador to Phraates, and many presents with him, and desired him in the most obliging way, that he would be no hinderance to his gratitude towards his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod's did not flow from that principle, but because he had been made governor of that country without having any just claim to it, he was afraid, and that upon reasons good enough, of a change in his condition, and so made what haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way; which last thing he effected afterwards.

4. Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of assurance, by the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the expense of the Jews, who supplied him with money, Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feasts, and thereby deceived him. He called him his father, and endeavoured, by all the ways possible, that he might have no suspicion of any treacherous design against him. He also did other things, in order to secure his government, which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family; for being cautious how he made any illustrious person the high-priest of God, 10 he sent for an obscure priest out of Babylon, whose name was Ananélus, and bestowed the high-priesthood upon him.

5. However, Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, the king, who had also brought Alexander [two] children, could not bear this indignity. Now this son was one of the greatest comeliness, and was called Aristobulus; and the daughter, Mariamne, was married to Herod, and eminent for her beauty also. This Alexandra was much disturbed, and took this indignity offered to her son exceeding ill, that while he was alive, any one else should be sent to have the dignity of the high-priesthood conferred upon him. Accordingly, she wrote to Cleopatra (a musician assisting her in taking care to have letters carried) to desire her intercession with Antoný, in order to gain the high-priesthood for her son.

6. But as Antoný was slow in granting this request, his friend Delliús 11 came into Judea upon some affairs, and when he saw Aristobulus, he stood in admiration at the tallness and handsomeness of the child, and no less at Mariamne, the king's wife, and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of most beautiful children: and when she came to discourse with him, he persuaded her to get pictures drawn of them both, and to send them to Antoný, for that when he saw them, he would deny her nothing that she would ask. Accordingly, Alexandra was elevated with these words of his, and sent the pictures to Antoný. Delliús also talked extravagantly, and said that these children seemed not derived from men, but from some god or other. His design in doing so was to entice Antoný into few pleasures with them, who was ashamed to send for the damsel, as

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8 Babylon
9 Saraiān
10 He sent for an obscure priest out of Babylon, whose name was Ananélus, and bestowed the high-priesthood upon him.
11 Of this without Delliús, see the note on the War, b. l. ch. xv. sect. 2.
being the wife of Herod, and avoided it, because of the reproaches he should have from Cleopatra on that account; but he sent in the most decent manner he could, for the young man; but added this reproof, unless he thought it hard upon him so to do. When this letter was brought to Herod, he did not think it safe for him to send one so handsome as was Aristobulus, in the prime of his life, for he was sixteen years of age, and of so noble a family, and particularly not to Antony, the principal man among the Romans, and one that would abuse him in his amours, and besides, one that openly indulged himself in such pleasures as his power allowed him, without control. He therefore wrote back to him, that if this boy should king go out of the country, all would be in a state of war and uproar; because the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government, and to have another king over them.

7. When Herod had thus excused himself to Antony, he resolved that he would not entirely permit the child of Alexandria to be treated dishonourably: but his wife Mariamne lay vehemently at him to restore the high-priesthood to her brother; and he judged it was for his advantage so to do, because, if he once had that dignity, he could not get rid of it. So he called all his friends together, and told them that Alexandria privately conspired against his royal authority, and endeavoured, by the means of Cleopatra, so to bring it about, that he might be deprived of the government, and that by Antony's means this youth might have the management of public affairs in his stead; and that this procedure of hers was unjust, since she would at the same time deprive her daughter of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbance with Alexandria, out of which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards: that yet, while he well remembered her wicked practices, he would not leave off doing what was right himself, but would even now give the youth the high-priesthood; and that he formerly set up Aaneanus, because Aristobulus was then so very young a child. Now when he had said this, not at random, but as he thought with the best discretion he had, in order to deceive the women, and those friends whom he had taken to concubines withal, Alexandria, out of which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards, out of fear from the suspicions she lay under, fell a weeping; and made the following apology for herself, and said, that as to the [high] priesthood, she was very much concerned for the disgrace her son was under, and so did her utmost endeavours to procure it for him, but that as to the kingdom, she had made no attempts, and that if it were offered her [for her son], she would not accept it; and that now she would be satisfied with her son's dignity, and he held the civil government, and she had thereby the security that arose from his peculiar ability in governing, to all the remainder of her family: that she was now overcome by his benefits, and thankfully accepted of this honour shown him by her son, and that she would hereafter be entirely obedient; and she desired him to excuse her, if the nobility of her family, and that freedom of acting which she thought that allowed her, had made her act too precipitately and imprudently in this matter. So when they had spoken thus one another, they came to the age of ten; and all suspicious, so far as they were, were vanished away.

CHAPTER III.

HOW HEROD, UPON HIS MAKING ARISTOBULUS HIGH- PRIEST, TOOK CARE THAT HE SHOULD BE MURDERED IN A LITTLE TIME; AND WHAT APOLOGY HE MADE TO ANTONY ABOUT ARISTOBULUS: AS ALSO CONCERNING JOSEPH AND MARIANNE.

§ 1. So king Herod immediately took the high-priesthood away from Aaneanus, who, as we said before, was not of this country, but one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Ephraës; for there were not a few ten thousands of this people that had been carried captive, and dwelt about Babylonia, whereas Aaneanus was one of the stock of the high-priests, and had been of old a particular friend of Herod; and when he was first made king, he conferred that dignity upon him, and now put him out of it again, in order to quiet the troubles in his family, though what he did was plainly unlawful, for at no other time [of old] was any one that had once been in that dignity deprived of it. It was Antiochus Epiphanes who first by that law, and deprived Simeon, and gave his brother Onias in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so, and took that dignity from his brother [Hyrcanus]; and this Herod was the third who took that high office away [from Aaneanus], and gave it to this young man, Aristobulus, in his stead.

2. And now Herod seemed to have healed the divisions in his family; yet was he not without suspicion, as is frequently the case of people seeming to be reconciled to one another, but thought that, as Alexandria had already made attempts attending to innovations, so did she fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing; so he gave a command that she should dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs: her guards also were so careful, that nothing she did in private life every day was concealed. All these hardships put her out of patience, by little and little, and she began to hate Herod; for as she had the pride of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this suspicious guard that was about her, as desirous rather to undergo any thing that could be done to deprive her of her liberty of speech, and, under the notion of an honorary guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror. She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra hereupon advised her to take her son with her, and come away immediately to her into Egypt. This advice pleased her; and she had this contrivance for getting away: She got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies, and put herself into one, and her son into the other, and gave orders to such of her servants as knew of her intentions, to carry them away in the night-time. Now their road was to be...
thence to the sea-side; and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Eosop, one of her servants, happened to fall upon Sabion, one of her friends, and spake of this matter to him, as thinking he had known of it before. When Sabion knew this (who had formerly been an enemy of Herod, and had been esteemed one of those that said snares for and gave poison to [his father] Antipater), he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness; so he told the king of this private stragem of Alexander; whereupon he suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in the very fact; but still he passed by her offence: and though he had a great mind to do it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her, for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused, on account of her hatred to him; but made a show as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, and his great moderation, that made him forgive them. However, he fully proposed to himself to put this young man out of the way, by one or other of these methods; but the thoughts of such a measure on his mind, made all probability be better concealed in doing it, if he did it not presently nor immediately after what had lately happened.

3. And now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, which is a festival very much observed among us, he let those days pass over, and both he and the rest of the people were therein very merry; yet did the envy which at this time arose in him, cause him to make haste to do what he was about, and provoke him to it; for when this youth, Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, according to the law, to offer the sacrifices, and this with the solemnity of his high-priesthood, and when he performed the sacred offices,* he seemed to be exceeding comely, and taller than men usually were at that age, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of that high family he was sprung from,—a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared among the people, and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Aristobulus was fresh in their minds; and their affections got so far the mastery of them, that they could not forbear to show their inclinations to him. They at once rejoiced and were confounded, and mingled with good wishes their joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good-will of the multitude was made too evident; and they more rashly proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family than was fit under a monarchy to have done. Upon all this, Herod resolved to complete what he had intended against this young man. When therefore the festival was over, and he was feasting at Jericho with Alexander, who entertained him under a great welcome, he was then very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place, and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the nature of that place was hotter than ordinary; so they went out in a body, and of a sudden, and in a vein of madness; and as they stood by the fish ponds, of which there were large ones about the house, they went to cool themselves [by bathing], because it was in the midst of a hot day. At first they were only spectators of Herod's servants and acquaintance as they were swimming; but after, while the young man, at the instigation of Herod, went in the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintance as he had appointed to do it, dipped him as he was swimming, and plunged him under water, in the dark of the evening, as if it had been done in sport only; nor did they desist till he was entirely suffocated. And thus was Aristobulus murdered, having lived no more in all than eighteen years,† and kept the high-priesthood one year only; which high-priesthood Ananias now recovered again.  

4. When this sad accident was told the women, their joy was soon changed into lamentation, at the sight of the dead body that lay before them, and their sorrow was inordinate. The city also [of Jerusalem], upon the spreading of this news, was in very great grief, every family looking on this calamity as if it had not belonged to another, but that one of themselves was slain: but Alexander was more deeply affected, upon her knowledge that he had been destroyed [on purpose]. Her sorrow was greater than that of others, by her knowing how the murder was committed; but she was under the necessity of bearing up under it, out of her prospect of a greater mischief that might otherwise follow; and she sometimes came to an inclination to destroy herself with her own hand, but still she restrained herself, in hopes she might live long enough to revenge the unjust murder thus privily committed; nay, she further resolved to endeavour to live longer, and to give no occasion to think she suspected that her son was slain on purpose, and supposed that she might thereby be in a capacity of revenging it at a proper opportunity. Thus did she restrain herself, that she might not be suspected for entertaining any such suspicion. However, Herod endeavoured that none abroad should believe that the child's death was caused by any design of his; and for this purpose he did not only use the ordinary signs of sorrow, but fell into tears also, and exhibited a real confision of soul; and perhaps his affections were overcome on this occasion, when he saw the child's countenance so young and so beautiful, although his death was supposed to tend to his own security. So far at least this grief served as to make some apology for him; and as for his funeral, that he took care should be very magnificent, by making great preparation for a sepulchre to lay his body in, and providing a great quantity of spices, and burying many ornaments together with him, till the very women, who were in such deep sorrow, were astonished at it, and received in this way some consolation.

5. However, no such things could overcome Alexander's grief; but the remembrance of this miserable case made her sorrow both deep and obstinate. Accordingly, she wrote an account of this treacherous scene to Cleopatra, and how her son was murdered; but Cleopatra, as she had formerly been desirous to give her what satisfaction she could, and commiserating Alexander's misfortunes, made the case her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but excited him to punish the child's murder: for that it was an unworthy thing that Herod, who had by him been made a king of a kingdom that no way belonged to him, should be

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*This entirely confutes the Talmudists, who pretend that no one under twenty years of age could officiate as high-priests among the Jews.

†The reading of one of Josephus's Greek MSS. seems here to be right, that Aristobulus was the son by another woman, who was named Salome, not at Jericho, and this even when he quotes Josephus. I suspect the transcriber of the Hebrew chronicle mistook the name, and wrote Jordan for Jericho.
guilt of such horrid crimes against those that were of the royal blood in reality. Antony was persuaded by these arguments; and when he came to Laodicea, he sent and commanded Herod to come and make his defence as to what he had done to Aristobulus, for that such a treacherous design was not well done, if he had any hand in it. Herod was now in fear, both of the accusation and of Cleopatra's ill-will to him, which was such that she was ever endeavoring to make Antony hate him. He therefore determined to obey his summons, for he had no possible way to avoid it: so he left his uncle, Joseph, procurator for his government and for the public affairs, and gave him a private charge, that if Antony should kill him, he also should kill Marianne immediately; for that he had a tender affection for this his wife, and was afraid of the injury that should be offered him, if, after his death, she, for her beauty, should be engaged to some other man: but his intimation was nothing but a threat to Joseph, that if he lost his love with her, when he formerly heard somehow of her beauty. So when Herod had given Joseph this charge, and had indeed no sure hopes of escaping with his life, he went away to Antony.

6. But as Joseph was administering the public affairs of the kingdom, and for that reason was very frequently with Marianne, both because his business required it, and because of the respects he ought to pay to the queen, he frequently let himself into discourses about Herod's kindness, and great affection towards her; and when the women, especially Alexandra, used to turn his discourses into feminine raillery, Joseph was so over-desirous to demonstrate the king's inclinations, that he proceeded so far as to mention the charge he had received, and thence drew his demonstration, that Herod was not able to live without her; and that if he should come to any ill end, he could not endure a separation from her, even after he was dead. Thus spake Joseph. But the women, as was natural, did not take this to be an instance of Herod's strong affection for them, but of his severe usage of them, that they could not get out of the charge of a tyrannical death, even when he was dead himself: and this saying [of Joseph] was a foundation for the women's severe suspicions about him afterwards.

7. At this time a report went about the city of Jerusalem, among Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod, and put him to death. This report, as is natural, disturbed those that were about the palace, but chiefly the women: upon which Alexandra endeavoured to persuade Joseph to go out of the palace, and fly away with them to the ensigns of the Roman legions which then lay encamped about the city, as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for that by this means, if any disturbance should happen about the palace, they should be in greater security, as having the Romans favourable to them; and that besides, they hoped to obtain the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Marianne, by whose means they should recover the kingdom, and want nothing which was reasonable for them to hope for, because of their royal extraction.

8. But as they were in the midst of these deliberations, letters were brought from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and of what they before expected; for when he was come to Antony, he soon recovered his interest with him, by the presents he made him, which he had brought with him from Jerusalem; and he soon induced him, upon discoursing with him, to leave off his indignation at him, so that Cleopatra's persuasions had less force than the arguments and presents he brought to regain his friendship; for Antony said, that it was not good to require an account of a king, as to the affairs of his government, for at this rate he could be no king at all, but that those who had given him that authority ought to permit him to make use of it. He also said the same things to Cleopatra, that it would be best for her not busily to meddle with the acts of the king's government. Herod wrote an account of these things; and enlarged upon the other honours which he had received from Antony: how he sat by him at his hearing causes, and took his diet with him every day, and that he enjoyed those favours from him, notwithstanding the reproaches that Cleopatra so severely laid against him, who was the greatest admirer of his, and jealous especially entertaining Antony that the kingdom might be given to her, laboured with her utmost diligence to have him out of the way; but that he still found Antony just to him, and had no longer any apprehensions of hard treatment from him; and that he was soon upon his return, with a firmer additional assurance of his favour to him, in his reigning and managing public affairs; and that there was no longer any hope for Cleopatra's covetous temper, since Antony had given her Cleopatra instead of what she desired; by which means he had at once pacified her, and got clear of the entreaties which she made him to have Judea bestowed upon her.

9. When these letters were brought, the women left off their attempt for flying to the Romans, which they thought off while Herod was supposed to be dead; yet was not that purpose of theirs a secret; but when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Parthians, he returned to Judea, when both his sister Salome, and his mother, informed him of Alexandra's intentions. Salome also added somewhat farther against Joseph, though it was no more than a calumny, that he had often had criminal conversation with Marianne. The reason of her saying so was this, that she for a long time bare her ill-will; for when they had differences with one another, Marianne took great freedom, and reproached the rest for the meanness of their birth. But Herod, whose affection to Marianne was always very warm, was presently disturbed at this, and could not bear the tortures of jealousy, but was still restrained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her; yet said his vessel that affection was no more than to make him ask Marianne by herself about this matter of Joseph; but she denied it upon her oath, and said all that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defence; so that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop the suspicion, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard about her, and returned her a great many acknowledgments of her modest behaviour and profess ed the extraordinary affection and kindness he had for her, till at last, as is usual between lovers, they both fell into tears, and embraced one another with a most tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief of her fidelity, and endeavoured to draw her to a
like confidence in him, Marianne said, "Yet was not that command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with thee, a sign of thy love to me?" When these words were fallen from her, the king was shocked at them, and presently let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his own hands, and said, that now he had an evident demonstration that Joseph had had criminal conversation with his wife; for that he would never have uttered what he had told him alone by himself, unless there had been such a great familiarity and firm confidence between them. And while he was in this passion he had liked to have killed his wife; but being still overborne by his love to her, he restrained this his passion, though not without a lasting grief and discontent of mind. However, he gave order to stay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight; and as for Alexandra, he bound her, and kept her in custody, as the cause of all this mischief.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW CLEOPATRA, WHEN SHE HAD GOTTEN FROM ANTONY SOME PARTS OF JUDEA AND ARABIA, CAME INTO JUDEA; AND HOW HEROD GAVE HER MANY PRESENTS, AND CONDUCTED HER ON HER WAY BACK TO EGYPT.

1. Now at this time the affairs of Syria were in confusion by Cleopatra’s constant persuasions to Antony to make an attempt upon every body’s dominions; for she persuaded him to take those dominions away from their several princes, and bestow them upon her; and she had a mighty influence upon him, by reason of his being enslaved to her by his affections. She was also by nature very covetous, and stuck at no wickedness. She had already poisoned her brother, because she knew that he was to be king of Egypt, and this when he was but fifteen years old; and she got her sister Arsinoe to be slain, by the means of Antony, when she was a suppliant at Diana’s temple at Ephesus; for if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchres. Nor was there any holy place that was esteemed the most inviolable, from which she would not fetch the ornaments it had in it; nor any place so profane, but was to suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her, if it could but contribute somewhat to the covetous humour of this wicked creature; yet did not all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a slave to her lusts, but she still imagined that she wanted every thing she could think of, and did her utmost to gain it; for which reason she hurried Antony on perpetually to deprive others of their dominions, and give them to her; and as she went over Syria with him, she contrived to get it into her possession; so he slew Lysanias the son of Ptolemy, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. She also petitioned Antony to give her Judea and Arabia; and, in order thereto, desired him to take those countries away from their present governors. As for Antony, he was so entirely overcome by this woman, that one would not think her conversation only could do it, but that he was some way or other bewitched to do whatsoever she would have him;

yet did the grossest parts of her injuries make him so ashamed, that he would not always hearken to her to do those flagrant enormities she would have persuaded him to. That therefore he might not totally deny her, nor by doing every thing which she enjoined him, appear only to be an ill man, he took some parts of each of those countries away from their former governors, and gave them to her. Thus he gave her the cities that were within the river Eleutherus, as far as Egypt, excepting Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors, although she pressed him very often to bestow those on her also.

2. When Cleopatra had obtained thus much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia, as far as Euphrates, she returned back, and came to Amapia and Damascus, and passed on to Judea; where Herod met her, and farmed of her her parts of Arabia, and those revenues that came to her from those regions about Jericho. This country bears that balsam, which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone. The place bears also palm-trees, both many in number, and those excellent in their kind. When she was there, and was very often with Herod, she endeavoured to have criminal conversation with the king; nor was she apt to omit the appearance of such sort of pleasures; and perhaps she had in some measure a passion of love to him, or rather, what is most probable, she laid a treacherous snare for him, by aiming to obtain such adulterous conversation from him; however, upon the whole, she seemed overcome with love to him. Now Herod had a great while borne no good-will to Cleopatra, as knowing that she was a woman irksome to all; and at that time he thought her particularly worthy of his hatred, if this attempt proceeded out of lust: he had also thought of preventing her intrigues, by putting her to death, if such were her endeavours. However, he refused to comply with her proposals, and called a counsel of his friends to consult with them whether he should not kill her, now he had her in his power; for that he should thereby deliver all those from a multitude of evils to whom she was already become irksome, and was expected to be still so for the time to come; and that this very thing would be much for the advantage of Antony himself, since she would certainly not be faithful to him, in case such a season or necessity should come upon him as that he should stand in need of her fidelity. But when he thought to follow this advice, his friends would not let him; and told him, that, in the first place, it was not right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself thereby into the utmost danger; and they laid hard at him, and begged him to undertake nothing rashly, for that Antony would never bear it, no, not though any one should evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own advantage; and that the appearance of discovering him of her conversation, by this violent and treacherous method, would probably set his affections more on a flame than before. Nor did it appear that he could offer any thing of tolerable weight in his defence, this attempt being against such a woman as was of the highest dignity of any of her sex at that time in the world; and as to any advantage to be expected from such an undertaking, if any such could be supposed in this case, it would appear to deserve condemnation on account of the insolence he must take upon him in doing it: which consi-
ctions made it very plain, that in so doing he would find his government filled with mischiefs, both great and lasting, both to himself and his posterity, whereas it was still in his power to reject that wickedness she would persuade him to, and to come off honourably at the same time. So by thus affrighting Herod, and representing to him the hazards he must, in all probability, run by this undertaking, they restrained him from it. So he treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

18. But Antony subdued Armenia, and sent Arta-
bazes, the son of Tigranes, in bonds, with his children and procurators, to Egypt, and made a present of them, and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom, to Cleopatra; and Artaxias, the eldest of his sons, who had escaped at that time, took the kingdom of Armenia; who yet was ejected by Archelaus and Nero Caesar, when they restored Tigranes, his younger brother, to that kingdom: but this happened a good while afterward.

4. But then, as to the tributes which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for that country which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, as deeming it not safe for him to afford any cause for Cleopatra to hate him. As for the king of Arabia, whose tribute Herod had undertaken to pay her, for some time indeed he paid him as much as came to two hundred talents; but he afterward became very niggardly and slow in his payments, and could hardly be brought to pay some parts of it, and was not willing to pay even them without some deductions.

CHAPTER V.

HOW HEROD MADE WAR WITH THE KING OF ARABIA, AND AFTER THEY HAD Fought MANY BATTLES, AT LENGTH CONQUERED HIM, AND WAS CHosen BY THE ARABS TO BE GOVERNOR OF THAT NATION; AS ALSO CONCERNING A GREAT EARTHQUAKE.

§ 1. HEREPON Herod held himself ready to go against the king of Arabia, because of his ingratitude to him, and because, after all, he would do nothing that was just to him, although Herod made the Roman war an occasion of delaying his own; for the battle of Actium was now expected, which fell into the hundred and eighty-seventh olympiad, where Caesar and Antony were to fight for the supreme power of the world; but Herod having enjoyed a country that was very fruitful, and that now for a long time, and having received great taxes, and raised great armies therewith, got together a body of men, and carefully furnished them with all necessaries, and designed them as auxiliaries for Antony; but Antony said he had no want of his assistance; but he commanded him to punish the king of Arabia, for he had heard, both from him and from Cleopatra, how perfidious he was; for this was what Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own advantage that these two kings should do one another as great mischief as possible. Upon this message from Antony, Herod returned back, but kept his army with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. So when his army of horsemen and footmen was ready, he marched to Dipsas, whither the Arabians came also to meet him.

It unapprised of this war that was coming upon them; and after a great battle had been fought, the Jews had the victory; but afterward there were gotten together another numerous army of the Arabians, at Cans, which is a place of Celseryas. Herod was informed of this beforehand: so he marched against them with the greatest part of the forces he had; and when he was come near Cans, he resolved to encamp himself; and he cast up a bulwark, that he might take a proper season for attacking the enemy; but as he was giving those orders, the multitude of the Jews cried out that he should make no delay, but lead them against the Arabians. They went with great spirit, as believing they were in very good order; and those especially were so that had been in the former battle and had been conquerors, and had not permitted their enemies so much as to come to a close fight with them; and when they were so tumultuous, and showed such great alacrity, the king resolved to make use of that zeal the multitude then exhibited; and when he had assured them he would not be behind them in courage, he led them on, and stood before them in all his armour, all the regiments following him in their several ranks; whereupon a consternation fell upon the Arabians; for when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquered, and were full of spirit, the greater part of them ran away, and avoided fighting; and they had been quite destroyed, had not Athenio fallen upon the Jews, and distressed them; for this man was Cleopatra's general over the soldiers she had there, and was at enmity with Herod, and very wittily dreamed to see what the aspect of the battle would be. He had also resolved, that in case the Arabians did any thing that was brave and successful, he would lie still; but in case they were beaten, as it really happened, he would attack the Jews with those forces he had of his own, and with those that the country had gotten together for him; so he fell upon the Jews unexpectedly, when they were fatigued, and thought they had already vanquished the enemy, and made a great slaughter of them; for as the Jews had spent their courage upon their own enemies, and were about to enjoy themselves in quietness after their victory, they were easily beaten by those that attacked them aforesaid; and in particular received a great loss in places where the horses could not be of any service, and which were very stony, and where those that attacked them were better acquainted with the places than themselves; and when the Jews had suffered this loss, the Arabians raised their spirits after their defeat, and returning back again, slew those that were already put to flight; and indeed the slaughter was now more terrible; a few of those that escaped, a few only returned into the camp. So king Herod, when he despaired of the battle, rode up to them to bring them assistance, yet did he not come time enough to do them any service, though he laboured hard to do it; but the Jewish camp was taken, so that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained that victory which of themselves they were no way likely to have gained, and slaying a great part of the enemy's army; whereas afterward Herod could only act like a private robber, and make excursions upon many parts of Arabia, and distress them by sudden incursions, while he encamped among the mountains, and avoided by any means to come to a pitched battle; yet did he greatly harass the enemy by his
assiduity, and the hard labour he took in this matter. He also took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state.

2. At this time it was that the fire which happened at Actium, between Octavius Caesar and Antony, in the second year of the reign of Herod; and then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judea, such a one as had not happened at any other time, and which earthquake brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses; but the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Arabs were informed of this, and when those that hated the Jews, and pleased themselves with aggravating the reports, told them of it, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they took the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them after all this had happened, to make peace with them, and slew them, and came with great solemnity against their army; but the Jews durst not withstand them, and were so cast down by the calamities they were under, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to despair, for they had hope of any help from Rome; nor were they in a level again with them in battles, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere, while their affairs at home were in such great distress also. When matters were in this condition, the king persuaded the commanders by his words, and tried to raise their spirits, which were quite sunk: and first he endeavoured to encourage and embolden some of the better sort beforehand, and then ventured to make a speech to the multitude, which he had before avoided to do, lest he should stir up the money cheat, because of the misfortunes which had happened: so he made a consolatory speech to the multitude, in the manner following:—

3. You are not unacquainted, my fellow-soldiers, that we have had, not long since, many accidents that have put a stop to what we are about; and it is probable, that even those that are most distinguished above others for their courage, can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances; but since we cannot avoid fighting, and nothing that has been first obtained be so much a matter, it may by ourselves be recovered into a good state, and this by one brave action only well performed, I have proposed to myself both to give you some encouragement, and, at the same time, some information; both which parts of my design will tend to this point, that you may still continue in your own proper fortitude. I will then, in the first place, demonstrate to you, that this war is a just one on our side, and that on this account it is a war of necessity, and occasioned by the injustice of our adversaries; for, if you be once satisfied of this, it will be a reason for your constancy to you; after which it will further demonstrate, that the misfortunes we are under are of no great consequence, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses to what I shall say. You are not ignorant certainly of the wickedness of the Arabs, which is to that degree as to appear incredible to all other men, and to include somewhat that shows the greatest barbarity and ignorance of God. The chief things wherein they have affronted us are arise from covetousness and envy; and they have attacked us in an iniquitous manner, and on the sudden. And what occasion is there for me to mention many instances of such their procedure? When they were in danger of losing their own government of themselves, and of being slaves to Cleopatra, what others were they that freed them from that fear? for it was the friendship I had with Antony, and the kind disposition he was in towards us, that hath been the occasion that even these Arabs have not been utterly undone; Antony being unwilling to undertake any thing which might be suspected by us of unkindness; but when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him presents of my own, I might obtain a security to both nations, while I undertook myself to answer for the money, and gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for those two hundred more which were imposed upon the land which was subject to this tribute: and this they have defrauded us of, although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or at any rate to the person allowable; but although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute for these Arabs, whom we have ourselves preserved; nor is it fit that they who have professed (and that with great integrity and sense of our kindness) that it is by our means that they keep their principality, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due, and this while we have been still not their enemies but their friends. And whereas observation of covenants takes place among the bitterest enemies, but among friends is absolutely necessary,—this is not observed among these men, who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any means whatsoever, and that injustice is no harm, if they may but get money by it: is it therefore a question with you, whether the unjust are to be punished or not? when God himself hath declared his mind that so it ought to be,—and hath commanded that we ever should hate injuries and injustice, which is not only just but necessary in war between several nations; for these Arabs have done what both the Greeks and Barbarians own to be an instance of the greatest wickedness, with regard to our ambassadors, whom they have beheaded, while the Greeks declare that such ambassadors are sacred and inviolable. And for ourselves, we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law, by angels or ambassadors; for this name brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is sufficient to reconcile enemies one to another. And wickedness then can be greater than the slaughter of an enemy to have to treat with; this is right? And when such have been their actions, how is it possible they can either live securely in common life, or be successful in war? In my opinion, this is impossible. But perhaps some will say, that what is holy, and what is righteous, is indeed on our side, but that the Arabs are either more cou...
rageous or more numerous than we are. Now, as to this, in the first place, it is not fit for us to say so, for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himself; now, where God is, there is both multitude and courage. But to examine our own circumstances a little, we were conquerors in the first battle; and when we fought again, they were not able to oppose us, but ran away, and could not endure our attacks or our courage; but when we had conquered them, then came another, and made war upon us without declaring it; and pray, is this an instance of their manhood, or is it not a second instance of their wickedness and treachery? Why are we therefore of less courage, on account of that which ought to inspire us with stronger hopes! and why are we terrified at these, who, when they fight upon a level, are continually beaten, and when they seem to be conquerors, they gain it by wickedness! and if we suppose that any one should deem them to be men of real courage, with that liberty given by that, we see, do not derive their alacrity from any advantageous virtue of their own, but from their hope, as to us, that we are quite cast down by our misfortunes; but when we boldly march against them, we shall soon pull down their insolent conceit of themselves, and shall gain this by attacking them, that they will not be so insolent when we come to the battle; for our distresses are not so great, nor is what hath happened an indication of the anger of God against us, as some imagine; for such things are accidental, and adversities that come in the usual course of things, but if such calamities happen, it is the will of God, we must allow that it is now over by his will also, and that he is satisfied with what hath already happened; for had he been willing to afflic us still more hereby, he had not changed his mind so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he hath himself demonstrated that he is willing it should go on, and that he knows it to be a just war; for while some of the people in the country have perished, all you who were in arms have suffered nothing, but are all preserved alive; whereby God makes it plain to us, that if you had, universally, with your children and wives, been in the army, it had come to pass that you had not undergone anything that would have much hurt you. Consider these things, and what is more than all the rest, that you have God at all times for your protector; and prosecute these men with a just bravery, who, in point of friendship, are unjust, in their battles perfidious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you in valour. 

4. When the Jews heard this speech, they were much raised in their minds, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had offered the sacrifices appointed by the law, made haste, and took them, and led them against the Arabians; and in order to that, passed over Jordan, and pitched his camp near to that of the enemy. He also thought fit to seize upon a certain castle that lay in the midst of them, as hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner produce a battle; and that if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified; and as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it. At first they were but skirmishes, after which there came more soldiers, and it proved a sort of fight, and some fell on both sides, till those of the Arabian side were beaten, and retreated. This was no small encouragement to the Jews immediately; and when Herod observed that the enemy's army were disposed to any thing rather than to come to an engagement, he ventured boldly to attempt the bulwark itself, and to pull it to pieces, and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them; for when they were forced out of their trenches, the Jews went to be inconsiderate, and were disposed to least alacrity, or hope of victory: yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were no more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a disposition of war that they were under a necessity of coming on boldly; so they came on to a terrible battle, while not a few fell on each side. However, at length the Arabians fled; and so great a slaughter was made upon their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but because the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude, and the great current of people in disorder, and were destroyed by their own armour; so five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude soon ran within the bulwark [for safety], but had no firm hope of safety, by reason of their want of necessaries, and especially of water. The Jews pursued them, but could not get in with them, but sat round about the bulwark, and watched any assistance that would get into them, and prevented any there, that had a mind to it from running away. When the Arabians were in these circumstances, they proposed to the Jews, to come to a conference, to propose terms of accommodation, and after that to offer him, so pressing was their thirst upon them, to undergo whatsoever he pleased, if he would free them from their present distress; but he would admit of no ambassadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other terms whatever, being very desirous to revenge those unjust actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were necessitated by other motives, and particularly by their thirst, to come out, and deliver themselves up to the Jews, who, in five days' time, the number of four thousand they taken prisoners, while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them, choosing rather, if so it must be, to die therein, than to perish gradually and ingloriously. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, but could no way sustain the fight, being too much disabled, both in mind and body, and having not room to exert themselves, and
thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive; so at the first onset there fell about seven thousand of them, after which stroke, they felt all the courage they had put on before fall, and speedily he at Herod’s warlike spirit under his own calamities; so for the future they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he was greatly elevated at so seasonable a success, and returned home, taking great authority upon him, on account of so bold and glorious an expedition as he had made.

CHAPTER VI.

OF HEROD SLEW HYRCANUS, AND THEN HASTED AWAY TO CESAR, AND OBTAINED THE KINGDOM FROM HIM ALSO; AND HOW, A LITTLE TIME AFTERWARD, HE ENTERTAINED CESAR IN A MOST HONOURABLE MANNER.

§ 1. Herod’s other affairs were now very prosperous, and he was not to be easily assaulted on any side. Yet did the come upon him a danger that would hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by Caesar [Octavian]; for at that time both Herod’s enemies and friends despised of his affairs, for it was not probable that he would remain without punishment, who had shown so much friendship for Antony. So it happened that his friends despised, and had no hopes of his escape; but for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared troubled at his case, but were privately very glad of it, as hoping to obtain a change for the better. As for Herod himself, he saw that there was no one of royal dignity left but Hyrcanus, and therefore he thought it would be for his advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in his way any longer; so that in case he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it was the safest way to put it out of the power of such a man to make any attempt against him at such junctures of affairs, as was more worthy of the kingdom than himself; and in case he should be slain by Antony, he very promptly him to desire to stay him that would otherwise be king after him.

2. While Herod had these things in his mind, there was a certain occasion afforded him; for Hyrcanus was of so mild a temper, both then and at other times, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what that afforded him: but Alexandra [his daughter] was a lover of strife, and was exceeding desirous of a change of the government; and spoke to her father not to hear for ever Herod’s injurious treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might; and desired him to write about these matters to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, to receive them, and to secure them [from Herod], for that if they went away, and Herod’s affairs proved to be, as it was likely they would be by reason of Caesar’s enmity to him, they should then be the only persons that could take the government; and this, both on account of the royal family they were of, and on account of the good disposition of the multitude to them. While she used these persuasions, Hyrcanus put off her suit; but as she showed that she was a woman, and a contentious woman too, and would not desist either night or day, but would always be speaking to him about these matters, and about Herod’s treacherous designs, she at last prevailed with him to entrust Dositheus, one of his friends, with a letter, wherein his resolution was declared; and he desired the Arabian governor to send him some horsemen, who should receive him, and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites, which is from the bounds of Jerusalem three hundred furlongs: and he did therefore trust Dositheus with his letter, because he was a careful attendant on him, and on Alexandra, and had no small occasion to bear ill will to Herod; for he was a kinsman of one Joseph, whom he had slain; and a brother of those that were formerly slain at Tyre by Antony; yet he could not have Dositheus to serve Hyrcanus in this affair; for preferring the hopes he had from the present king to those he had from him, he gave Herod the letter. So he took his kindness in good part, and bade him besides do what he had already done, that is, go on in serving him, by rolling up the epistle and sealing it again, and delivering it to Malchus, and then to bring back the letter in answer to it; for it would be much better if he could know Malchus’s intentions also. And when he was ready to serve in this point also, the Arabian governor refused to answer back for answer, that he would receive Hyrcanus, and all that should come with him, and even all the Jews that were of his party: that he would, moreover, send forces sufficient to secure them in their journey; and that he should be in no want of any thing he should desire. Now as soon as Herod had received this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the league he had made with Malchus; and when he denied it, he allowed the letters to be as he said, and put the man to death immediately.

3. And this account we give the reader, as it is contained in the commentaries of king Herod: but other historians do not agree with them, for they suppose that Herod did not find, but rather make, this an occasion for thus putting him to death, and that by treacherously laying a snare for him; for thus do they write:—That Herod and he were once at a treat, and that Herod had given no occasion to suspect [what was done to him], but put this question to Hyrcanus, Whether he had received any letters from Malchus! and when he answered that he had received letters, but those of salutation only; and when he asked farther, whether he had not received any presents from him? and when he had replied, that he had received no more than four horses to ride on, which Malchus had sent him, they pretended that Herod charged these upon him as the crimes of bribery and treason, and gave orders that he should be led away and slain. And in order to demonstrate that he had been guilty of no offence, when he was thus brought to his end, they allege how mild his temper had been; and that even in his youth he had never given any demonstration of boldness or rashness, and that the case was the same when he came to be king, but that he even then committed the management of the greatest part of public affairs to Antipater; and that he was now above fourscore years old, and knew that Herod’s government was in a secure state. He also came over Euphrates, and left those who greatly honoured him beyond that river, though he were to be entirely under Herod’s government; and that it was a most incredible thing that he should enterprise any thing by way of innovation, and not
at all agreeable to his temper, but that this was a
plot of Herod's own contrivance.
4. And this was the fate of Hyrcanus; and thus
did he end his life, after he had endured various and
manifold turns of fortune in his lifetime; for
he had made high-priest of the Jewish nation
in the beginning of his mother Alexander's reign,
who held the government nine years; and when,
after his mother's death, he took the kingdom him-
self, and held it three months, he lost it, by the
means of his brother Aristobulus. He was then
restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of
honour from him, and enjoyed them forty years; but
when he was again deprived by Antigonus, and
was maligned in his body, he was made a captive by the
Parsians, and then returned home again after
some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had
given him; none of which came to pass according to
his expectation, but he still conflicted with many
misfortunes through the whole course of his life;
and, what was the heaviest calamity of all, as we
have related already, he came to an end which was
undeserved by him. His character appeared to be
that of a man of a mild and moderate disposition,
who suffered the administration of affairs to be
generally done by others under him. He was
averse to much meddlesing with the public, nor had
shewn himself more zealous in the interest of his
country at that time than to the interests of Antipater and Herod came to their greatness by
reason of his mildness; and at last he met with
such an end from them as was not agreeable either
to justice or piety.
5. Now Herod, as soon as he had put Hyrcanus
out of the way, made haste to Cæsar; and because
he could not have any hopes of kindness from him,
on account of the friendship he had for Antony, he
had a suspicion of Alexander, lest she should take
this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt,
and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the
kingdom; so he committed the care of every thing
to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother
Cyprus, and his sister [Salome], and the whole
family, at Masada, and gave him a charge, that if
he should hear any sad news about him, he should
take care of the government: but as to Marianne
his wife, because of the misunderstanding between
her and his sister, and his sister's mother, which
made it impossible for them to live together, he
placed her at Alexandria, with Alexandra her
mother, and left her treasurer Joseph and Simeon
of Litrae, to take care of that fortress. These
both had been very faithful to him from the beginning,
and were now left as a guard to the women. They
also had it in charge, that if they should hear any
mischief had befallen him, they should kill them
both; and, as far as they were able, to preserve
the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother
Pheroras.
6. When he had given them this charge, he
made haste to Rhodes, to meet Cæsar; and when
he had sailed to that city, he took off his diadem,
but remitted nothing else of his usual dignity: and
when, upon his meeting him, he desired that he
would let him speak to him, he therein exhibited
a much more noble specimen of a great soul, for
he did not bestake himself to supplications, as men
usually do upon such occasions, nor offered him
any petition, as if he were an offender; but, after
an undaunted manner, gave an account of what he
had done; for he spake thus to Cæsar:—That he
had the greatest friendship for Antony, and did
every thing that he could that he might attain the
government: that he was not indeed in the army
with him, because the Arabians had diverted him,
but that he had sent him both money and corn,
which was but too little in comparison of what he
ought to have sent Alexander, and Cæsar; for, if a man owns
himself to be another's friend and honours him to be a
benefactor, he is obliged to hazard every thing,
to use every faculty of his soul, every member of
his body, and all the wealth he hath, for him; in
which I confess I have been too deficient. How-
ever, I am conscious to myself, that so far I have
done right, that I have not deserted him on his
defeat at Actium: nor upon the evident change of
his fortune have I transferred my hopes from him
to another, but have preserved myself, though not
as a valuable fellow-soldier, yet certainly as a
faithful counsellor to Antony, when I demonstrated
to him that the only way he had to save himself,
and not lose all his authority, was to alay Cleopatra;
for when she was once dead, there would be
room for him to retain his authority, and rather to
bring thee to make a composition with him, than
to continue at enmity any longer. None of which
advises would he attend to, but preferred his own
rash resolutions before them, which have happened
unprofitably for him, but profitably for thee. Now,
therefore, in case thou determinest about me, and
mayst alacrily in serving Antony, according to the
anger at him, I own there is no room for me to
deny what I have done, nor will I be ashamed to
own, and that publicly too, that I had a great kind-
ness for him; but if thou wilt put him out of the
case, and only examine how I behave myself to
my benefactors in general, and what sort of friend
I am, thou wilt find by experience that we shall
do and be the same to thyself, for it is but changing
the names, and the firmness of friendship that we
shall bear thee, will not be disapproved by thee.
7. By this speech, and by his behaviour, which
showed Cæsar the frankness of his mind, he greatly
gained upon him, who was himself of a generous
and magnificent temper, insomuch that those very
actions, which were the foundation of the accusation
against him, procured him Cæsar's good will.
Accordingly, he restored him his diadem again; and
encouraged him to exhibit himself as a great friend
to himself as he had been to Antony, and then had
him in great esteem. Moreover, he added this, that
Quintus Didius had written to him that Herod had
very readily assisted him in the affaire of the gladi-
ators. So when he had obtained such a kind reception,
and had, beyond all his hopes, procured his crown
to be more entirely and firmly settled, upon him
than ever, by Cæsar's donation, as well as by that
decree of the Romans, which Cæsar took care to
procure for his greater security, he conducted Cæsar
on his way to Egypt, and made him presents, even
beyond his ability, to both him and his friends; and
in general behaved himself with great magnani-
mity. He also desired that Cæsar would not put
to death one Alexander, who had been a companion
of Antony; but Cæsar had sworn to put him to death,
and so he could not obtain that his petition; and
now he returned to Judea again with greater honour
and assurance than ever, and affrighted those that
had expectations to the contrary, as still acquiring
from his very dangers greater splendour than before,
by the favour of God to him. So he prepared for
the reception of Cæsar as he was going out of Syria
to invade Egypt; and when he came he entertained
for he knew that the king’s fondness for his wife was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Sohems to discover what injunctions had been given him. So Mariamne was greatly displeased to hear that there was no end of the dangers she was under from Herod, and was greatly uneasy at it, and wished that he might obtain no favours [from Caesar], and esteemed it almost an insurmountable task to live with him any longer; and this she afterwards openly declared, without concealing her resentment.

2. And now Herod sailed home with joy, at the unexpected good success he had had; and went first of all, as was proper, to this his wife, and told her, and her only, the good news, as preferring her before the rest, on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy there had been between them, and saluted her; but it so happened, that as he told her of the good success he had had, she was so far from rejoicing at it, that she rather was sorry for it; nor was she able to conceal her resentments, but depending on her dignity, and the nobility of her birth, in return for his salutations, she gave a groan, and declared evidently that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success,—and this till Herod was disturbed at her, as affording him, not only marks of her suspicion, but evident signs of her discontent. Thus, he put this saturation to her, to see that this surprising hatred of his wife to him was not concealed, but open; and he took this so ill, and yet was so unable to bear it, on account of the fondness he had for her, that he could not continue long in any one mind, but sometimes was angry at her, and sometimes reconciled himself to her; but by always changing one passion for another, he was still in great uncertainty, and thus was entangled between hatred and love, and was frequently disposed to inflict punishment on her, for her insolence towards him; but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he was not able to get quit of this woman. In short, as he would gladly have her punished, so was she afraid lest, ere he were aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring a heavier punishment upon himself at the same time.

3. When Herod’s sister and mother perceived that he was in this temper with regard to Mariamne, they thought they had now got an excellent opportunity to express their hatred against her, and provoked Herod to wrath by telling him such long stories and calumnies about her, as might at once excite his hatred and his jealousy. Now, though he willingly enough heard their words, yet had not he courage enough to do any thing to her as he believed them, but still he became worse and worse disposed towards her, and these ill passions were more and more inflamed on both sides, while she did not hide her disposition towards him; and he turned his love to her into wrath against her; and when he was just going to put this matter past all remedy, he heard the news that Caesar was the victor in the war, and that Antony and Cleopatra were both dead, and that he had conquered Egypt; whereupon he made haste to go to meet Caesar, and left the affairs of his family in their present state. However, Mariamne recommended Sohems to him, as he was setting out on his journey, and professed that she owed him thanks for the care he had taken of her; and asked of the king for him a place in the government; upon which an honourable employment was bestowed upon him so-

CHAPTER VII.

HOW HEROD SLEW SOHEMUS AND MARIAMNE, AND AFTERWARDS ALEXANDRA AND CONSTOBARUS, AND HIS MOST INTIMATE FRIENDS, AND, AT LAST, THE SONS OF BABAS ALSO.

1. However when he came into his kingdom again, he found his house in disorder, and his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra very uneasy; for, as they suppos’d, (what was easy to be suppos’d) that they were not put into that fortress [Alexandrium] for the security of their persons, but as into a garrison for their imprisonment, and that they had no power over any thing, either of others or of their own affairs, they were very uneasy; and Mariamne, supposing that the king’s love to her was but hypocritical, and rather pretended (as advantageous to himself) than real, she looked upon it as fallacious. She also was grieved that he would not allow her any hopes of surviving him, if he should come to any harm himself. She also recollect’d what commands he had formerly given to Joseph, insomuch that she endeavoured to please her keepers, and especially Sohems, as well appris’d how all was in his power; and at the first Sohems was faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had given him in charge. But when the women, by kind words, and liberal presents, had gained his affections over to them, he was by degrees overcome, and at length discovered to them all the king’s intentions, and this on that account principally, that he did not so much as hope he would come back with the same authority he had before, so that he thought he should both escape any danger from him, and supposed that he did hereby much gratify the women, who were likely not to be overlooked in the settling of the government, nay, that they would be able to make him abundant recompense, since they must either reign themselves, or be very near to him that should reign. He had a farther ground of hope also, that though Herod should have all the success he could wish for, and should return again, he could not contradict his wife in what she desired.
cordingly. Now, when Herod was come into Egypt, he was introduced to Cæsar with great freedom, as already a friend of his, and received very great favours from him; for he made him a present of those four hundred Galatians who had been Cleopatra’s guards, and restored that country to him again, which, by her means, had been taken away from him. He also added to his kingdom Gadara, Hippo, and Samaria; and, besides those, the maritime cities, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato’s Tower.

Upon these new acquisitions, he grew more magnificent, and conducted Cæsar as far as Antioch; but upon his return, as much as his prosperity was augmented by the foreign additions that had been made him, so much the greater were the distresses that came upon him in his own family, and chiefly in the affair of his wife, wherein he formerly appeared to have been most of all fortunate; for the affection he had for Mariamne was no way inferior to the affections of such as are on that account celebrated in history, and this very justly. As for how her case was, in other respects, a woman so faithful to him; yet had she somewhat of a woman rough by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough, because she saw he was so fond of her as to be enslaved to her. She did not also consider seasonably with herself that she lived under a monarchy, and that she was at another’s disposal, and accordingly would behave herself after a saucy manner to him, which yet he usually put off in a jesting way, and bore with moderation and good temper. She would also expose his mother and his sister openly, on account of the meanness of their birth, and would speak unkindly of them, insomuch, that there was before this a disagreement and unpardonable hatred among the women, and it was now come to greater reproaches of one another than formerly, which suspicions increased, and lasted a whole year after Herod returned from Cæsar. However, these misfortunes, which had been kept under some decency for a great while, burst out all at once upon such an occasion as was now offered; for as the king was one day about noon lain down on his bed to rest him, he called for Mariamne, out of the great affection he had always for her. She came in accordingly, but would not lie down by him; and when he was very desirous of her company, she showed her contempt of him; and added, by way of reproach, that he had caused her father and her brother to be slain; and when he took this injury very unkindly, and was ready to use violence to her, in a precipitate manner, the king’s sister, Salome, observing that he was more than ordinarily excited, sent into the king his cup-bearer, who had been prepared long beforehand for such a design, and bade him tell the king how Mariamne had persuaded him to give his assistance in preparing a love-potion for him; and if he appeared to be greatly concerned, and to ask what that love-potion was, to tell him that she had the potion, and that he was desired only to give it him; but in case he did not appear to be much concerned at this potion, to let the thing drop; and that if he did so, no harm should thereby come to him. When she had given him these instructions, she sent him at this time to make such a speech. So he went in after a composed manner, to gain credit to what he should say, and yet somewhat hastily; and said, that Mariamne had given him presents, and persuaded him to give him a love-potion; and when this moved the king, he said that this love-potion was a composition that she had given him, whose effects he did not know, which was the reason of his resolving to give him this information, as the safest course he could take, both for himself and for the king. When Herod had said what was said, and in an ill manner, before, his indignation grew more violent; and he ordered that euuchen of Mariamne, who was most faithful to her, to be brought to torture about this potion. As well knowing it was not possible that any thing small or great could be done without him; and when the man was under the utmost agonies, he could say nothing concerning the thing he was tortured about, but so far he knew, that Mariamne’s hatred against him was occasioned by somewhat to Salome. Now, as he was saying this, Herod cried out aloud, and said, that Sohemus, who had been at all other times the most faithful to him, and to his government, would not have betrayed what injunctions he had given him, unless he had had a nearer conversation than ordinary with Mariamne. So he gave orders that Sohemus should be seized on and slain immediately; but he allowed his wife to take her trial; and got together those that were most faithful to him, and laid an elaborate accusation against her for this love-potion and composition, which had been charged upon her by way of calumny only. However, he kept no temper in what he said, and was in too great a passion for judging well about this matter. Accordingly, when the court was at length satisfied that he was so resolved, they passed the sentence of death upon her; but when the sentence was passed upon her, this temper was suggested by himself, and by some others of the court, that she should not be thus hastily put to death, but be laid in prison in one of the fortresses belonging to the kingdom; but Salome and her party laboured hard to have the woman put to death; and they prevailed with the king to do so, and advised this out of caution, lest the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live; and thus was Mariamne led to execution.

5. When Alexandra observed how things went, and that there were small hopes that she herself should escape the like treatment from Herod, she changed her behaviour to quite the reverse of what might have been expected from her former boldness, and, as it were, her large heart. Whereas Mariamne was here represented as reproaching Herod with the death of her father and brother, as we have already observed, whereas there was a good reason why Herod should reproach Herod, while it was her grandfather Hysanias, and not her father Alexandra as a woman he caused to be slain, as Josephus himself inform us, (ch. vi. sect. 8), ver. 20, “saw, reading, which is here great: whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the death of her father and brother, as we have already observed, whereas there was a good reason why Herod should reproach Herod, while it was her grandfather Hysanias, and not her father Alexandra as a woman he caused to be slain, as Josephus himself informs us, (ch. vi. sect. 8), ver. 20, “saw, reading, which is here great: whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the death of her father and brother, as we have already observed, whereas there was a good reason why Herod should reproach Herod, while it was her grandfather Hysanias, and not her father Alexandra as a woman he caused to be slain, as Josephus himself informs us, (ch. vi. sect. 8), ver. 20, “saw, reading, which is here great: whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the death of her father and brother, as we have already observed, whereas there was a good reason why Herod should reproach Herod, while it was her grandfather Hysanias, and not her father Alexandra as a woman he caused to be slain, as Josephus himself informs us, (ch. vi. sect. 8), ver. 20, “saw, reading, which is here great: whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the death of her father and brother, as we have already observed, whereas there was a good reason why Herod should reproach Herod, while it was her grandfather Hysanias, and not her father Alexandra as a woman he caused to be slain, as Josephus himself informs us, (ch. vi. sect. 8), ver. 20, “saw, reading, which is here great: whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the death of her father and brother, as we have already observed, whereas there was a good reason why Herod should reproach Herod, while it was her grandfather Hysanias, and not her father Alexandra as a woman he caused to be slain, as Josephus himself informs us, (ch. vi. sect. 8), ver. 20, “saw, reading, which is here great: whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the death of her father and brother, as we have already observed, whereas there was a good reason why Herod should reproach Herod, while it was her grandfather Hysanias, and not her father Alexandra as a woman he caused to be slain, as Josephus himself informs us, (ch. vi. sect. 8), ver. 20, “saw, reading, which is here great: whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the death of her father and brother, as we have already observed, whereas there was a good reason why Herod should reproach Herod, while it was her grandfather Hysanias, and not her father Alexandra as a woman he caused to be slain, as Josephus himself informs us, (ch. vi. sect. 8), ver. 20, “saw, reading, which is here great: whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the death of her father and brother, as we have already observed, whereas there was a good reason why Herod should reproach Herod, while it was her grandfather Hysanias, and not her father Alexandra as a woman he caused to be slain, as Josephus himself informs us, (ch. vi. sect. 8), ver. 20, “saw, reading, which is here great:
ness, and only looked at her, yet did she, out of a great
greatness of soul, discover her concern for her mo-
ther's offence, and especially for her exposing her-
sell in a manner so unbecoming her: but as for herself,
she went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind, and
without changing the colour of her face, and thereby evidently discovered
the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last
moments of her life.

6. And thus died Marianne, a woman of an
excellent character, both for chastity and greatness of soul; but she
wanted moderation, and had too much precipitation in her nature. And she,
that can be said in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation;
and thence arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not
prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him as she might otherwise have done;
for while she was most indulgently used by the king, out of his fondness for her, and did not
expect that he could do any thing hard to her, she took too unbounded a liberty. Moreover, that
which most afflicted her, was what he had done to
her relations; and she ventured to speak of all
they had suffered by him, and at last greatly pro-
duced both the king's mother and sister, till they
became enemies to her; and even he himself also
did the same, on whom alone she depended for her
expectations of escaping the last of punishments.

7. But when she was once dead, the king's affec-
tions for her were kindled in a more outrageous
manner than before, whose old passion for her we
have already described; for his love to her was
not of a calm nature, nor such as we usually meet
with among other husbands; for at its commence-
ment it was of an enthusiastic kind; nor was it, by
their long cohabitation and free conversation toge-
ther brought under his power to manage; but at
this time his love to Marianne seemed to seize
him in such a peculiar manner, as looked like di-
vine vengeance upon him for taking away her life;
for he would frequently call for her, and frequently
lament for her, in a most indecent manner. More-
over, he beheld of every thing he could make use of
to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts and assemblies for that
purpose, but nothing would suffice: he therefore
laid aside the administration of public affairs, and
was so far conquered by his passion, that he would
order his servants to call for Marianne, as if she
were still alive, and could still hear them; and
when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential
disease, and carried off the greatest part of the
multitude, and of his best and most esteemed
friends, and made all men suspect that this was
brought upon them by the anger of God, for the
injustices that had been done to Marianne. In
circumstances affected the king still more, till at
length he forced himself to go into desert places,
and there, under pretence of going a hunting, bit-
terly afflicted himself; yet had he not borne his
grief there many days before he fell into a most
dangerous distemper himself; he had an inflamma-
tion upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of
his head, joined with madness; and for the reme-
cies that were used, they did him no good at all,
but proved contrary to his ease, and so at length
brought him to despair. All the physicians also
thrust much censure in her nature, yet had she
they brought for his recovery could not at all con-
quered the disease, and partly because his diet could
be no other than what his disease inclined him to,
desire him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and
so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in
the power of that diet, and committed him to for-
tune. And thus did his distemper go on, while he
was at Samaria, now called Sebaste.

8. Now Alexandra abode at this time at Jerusa-
lem; and being informed what condition Herod
was in, she endeavoured to get possession of the
fortified places that were about the city, which
were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the
other belonging to the temple; and those that could
get them into their hands had the whole nation
under their power, for without the command of them
it was not possible to offer their sacrifices; and to
think of leaving off those sacrifices, is to every Jew
plainly impossible, who are still more ready to lose
their lives than to leave off that divine worship
which they have been wont to pay to God. Alex-
andra, therefore, discoursed with those that had
the keeping of those strong-holds, that it was pro-
per for them to deliver the same to her, and to
Herod's sons, lest, upon his death, any other person
could seize upon the government; and that upon
his recovery none could keep them more safely for
him than those of his own family. Those words
were not by them all taken in good part; and,
as they had been in former times faithful [to He-
rod], they resolved to continue so much more than ever,
both because they hated Alexandra, and because
they thought it a sort of impiety to despair of
Herod's recovery while he was yet alive, for they
had been his old friends; and one of them, whose
name was Achibas, was his cousin-german. They
sent messengers, therefore, to acquaint him with
Alexandra's design; so he made no further delay,
but gave orders to have her slain; yet was it with
difficulty, and after he had endured great pain, that
he got clear of his distemper. He was still sorely
afflicted, both in mind and body, and made very
uneasy, and readier than ever upon all occasions to
inflict punishment upon those that fell under his
hand. He also slew the most intimate of his
friends, Costobarus, and Lysimachus, and Gadias,
who was also called Antipater; as also Dostheus,
and that upon the following occasion.

9. Costobarus was an Idumean by birth, and one
of principal dignity among them, and one whose an-
cestors had been priests to the Koze, whom the Idu-
means had [formerly] esteemed as a god; but after
Hyrcanus had made a change in their political gov-
ernment, and made them receive the Jewish customs
and law, Herod made Costobarus governor of Idu-
mea and Gaza, and gave him his sister Salome to
wife; and this was upon his slaughter of [his uncle]
Joseph, who had that government before, as we have
related already. When Costobarus had gotten to
be so highly advanced, it pleased him, and was more
than he hoped for, and he was more and more puf-
fed up by his good success, and in a little while he
exceeded all bounds, and did not think fit to obey
what Herod, as their ruler, commanded him, or
that the Idumeans should make use of the Jewish cus-
toms, or be subject to them. He therefore sent to
Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumeans had
been always under his progenitors, and that for
the same reason it was but just that she should desire
that country for him of Antony, for that he was
ready to transform it into his, and nation did, not
because he was better pleased to be under Cleopatra's government, but because he thought
10. But some time afterward, when Salome happened to quarrel with Costobarus, she sent him a bill of divorce, and dissolved her marriage with him, though this was not according to the Jewish laws; for with us it is lawful for a husband to do so; but a wife if she departs from her husband, cannot of herself be married to another, unless her former husband puts her away. However, Salome chose not to follow the law of her country, and the law of her authority, and so renounced her wedlock; and told her brother Herod, that she left her husband out of her good-will to him, because she perceived that he, with Antipater, and Lysimachus, and Dosithæus, were raising a sedition against him: as an evidence whereof, she alleged the case of the sons of Babas, that they had been by him preserved alive already for the interval of twelve years, which proved to be true. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of it, he was greatly surprised at him, and was the more surprised, as the relation appeared incredible to him. As for the fact relating to these sons of Babas, Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring them to punishment, as being enemies to his government; but they were now forgotten by him, on account of the length of time [since he had ordered them to be slain]. Now the cause of his ill-will and hatred to them arose hence: that while Antigonus was king, Herod, with his army, besieged the city of Jerusalem, where the distress and misery which the besieged endured were so pressing, that the continuance of it excited the hatred of Herod, against the city, and already placed their hopes on him. Now, the sons of Babas were of great dignity, and had power among the multitude, and were faithful to Antigonus, and were always raising calumnies against Herod, and encouraged the people to preserve the government to that royal family which held it by inheritance. So these men acted thus politically, and, as they thought, for their own advantage; but when the city was taken, and Herod had gotten the government into his own hands, and Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from passing out at the gates, and to guard the city, that those citizens that were guilty, and of the party opposite to the king, might not get out of it,—Costobarus being sensible that the sons of Babas were had in respect and honour by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in the changes of government afterward, he set them by themselves, and concealed them in his own farms, and when this thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of that matter, and so overcame the suspicions that lay upon him; nay, after that, when the king had publicly proposed a reward for the discovery, and had put in practice all sorts of methods for searching out this matter, he would not confess it; but being persuaded that when he had first denied it, if the men were found, he should not escape unpunished, he was forced to keep them secret, not only out of his good-will to them, but out of a necessary regard to his own preservation also. But when the king knew this thing, by his sister's information, he sent men to the places where he had the intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them and those that were accused as guilty with them, to be slain, inasmuch that there were now none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus; and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's power, and there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

CHAPTER VIII.


§ 1. On this account it was that Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient constitution, by the introduction of foreign practices, which constitution yet ought to have been preserved inviolable; by which means we became guilty of great wickedness afterwards, while those religious observances which used to lead the multitude to piety, were now neglected: for, in the first place, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Caesar, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheatre in the plain. Both of them were indeed costly works, but opposite to the Jewish customs; for we have had no such shows delivered down to us as fit to be used or exhibited by us, yet did he celebrate these games every five years, in the most solemn and splendid manner. He also had a great declamation to the neighbouring countries, and called men together out of every nation. The wrestlers, and the rest of those that strove for the prizes in such games, were invited out of every land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, and by the glory of victory to be there gained. So the principal persons that were the most eminent in these sorts of exercises, were gotten together, for there were very great rewards for victory proposed, not only to those that performed their exercises naked, but to those that played the musicians also, and were called tymphonies; and he spared no pains to induce all persons, the most famous for such exercises, to come to this contest for victory. He also
proposed no small rewards to those who ran for the prizes in chariot races, when they were drawn by two, or three, or four pair of horses. He also imitated every thing, though ever so costly or magnificent, in other nations, out of an ambition that he might give most public demonstration of his grandeur, and magnificence, and the great actions of his war, and trophies of those nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the purest gold and silver, encompassed the theatre itself: nor was there any thing that could be subservient to his design, whether it were precious garments, or precious stones set in order, which was not also exposed to sight in these games. He had also made a great preparation of wild beasts, and of lions themselves in great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were rarely seen. These were prepared either to fight one with another, or that men who were condemned to death were to fight with them. And truly foreigners were greatly surprised and delighted at the vastness of the expenses here exhibited; and at the great dangers that were here seen; but to natural Jews this was no better than a dissolution of these customs for which they had so great a veneration. It appeared also no better than an instance of barefaced impiety, to throw men to the wild beasts, for the allowing delight to the spectators, and it appeared an instance of no less impiety, to change their own laws for such foreign exercises, but, above all the rest, the trophies gave most disgust to the Jews; for as they imagined them to be images, included within the armour that hung round about them, they were sorely displeased at them, because it was not the custom of their country to pay honours to such images.

2. Nor was Herod unequainted with the disturbance they were under; and, as he thought it unsensible to use violence with them, so he spake to some of them by way of consolation; and in order to free them from that superstitious fear they were under, yet could not be satisfy them, but they cried out with one accord, out of their great uneasiness at the offences they thought he had been guilty of, that although they should think of bearing all the rest, yet would they never bear images of men in their city, meaning the trophies, because this was disagreeable to the laws of their country. Now when Herod saw them in such a disorder, and that they would not easily change their resolution unless they received satisfaction in this point, he called to him the most eminent men among them, and brought them upon the theatre, and spoke to them on the trophies, and asked them, what sort of things they took these trophies to be; and when they cried out that they were the images of men, he gave order that they should be stripped of these outward ornaments which were about them, and showed them the naked pieces of wood; which pieces of wood, now without any ornaments, became matter of great sport and laughter to them, because they had before always had the ornaments of images themselves in decision.

3. When therefore Herod had thus got clear of the multitude, and had dissipated the vehemency of passion under which they had been, the greatest part of the people were disposed to change their conduct, and not to be displeased at him any longer; but still some of them continued in their displeasure against him, for his introduction of new customs, and esteemed the violation of the law of their country as likely to be the origin of very great mischiefs to them, so that they deemed it an instance of piety rather to hazard themselves [to be put to death], than to seem as if they took no notice of Herod, who, upon the change he had made in their government, introduced such customs, and that in a violent manner, which they had never been used to before, as indeed in pretence a king, but in reality one that showed himself an enemy to their whole nation; on which account ten men that were citizens of Jerusalem, conspired together against him, and swore to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments [for the purpose of killing Herod]. Now there was a certain blind man among those conspirators who had thus sworn to one another, on account of the indignation he had against what he heard to have been done; he was not indeed able to afford the rest any assistance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, if so be they should come to any harm, insomuch that he became a very great encourager of the rest of the undertakers.

4. When they had taken this resolution, and that by common consent, they went into the theatre, hoping that, in the first place, Herod should not escape them, as they should fall on him so unexpectedly; and supposing, however, that if they missed him, they should kill a great many of those that were about him; and this resolution they took, though they should die for it, in order to suggest to the king what injuries he had done to the multitude. These conspirators therefore, standing thus prepared beforehand, went about to threaten the great king with death; but there was one of those spies of Herod that were appointed for such purposes, to fish out and inform him of any conspiracies that should be made against him, who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to go into the theatre. So when he reflected on the hatred which he knew the greatest part of the people bore him, and on the disturbances that arose upon every occasion, he thought this plot against him not to be improbable. Accordingly, he retired into his palace, and called those that were accused of this conspiracy before him by the several names; and as, upon the guards falling upon them, they were caught in the very fact, and knew they could not escape, they prepared themselves for their ends with all the decency they could, and so as not at all to reveal from their resolute behaviour, for they showed no shame for what they were about, nor denied it; but when they were seized, they showed their daggers, and professed, that the conspiracy they had sworn to was a holy and a pious action; that what they intended to do was not for gain, or out of any indulgence to their passions, but principally for those common customs of their country, which all the Jews were obliged to observe, or to die for them. This was what these men said, out of their undaunted courage in this conspiracy. So they were led away to execution by the king's guards that stood about them, and patiently underwent all
the torments inflicted on them till they died. Nor was it long before that spy who had discovered them, was seized on by some of the people, out of the hatred they bore to him; and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces, limb from limb, and given to the dogs. This execution was seen by many of the citizens, yet would not one of them discover the doers of it, till upon Herod's making a strict scrutiny after them, by bitter and severe tortures, certain women that were tortured confessed what they had seen done; the authors of which fact were so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were exterminated. And yet did not the obstinacy of the people, and the undaunted constancy they showed in the defence of their laws, make Herod any easier to them, but he still strengthened himself after a more secure manner, and resolved to encompass the multitude every way, lest such innovations should end in an open rebellion.

5. Since, therefore, he had now the city fortified by the palace in which he lived, and by the temple which had a strong fortress by it, called Antonia, and was rebuilt by himself, he contrived to make Samaria a fortress for himself also against all the people, and called it Sebasto, supposing that this place would be a strong hold against the country, not inferior to the former. So he fortified that place, which was a day's journey distant from Jerusalem, and which would be useful to him in common, to keep both the country and the city in awe. He also built another fortress for the whole nation: it was of old called Strato's Tower: but was by him named Cesarea. Moreover, he chose out some select horsemen, and placed them in the greatest of his cities, and in the middle of it, (for them) a place in Galilee, called Gaba, with Hasbonitas, in Peræa; and these were the places which he particularly built, while he always was inventing somewhat farther for his own security, and encompassing the whole nation with guards, that they might by no means get from under his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did continually upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions, he might know of it, while some of his spies might be upon them from the neighbourhood, and might both be able to know what they were attempting, and also to watch it; and when he went about building the wall of Samaria, he contrived to bring thither many of those that had been assisting him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighbourhood also, whom he made fellow citizens with the rest. This he did, out of an ambitious desire of building a temple, and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before, but principally because he contrived that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebasto. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a happy condition, upon their first coming to inhabit. Besides all which, he encompassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the acclivity of the place for making its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities, for it was twenty furloong in circumference. Now within, and about the middle of it, he built a sacred place, of a furlong and a half [in circuit] with all sorts of decorations, and the temple, which was illustrious, on account of both its largeness and beauty; and as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also; and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the greatest part a citadel; and as to the elegance of the building, it was taken care of also, that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence, to future ages.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCERNING THE FAMINE THAT HAD HAPPENED IN JUDEA AND SYRIA; AND HOW HEROD, AFTER HE HAD MARRIED ANOTHER WIFE, REBUILT CESAREA, AND OTHER GREECEN CITIES.

§ 1. Now on this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country; whether they were derived from the anger of God, or whether this misery returns again naturally in certain periods of time; for, in the first place, there were perpetual droughts, and for that reason the ground was barren, and did not bring forth the same quantity of fruits that it used to produce; and after this barrenness of the soil, that change of food which the want of corn occasioned, produced distresses in the bodies of men, and a pestilential disease prevailed, one misery following upon the back of another; and these circumstances, that they were destitute of food, and were too weak to provide for themselves left the country in an acute distress, and made it a pestilential distemper, which began after a liberal manner, the more lasting. The destruction of men also, after such a manner, deprived those that survived of all their courage, because they had no way to provide remedies sufficient for the distresses they were in. When therefore the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatsoever they had laid up beforehand was spent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining, but the misery, contrary to what they expected, still increased upon them; and this, not only on that year, while they had not only no food to provide for themselves, but what seed they had sown perished also, by reason of the ground not yielding its fruits on the second year.† This distress they were in made them also, out of necessity, to eat many things that did not use to be eaten: nor was the king himself free from this distress any more than other men, as being deprived of that tribute he used to have from the fruits of the ground; and having already expended what money he had, in his liberality to those whose cities he had built; nor had he any people that were worse off, and by this miserable state of things had procured him the

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* Here we have an eminent example of the language of Josephus in his writing to Gentiles, different from that when he wrote to Jews; in the words to whom he still derives all such judgments from the anger of God, but because he knew many of the Gentiles thought they might naturally come in certain periods, he composes with them in the following sense: Some find in the Septuagint, note on the Psalms:

† This famine for two years that affected Judea and Syria, the thirteenth and fourteenth years of Herod's reign, and the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years before the Christian era, seems to have been more terrible during this time than was that in the days of Jacob, Gen. xli. 26. And what makes the comparison the more remarkable is this — that now, as well as then, the relief they had was from Egypt also; then from Joseph the governor of Egypt, but now from Pharaoh king of Egypt, and now from Ptolemy the protector of Egypt, under Augustus, the Ro-

It is also well worth our observation here, that these two years were a year and a year and a half, by which Pliny speaks of the theocracy, used to provide a triple crop beforehand; but which became now, when the Jews had forfeited that bosom, the greatest years of famine to them ever since the days of Abaia. Kings v. 17, 18.
barred of his subjects; for it is a constant rule, that misfortunes are still laid to the account of those that govern.

2. In these circumstances he considered with himself how to procure some seasonable help; but this was a hard thing to be done, while their neighbours had no food to sell them; and their money also was gone, had it been possible to purchase a little food at a great price. However, he thought it his best way, by all means, not to leave off his endeavours to assist his people; so he cut off the rich furniture that was in his palace, both of silver and gold, insomuch that he did not spare the finest vessels he had, or those that were made with the most elaborate skill of the artificers, but sent the money to Petronius, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Caesar; and as not a few had already tied to him under their necessities, and as he was particularly a friend to Herod, and desirous to have his subjects preserved, he gave leave to them, in the first place, to export corn, and assisted them every way, both in purchasing and exporting the same; so that he was the principal, if not the only person, who afforded them what help they had. And Herod, taking care the people should understand that this help came from himself, did thereby not only remove the ill opinion of those that formerly hated him, but gave them the greatest demonstration possible of his good-will to them, and care of them: for, in the first place, as for those who were able to provide their own food, he distributed to them their portion of corn in the exactest manner; but for those many that were not able, either by reason of their old age, or any other infirmity, to provide food for themselves, he made this provision for them that the bakers should make their bread ready for them. He also took care that they might not be hurt by the danger of winter, since they were in great want of clothing also, by reason of the utter destruction and consumption of their p and goats, and no wool to make use of, nor any thing else to cover themselves withal. And when he had procured these things for his own subjects, he went farther, in order to provide necessities for their neighbours; and gave seed to the Syrians; which things turned greatly to his own advantage also, this charitable assistance being afforded most seasonably to their fruitful soil, so that every one had now a plentiful provision of food. Upon the whole, when the harvest of the land was approaching, he sent no fewer than fifty thousand men, whom he had sustained, into the country; by which means he both repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom with great generosity and diligence, and lightened the afflictions of his neighbours, who were under the same calamities; for there was nobody who had been in want, that was left destitute of a suitable assistance by him; nay, farther, there were neither any people, nor any cities, nor any private men, who were to make provision for the multitudes; and on that account were in want of support, and had recourse to him, but received what they stood in need of, insomuch that it appeared, upon a computation, that the number of cori of wheat, of ten Attic medimni a-piece, that were given to foreigners, amounted to ten thousand; and the number that was given in his own kingdom was fourscore thousand. Now it happened that this care of his, and this seasonable benefaction, had such influence on the Jews, and was so cried up among other nations, as to wipe off that old hatred which his violation of some of their customs, during his reign, had procured him among all the nation, and that this liberality of his assistance in this their greatest necessity was full satisfaction for all that he had done of that nature, as also it procured him great fame among foreigners; and it looked as if these calamities that afflicted his land to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raise his glory, and to be to his great advantage: for the greatness of his liberality in these distresses, which he now demonstrated beyond all expectation, did so change the disposition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such a one as they had found him to be by experience, but such a one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities proved him now to be.

3. About this time it was that he sent five hundred chosen men out of the guards of his body as auxiliaries to Caesar, whom \(\text{\ae}lius Gallus\) led to the Red Sea, and who were of great service to him there. When therefore his affairs were thus improved, and were again in a flourishing condition, he built himself a palace in the upper city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble seats, and beds; and these were so large that they could contain very many companies of men. These apartments were also of distinct magnitudes, and had particular names given them; for one apartment was called Caesar's, another Agrippa's. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased. The occasion of this his marriage was as follows:—There was one Simon, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of one Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there: this man had a daughter, who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time; and when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in his commendation, he so much affected with what was said of her; and when he saw the damsel, he was smitten with her beauty; yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her; as believing, what was the truth, that by so doing he should be stigmatized for violence and tyranny: so he thought it best to take the damsel to wife. And while Simon was of a dignity too inferior to be allied to him, but still too considerable to despise, he governed his inclinations after the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of the family, and making them more honourable; so he immediately deprived Jesus the son of Phabet of the high-priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and so joined in affinity with him (by marrying his daughter).

4. When this wedding was over, he built another citadel in that place where he had conquered the Jews, when he was driven out of his government, and Antigonus enjoyed it. This citadel is distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. It was strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of moderate hill, raised to a farther height, by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular
towers, and hath a straight ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and convenience, so that there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, and also on account of the water which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vast expenses; for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices, not inferior to any city in largeness, and having the hill itself in the nature of a castle.

8. And now, when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes, he had not the least suspicion that any troubles could arise in his kingdom, because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, for he was implacable in the infliction of his punishments, as by the provident care he had shewn towards them, after the most magnanimous manner, when they were under their distresses; but still he took care to have external security for his government, as a fortress against his subjects; for the orations he made to the cities were very fine, and full of kindness; and he cultivated a reasonable good understanding with his governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them, that they might induce them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent disposition so his kingdom might be better secured to him, and this till all his affairs were every way more and more augmented. But then, this magnificent temper of his, and that submissive behaviour and liberality which he exercised towards Caesar, and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation, and to set aside many of their laws, by building cities after an extravagant manner, and erecting temples,—not in Judea indeed, for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden for us to pay any honour to images, or representations of animals, after the manner of the Greeks; but still he did this in the country (properly) out of our bounds, and in the cities thereof. The apology which he made to the Jews for these things was this:—That all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of others, in order to please Caesar and the Romans; as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his mind, as he had the honour of those Romans, while yet he had himself entirely in view all the while, and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity; whence it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and spent such vast sums of money upon them.

6. Now upon his observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was beside called Strato's Tower, he set about getting a plan for a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices all over it, and this of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces, and large edifices for containing the people; and what was the greatest and most laborious work of all, he adorned it with a haven, that was always free from the waves of the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyreum [at Athens]; and had towards the city a double station for ships. It was of excellent workmanship; and this was the most to that exercise; but the built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was to be brought to perfection by materials from other places, and at very great expenses. This city is situate in Phocicia, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Doris, which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them, which, rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station; but the merchants are generally the forced to be driven by those winds. The city itself. So Herod endeavoured to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out such a compass towards the land as might be sufficient for a haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety; and this he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathoms deep; and as some were lesser, so were others bigger, than those dimensions. This mole which he built by the seaside was two hundred feet wide, the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was called Prosymatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers, the largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the son-in-law of Caesar, who died young. There were also a great number of arches, where the mariners dwelt: there was also before them a quay [or landing-place], which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind to that exercise; but the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter, on which side was the stiffest of the winds of all in this place: and the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you enter the port, supported a round turret, which was made very strong, in order to resist the greatest waves; while, on the right hand, as you enter, stood two vast stones, and those of them each larger than the turret, which was over against them: these stood upright, and were joined together. Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the most polished stone, with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple, that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for that haven, and had in it two statues, the one of Rome, the other of Caesar. The city itself was called Caesarea, which was also itself built of fine materials, and was of a fine structure; nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had no less of architecture bestowed on them than had the buildings above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at even distances to the haven and
to the sea; but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the rest together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with ease, and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city, and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theatre of stone; and on the south quarter, behind the port, an amphitheatre also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. So this city was thus finished in twelve years;* during which time the king did not fail to go on with both the work, and to pay the charges that were necessary.

CHAPTER X.

HOW HEROD SENT HIS SONS TO ROME; HOW ALSO HE WAS ACCUSED BY ZENODORUS AND THE GADARENS, BUT WAS CLEARED OF WHAT THEY ACCUSED HIM OF, AND WITHAL GAINED TO HIMSELF THE GOOD-WILL OF CAESAR, CONCERNING THE PHARISEES, THE ESSENS AND MAANAIM.

§ 1. When Herod was engaged in such matters, and when he had already re-edified Sebaste [Samaria], he resolved to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to enjoy the company of Caesar; who, when they came thither, lodged at the house of Pollio,† who was very fond of Herod's friendship: and they had leave to lodge in Caesar's own palaces, for he received these sons of Herod with all humanity, and gave Herod leave to give his kingdom to which of his sons he pleased; and, besides all this, he bestowed on him Trachon, and Batanea, and Auranitis, which he gave him on the occasion following:—One Zenodorus‡ had hired what was called the house of Lyssanias, who, as he was not satisfied with his revenues, became a partner with the robbers that inhabited the Trachonites, and so procured him a larger income; for the inhabitants of those places lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes, while Zenodorus did not restrain them, but partook of the plunder they acquired. Now, as the robbers were thereby greatly enriched, and the robbers were greatly sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was the president of Syria, and entreated him to write to Caesar about this injustice of Zenodorus. When these matters were laid before Caesar, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and give the land to Herod, that by his care the neighbouring countries might be no longer disturbed with these doings of the Trachonites, for it was not an easy thing to restrain them, since this way of robbery had been their usual trade for many years, and other way, and other way to their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession, but only some receptacles and dens in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together: however, they had made contrivances to get pools of water, and laid up corn in granaries for them-

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* Cemen being kyre said to be rebuilt and adored in twelve years, and soon afterwards in ten years (Antiq. b. xxv. ch. v. sects. 13), there must be a mistake in one of the places as to the true number; but in which of them, it is hard to determine.

† This Pollio, with whom Herod's sons lived at Rome, was not the Pollio the Pharisees, already mentioned by Josephus (ch. i. sect. 11), and again openly cited this ch. x. sect. 41, but Ambros. Pollio, the Roman, as Synopsis here observes.

‡ The character of this Zenodorus is as like that of a famous robber of the same name in Strabo, that about this very country, and about this very time also, that I think Dr. Hudson hardly needed to have put a parenthesis to his determination that they were the same.

selves, and were able to make great resistance, by issuing out on the sudden against any that attacked them; for the entrances of their caves were narrow, in which but one could come in at a time, and the places within incredibly large, and made very wide; but the ground over their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain, while the rocks are altogether hard and difficult to be entered upon, unless any one gets into the plain road by the guidance of another, for these roads are not straight, but have several revolutions. But when these men are hindered from their wicked preying upon their neighbours, the custom is to pay one upon another, inasmuch that no sort of injustice comes amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant from Caesar, and was come into this country, he procured skilful guides, and put a stop to their wicked robberies, and procured peace and quietness to the neighbouring people.

2. Hereupon Zenodorus was grievous, in the first place, because his principalities was taken away from him, and still more so, because he envied Herod, who had gotten it; so he went up to Rome to accuse him, but returned back again without success. Now Agrippa was [about this time] sent to succeed Caesar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian Sea, upon whom Herod lighted when he was wintering about Mitylene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned into Judea again. However, some of the Gadarens came to Agrippa, and accused Herod, whom he sent back bound to the king, without giving them the hearing; but still the Arabians, who of old bare ill-will to Herod's government, were restless, and at that time attempted to raise a sedition in his dominions, and, as they thought, upon a more justifiable occasion; for Zenodorus, desiring already of success as to his own affairs, prevented [his enemies], by selling to those Arabians a part of his principalities, called Auranitis, for the value of fifty talents; but as this was included in the donations of Caesar, they contested the point with Herod, as unjustly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon him, and sometimes by attempting force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were troublesome to him, out of a constant hope that they should reduce the people to raise a sedition; in which designs, those that are in the most miserable circumstances of life are still the most earnest; and although Herod had been a great while apprized of these attempts, yet did not he indulge any severity to them, but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things, as not willing to give any handle for tumult.

3. Now when Herod, who already reigned seventeen years, Caesar came into Syria; at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Gadara disposed against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical. These reproaches they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement of Zenodorus, who took his oath that he would never leave Herod till he had procured that they should be severed from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Caesar's province. The Gadarens were induced hereby, and made no small cry against him; and that the more boldly, because those that had been delivered up by Agrrippa were reprieved by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm; for indeed he was the principal man in the
world who appeared almost inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family; but very generous in remitting the offences that were committed elsewhere. And while they accused Herod of injuries and plunderings, and subversion of temples, he stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his peace with his fences. However, Caesar gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this disturbance of the multitude; and indeed these things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no farther; for as the Gadarines saw the inclination of Caesar and of his assessors, and expected, as they had reason to do, that they should be delivered up to the king, some of them, out of a dread of the torments they might undergo, cut their own throats in the night-time, and some of them threw themselves down precipices, and others of them cast themselves into the river, and destroyed themselves of their own accord; which accidents seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and crimes they had been guilty of; whereupon Caesar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod from the crimes he was accused of. Another happy accident there was, which was a farther great advantage to Herod at this time; for Zenodorus’s belly burst, and a great quantity of blood issued from him in his sickness, and he thereby departed this life at Antioch in Syria; so Caesar bore him his head, which he esteemed as small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trichon and Galilae, and contained Ulath, and Paneas, and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do every thing with his approbation; and, in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire, first Caesar and then Agrippa, who was his principal favourite, Caesar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa; and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod beside Caesar, and when he had acquired such freedom, he begged of Caesar a tetrarchy* for his brother Pheroras, while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in case he came to any harm himself, his brother might be in safety, and that his sons might not have dominion over him. So when he had conducted Caesar to the sea, and was returned home, he built him a most beautiful temple, of the whitest stone in Zenodorus’s country, near the place called Panium. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and full of a still water; over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the caverns arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still farther by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Caesar.

4. At which time Herod released to his subjects the third part of their taxes, under promise indeed of relieving them after the death they had had; but the main reason was, to recover the good will, which they did not want for; for they were uneasy at him, because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices of the dissolution of their religion, and of the disuse of their own customs, and the people everywhere talked against him, like those that were still more provoked and disturbed at his procedure; against which discontents he greatly guarded himself, and took away the opportunities they might have to disturb him, and enjoined them to be always at work; nor did he permit the citizens to sit together, or to walk, or eat together, but watched every thing they did, and when any were caught, they were severely punished; and many there were who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania, both openly and secretly, and were there put to death; and there were spies set everywhere, both in the city and in the roads, who watched those that met together; nay, it is reported that he did not himself neglect this part of caution, but that he would oftentimes himself take the habit of a private man, and mix among the multitude, in the night-time, and make trial what opinion they had of his government; and as for those that could be no way reduced to acquiesce under his scheme of government, he persecuted them all manner of ways; but for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good-will, and continue certain so to do, in his management of the government; and indeed a great part of them, either to please him, or out of fear of him, yielded to what he required of them; but for such as were of a more open and generous disposition, and had indignation at the force he used to them, he by one means or other made away with them. He endeavoured also to persuade Pollio the Pharisce, and Samaes, and the greatest part of their scholars, to take the oath; but these would neither submit so to do, nor were they punished together with the rest, out of the reverence he bore to Pollio. The Essens also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this imposition. These men live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call Pythagoreans; concerning whom I shall discourse more fully elsewhere. However, it is but fit to set down here the reasons wherefore Herod had these Essens in such honour, and thought higher of them than their mortal nature required; nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history, as it will show the opinion men had of these Essens.

5. Now there was one of these Essens, whose name was Manahem, who had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life after an excellent manner, but had the foreknowledge of future events give him by God also. This man once saw Herod when he was a child, and going to school, and saluted him as king of the Jews; but he, thinking that either he did not know him, or that he was in jest, put him in mind that he was but a private man; but Manahem smiled to himself, and clapped him on his backside with his hand, and said, "However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily, for God finds thee worthy of it; and do thou remember the blow that Manahem hath given thee, as being a signal of the change of thy fortune; and truly this will be the best reasoning for thee, that thou art moved towards prudence, and piety towards God, and deadness towards thy citizens; yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such a one, for thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting reputation, but wilt forget piety and righteousness; and these crimes will not be concealed from God at the conclusion of thy

* A tetrarchy properly and originally denoted the fourth part of an entire kingdom or country, and a tetrarch one that was ruler of such a fourth, act, which always implies somewhat less extent of dominion and power than belong to a kingdom and to a king.
life, when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, and punish thee for them." Now at that
time Herod did not at all attend to what Manahem said, as having no hopes of such advancement;
but a little afterward, when he saw the enmity as to be increased to the dignity of king, and was in the
height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him how long he should reign. Manahem
did not tell him the full length of his reign; wherefore, upon that silence of his, he asked him farther,
whether he should reign ten years or not? He replied, "Yes, twenty, nay, thirty years;" but did not
assign the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was satisfied with these replies, and gave
Manahem his hand, and dismissed him, and from that time he continued to honour all the Essenes.
We have thought it proper to relate these facts to our readers, how strange severer they be, and to
declare what hath happened among us, because many of these Essenes have, by their excellent vir-
tue, been thought worthy of this knowledge of divine revelations.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW HEROD REBUILT THE TEMPLE, AND RAISED IT HIGHER, AND MADE IT MORE MAGNIFICENT THAN IT HAD BEEN BEFORE, AND ALSO CONCERNING THAT TOWER WHICH HE CALLED ANTONIA.

§ 1. AND now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned,
undertook a very great work, that is, to build of himself the temple of God, and make it larger
in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most glorious
of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection, and this would be sufficient for an
everlasting memorial of him; but as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him
in so vast a design, he thought to prepare them first by making a speech to them, and then set
about the work itself; so he called them together, and spake thus to them: — "I think I need not
speak to you, my countrymen, about such other works as I have done since I came to the kingdom,
although I may say they have been performed in such a manner as to bring more security to you
than glory to myself; for I have neither been negligent in the most difficult times about what tended
to ease your necessities, nor have the buildings I have made been so proper to preserve me as
yourselves from injuries; and I imagine that, with God's assistance, I have advanced the nation of
the Jews to a degree of happiness which they never had before; and for the particular edifices belong-
ing to your own country, and to your own cities, as also to those cities that we have lately acquired,
which we have erected and greatly adorned, and thereby augmented the dignity of your nation, it
seems to me a needless task to enumerate them to you, since you well know them yourselves; but as

* Some of our modern students in architecture have made a strange blunder here, when they imagine that Josephus affirms the entire foundation
of the church or holy house to have sunk down into the hundred cubits on which it stood, no less than twenty cubits, whereas he is clear that
these are the foundations of the additional twenty cubits on which the hundred (made perhaps once for purpose, and only for show and grandeur),
that sank or fell down, as Dr. Hudson rightly underscores this, not the thing itself possible in the other sense. Archeological pre-
paration for building the inner parts of the temple twenty cubits higher (History of the Wars, b. v. ch. 7, sect. 7), must in all probability refer to
this matter, since Josephus says here, that this which had fallen down was not the original temple, but one that was newly made that preparation.
But what Josephus says presently, that column was the first king of the Jews, appears by the parallel passage in
b. v. ch. is. sect. 7, and other places, to be meant only the first of David's twenty, and the first builder of the temple.
this part it was that we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole structure, as also the structure of the royal cloister, was on each side much lower, but the middle was much higher, till they were visible to those that dwelt in the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived over-against them and those that approached to them. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height with the temple itself. They were adorned with embroidered veils, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven: and over these, but under the crown-work, was spread out a golden vine, with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators, to see what vast materials there were, and with what great skill the workmanship was done. The whole encompassed the entire temple with very large cloisters, containing a space to be as a due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him, till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters; which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by divine revelation, encompassed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanship upwards, and round the top of it. He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley; and at the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them one to another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height, and till both the largeness of the square edifice and its altitude were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inward parts were fastened with iron, and preserved and preserved in length from the earth times. When this work [for the foundation] was done in this manner, and joined together as a part of the hill itself to the very top of it, he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, [the distance of] each angle containing in length a furlong: but within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, barring in compass with a double cloister, of the same length with the wall; in the midst of which was the temple itself. This cloister looked to the gates of the temple; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times; and round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations; all these had been dedicated to the temple by Herod, with the addition of these he had taken from the Arabians.

4. Now on the north side [of the temple] was built a citadel, whose walls were square, and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Arabians and others also; there were also high-priests before Herod, and they called it the Tower, in which were deposited the vestments of the high-priest, which the high-priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice. These vestiments king Herod kept in that place; and after his death they were under the power of the Romans, until the time of Tiberius Cæsar; under whose reign Vitellius, the president of Syria, when he once came to Jerusalem, and had been most magnificently received by the multitude, he had a mind to make them some requital for the kindness they had shown him; so, upon their petition to have those holy vestiments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberius Cæsar, who granted his request: and this their power over the sacred vestments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa; but after that, Cassius Longinus, who was president of Syria, and Caspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to restore those vestments in the tower of Antonia, for that they ought to have them in their power, as they formerly had. However, the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Cæsar, to intercede with him for them; upon which Agrippa, being then at Rome, asked for and obtained the power over them from the emperor; who gave command to Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give them it accordingly. Before that time they were kept under the seal of the high-priest, and of the treasurers of the temple; which treasurers, the day before a festival, went up to the Roman captain of the temple-guards, and viewed their own seal, and received the vestments; and again when the festival was over, they brought it to the same place, and showed the captain of the temple-guards their seal, which corresponded with his seal, and repaid them there. And that these things were so, the afflictions that happened to us afterward [about them] are sufficient evidence: but for the tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gratified Antoquius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.

5. Now, in the western quarter of the enclosures of the temple there were four gates; the first led to the king’s porch, and in the portion of the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the city; and the last led to the other city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent; for the city lay over-against the temple in the manner of a theatre, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter; but the fourth front of the temple, which was southward, had indeed itself gates in its middle, as also it had the royal cloisters, with three doors, which, joined in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any farther: and this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun; for while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen, if you looked from above into the depth, this farther vastly high elevation of the cloister stood upon that height, insomuch that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down both those altitudes, he would be giddy, while his sight, could not reach to such an immense depth. This cloister had pillars that stood in four rows one over against the other. All along, for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which [also was built of stone]; and the
thickness of each pillar was such, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their hands again, while its length was twenty-seven feet, with a double spiral at its basis; and the number of all the pillars (in that court) was an hundred and sixty-two. Their chapiters were made with sculptures after the Corinthian order, and caused an amazement [to the spectators], by reason of the grandeur of the whole. These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of this cloister; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the same manner; the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length was a furlong, and the height fifty feet; but the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and a half of the other, and the height was double, for it was much higher than those on each side; but the roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood, representing many sorts of figures: the middle was much higher than the rest, and the wall of the front was adorned with beams, resting upon pillars, that were interwoven into it, and that front was all of polished stone, insomuch that its fineness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible, and to such as had seen it, was greatly amazing. Thus was the first enclosure. In the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second, to be gone up to by a few steps: this was encompassed by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription, which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. Now this inner enclosure had on its southern and northern quarters three gates [equally] distant from one another; but on the east quarter, towards the sun-rising, there was one large gate through which such as were pure came in, together with their wives; but the temple farther inward in that gate was not allowed to the women; but still more inward was there a third [court of the temple, whereinto it was not lawful for any but the priests alone to enter. The temple itself was within this; and before that temple was the altar, upon which we offer our sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into none of these three did king Herod enter, for he was forbidden, because he was not a priest. If however, he took ear of the chapiters and the outer enclosures; and these he built in eight years.

6. But the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months,—upon which all the people were full of joy; and presently they returned thanks, in the first place, to God; and in the next place, for the alacrity the king had shown. They feasted and celebrated this rebuilding of the temple: and for the king, he sacrificed three hundred oxen to God; as did the rest, every one according to his ability: the number of which sacrifices is not possible to set down; for it cannot be that we should truly relate it; for at the same time with this celebration for the work about the temple, fell also the day of the king's inauguration, which he kept of an old custom as a festival, and it now coincided with the other; which coincidence of them both made the festival most illustrious.

7. There was also an occult passage built for the king: it led from Antonia to the inner temple, at its eastern gate; over which also he erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a subterraneous ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings. It is also reported, that during the time that the temple was building, it did not rain in the day-time, but that the showers fell in the nights, so that the work was not hindered. And this our fathers have delivered to us; nor is it incredible, if any have regard to the manifestations of God. And thus was performed the work of the rebuilding of the temple.

BOOK XVI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWELVE YEARS.

FROM THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS.

CHAPTER I.

A LAW OF HEROD'S ABOUT THIEVES. SALOME AND PHEEBIAS CALUMNIATE ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS, UPON THEIR RETURN FROM ROME, FOR WHOM HEROD YET PROVIDES WIVES.

§ 1. As king Herod was very zealous in the administration of his entire government, and desirous to put a stop to particular acts of injustice which were done by criminals about the city and country, he made a law, no way like our original laws, and which he enacted himself, to expose housebreakers to be ejected out of his kingdom; which punishment was not only grievous to be borne by the offenders, but contained in it a dissolution of the customs of our forefathers; for this slavery to foreigners,
and such as did not live after the manner of Jews, and this necessity that they were under to do whatsoever such men should command, was an offence against our religious settlement, rather than a punishment to such as were found to have offended, such a punishment being avoided in our original laws; for those laws ordain, that the thief shall restore fourfold; and that if he have not so much, he shall be sold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor so that he be under perpetual slavery, for he must have been released after six years. But this law, thus enacted in order to introduce a severer and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of insolence of Herod, when he did not act as a king but as a tyrant, and thus contemptuously and without any regard to his subjects, did he venture to introduce such a punishment. Now this penalty thus brought into practice, was like Herod’s other actions, and became a part of his accusation, and an occasion of the hatred he lay under.  

2. Now at this time it was that he sailed to Italy, as very desirous to meet with Caesar, and to see his sons who lived at Rome: and Caesar was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but delivered him his sons again, that he might take them home with him, as having already completed themselves in the sciences; but as soon as the young men were come from Italy, the multitude were very desirous to see them, and they became conspicuous among them all, as adorned with great blessings of fortune, and having the countenances of persons of royal dignity. So they soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome, the king’s sister, and to such as had raised calumnies against Mariamne: for they were suspicious, that when these came to the government, they should be punished for the wickedness they had been guilty of against their mother; so they made this very fear of theirs a motive to raise calumnies against them also. They gave it out that they were not pleased with their father’s company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear to converse with their mother’s murderer. Now, by carrying these stories, that had indeed a true foundation (in the fact), but were only built on probabilities as to the present accusation, they were able to do them mischief, and to make Herod take away that kindness from his sons which he had before borne to them, for they did not say these things to him openly, but scattered abroad such words among the rest of the multitude; from which words, when carried to Herod, he was induced [at last] to hate them, and which natural affections itself, even in length of time, was not able to overcome; yet was the king at that time in a condition to prefer the natural affection of a father before all the suspicions and calumnies his sons lay under: so he respected them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were of an age suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for a wife Herennia, Salome’s daughter; and to Alexander, Gaphyna, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Capadocia.

CHAPTER II.

HOW HEROD TWICE SAILED TO AGrippa; AND HOW UPON THE COMPLAINT OF THE JEWS IN IONIA AGAINST THE GREEKS, AGrippa CONFIRMED THE LAWS OF THE JEWS TO THEM.

§ 1. When Herod had dispatched these affairs, and he understood that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again out of Italy into Asia, he made haste to him, and besought him to come to him into his kingdom, and to partake of what he might justly expect from one that had been his guest, and was his friend. This request he greatly pressed, and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judea; whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new built cities, and showed him the edifices he had built, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends, and that at Sebaste and Cesarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expenses, Alexandrium, and Herodium, and Hieroglyphon. He also conducted him to the city of Jerusalem, where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with great acclamations. Agrippa also offered a hecatomb of sacrifices to God; and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be gotten. He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have stayed longer, but that the season of the year made him haste away; for as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to go to sea later, and yet he was of necessity to return again to Ionia.

2. So Agrippa went away, when Herod had bestowed on him, and on the principal of those that were with him, many presents; but king Herod, when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to get to him again in the spring, when he knew he designed to go to a campaign at the Bosphorus. So when he had sailed by Rhodes and by Cos, he touched at Lesbos, as thinking he should have overtaken Agrippa there; but he was taken short here by a north wind, which hindered his ship from going to the shore; so he continued many days at Chius, and there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts. And when he saw that the portico of the city was fallen down, which as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was a very large and fine building, so was it not so easy to rebuild that as it was the rest, yet did he furnish a sum not only large enough for that purpose, but what was more than sufficient to finish the building; and ordered them not to overlook that portico, but to rebuild it quickly, that the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were laid, he sailed to Mitylene, and thence to Byzantium; and when he heard that Agrippa was sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks, he made all the haste possible to overtake him, and came up with him about Sinope, in Pontus. He was seen sailing by the shipmen most unexpectedly, but appeared to their great joy; and many friendly salutations were between them, insomuch that Agrippa thought he had received the greatest marks of the king’s kindness and humanity towards him possible, since the king had come so long a voyage, and at a very proper season, for his assistance, and had left the government of his own dominions,
great favours, it is to our commendation who have obtained them, and having been found deserving of such great favours; and if those favours be but small ones, it would be barbarous for the donors not to confirm them to us: and for those that are the hinderance of the Jews, and use them reproachfully, it is evident that they affront both the receivers, while they will not allow those to be worthy men to whom their excellent rulers themselves have borne their testimony, and the donors, while they desire those favours already granted may be abrogated. Now if any one should ask these Gentiles themselves, which of the two things they should choose to part with, their lives, or the customs of their forefathers, their solemnities, their sacrifices, their festivals, which they celebrate in honour of those they suppose to be gods! I know very well that they would choose to suffer any thing whatsoever rather than a dissolution of any of the customs of their forefathers; for a great many of them have rather chosen to go to war on that account, as very solicitors not to transgress in those matters; and we need we take care only that it be done even as far as they will allow. All mankind do now enjoy by your means from this very thing, that we are allowed every one to worship as our own institutions require, and yet live in peace; and although they would not be thus treated themselves, yet do they endeavour to compel others to comply with them, as if it were not as great an instance of impiety, profanely to dissolve religious solemnities of any others, as to be negligent in the observation of their own towards their gods. And let us now consider the one of these practices:—In there any people, or city, or community of men, to whom you govern, that a private power does not appear to be the greatest blessing? Is there any one that can desire to make void the favours they have granted? No one is certainly so mad; for there are no men but such as have been partakers of their favours, both in public and private; and indeed those that take away what you have granted, can have no assurance, but every one of their own grants made them by you may be taken from them also; which grants of yours can yet never be sufficiently valued; for if they consider the ancient governments under which they lived, and the present government, besides the great number of benefits which this government hath bestowed on them in order to their happiness, that is instead of all the rest, that they appear to be no longer in a state of slavery, but of freedom. Now the privileges we desire, even when we are in the best circumstances, are not such as deserve to be envied, for we are indeed in a prosperous state by your means, but this is only in common with others, and it is no more than this which we desire, to preserve our religion without any prohibition, it appears not in itself a privilege to be envied us, so it is for the advantage of those that grant it to us, for if the Divinity delights in being honoured, he must delight in those that permit him to be honoured. And there are none of our customs which are inhuman, but all tending to piety, and devoted to the preservation of justice; nor do we conceal those injunctions of ours by which we govern our lives, they being memorials of piety, and of a friendly conversation among men. And the seventh day is set apart from labour; it is dedicated to the learning of our customs and laws, we thinking it proper

* We may here observe the ancient practice of the Jews, of dedicating the Sabbath-day, not to leisure, but to the learning their sacred books.
Antipater had honours and the freedom of the city of Rome, bestowed upon him; for these are demonstrations both that we have received these favours by our own deserts, and do on that account petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we had reason to hope for them, although they had not been given us before; both out of regard to the king’s disposition towards you, and your disposition towards him; and farther, we have been informed by those Jews that were there, with what kindness thou camest into our country, and how thou offeredst the most perfect sacrifices to God, and honouredst him with remarkable vows, and how thou gavest the people a feast, and acceptedst of their own hospitable presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these kind entertainments made by both our nations and our city, to a man who is the ruler and manager of so much of the public affairs, and indications of that friendship which thou hast returned to the Jewish nation, and which had been procured them by the family of Herod. So we put thee in mind of these things before the king, now sitting by thee, and make our request for no more but this, that what you have given us yourselves, you will not see taken away by others from us.

4. When Nicolaus had made this speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made, as in a court of justice, but an intercession to prevent violence to be offered to the Jews any longer; nor did the Greeks make any defence of themselves, or deny what it was supposed they had done. Their pretence was no more than this, that while the Jews inhabited in their country, they were entirely unjust to them [in not joining in their worship] but they demonstrated their generosity in this, that though they worshipped according to their own institutions, they did nothing that ought to grieve them. So when Agrippa perceived that they had been oppressed by violence, he made this answer:—That, on account of Herod’s good-will and friendship, he was ready to grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested any thing farther, he should not scruple to grant it them, provided they were no way to the detriment of the Roman government; but that, while their request was no more than this, that what privileges they had already given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observation of their own customs, without any one offering them the least injuries; and when he had said thus, he dissolved the assembly; upon which Herod stood up and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he showed to them. Agrippa also took this in a very obliging manner, and saluted him again, and embraced him in his arms; after which he went away from Lesbos; but the king determined to sail from Samos to his own country; and when he had taken his leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage, and landed at Cæsarea in a few days’ time, as having favourable winds; from whence he went to Jerusalem, and assembled all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there out of the country also. So when he came to them, he gave them a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia, how by his means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of the entire good fortune he had met with, and how he had administered the government, and

and religious customs, and to the meditation on the law of Moses. The like to which we meet with elsewhere in Josueus against Apich, b. i. sect. 22.
CHAPTER III.

HOW GREAT DISTURBANCES AROSE IN HEROD'S FAMILY ON HIS PREVIOUS ANTIPATER, HIS ELDEST SON, BEFORE THE REST, TILL ALEXANDER TOOK THAT INJURY VERY HEINIOUSLY.

§ 1. But now the affairs in Herod's family were in more and more disorder, and became more severe upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young men [Alexander and Aristobulus] which descended as it were by inheritance [from their mother Mariamne]; and as she had fully succeeded against their mother, so she proceeded to that degree of malice and insolence, as to endeavour that none of her posterity might be left alive, who might have her power to avenge her death. The young men had also somewhat of a bold and uneasy disposition towards their father, occasioned by the remembrance of what their mother had unjustly suffered, and by their own affection of dominion. The old grudge was also renewed; and they cast approaches on Salome and Pheroras, who required the young men with malicious designs, and actually laid treacherous snares for them. Now, as for this hatred, it was equal on both sides, but the manner of exerciting that hatred was different; for as for the young men, they were rash, reproaching and affronting the others openly, and were inexperienced enough to think it the most generous to declare their minds in that undaunted manner; but the others did not take that method, but made use of calumnies after a subtle and sly manner, still provoking the young men, and imagining that their boldness might in time turn to the offering violence to their father, for inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crime of their mother, nor thought she suffered justly, they supposed that might at length exceed all bounds, and induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father, though it were by dispatching him with their own hands. At length it came to this, that the whole city was full of their discourses, as is usual in such contests, the unskilfulness of the young men was pitted; but the contrivance of Salome was too hard for them, and what imputations she laid upon them came to be believed, by means of their own conduct; for they were so deeply affected with the death of their mother, that while they said both of them that they were in a miserable case, they vehemently complained of her pitiful end, which indeed was truly such, and said that they were themselves in a pitiable case also, because they were forced to live with those that had been her murderers, and to be partakers with them.

2. These disorders increased greatly, and the king's absence abroad had afforded a fit opportunity for that increase; but as soon as Herod was returned, and had made the aforementioned speech to the multitude, Pheroras and Salome left fall words immediately as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly threatened that they would not spare him any longer, but revenge their mother's death upon him. The king, however, added another circumstance, that their hopes were fixed on Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, that he should be able by his means to come to Caesar, and accuse their father. Upon hearing such things, Herod was immediately disturbed; and indeed was the more astonished because the same things were related to him by some others also. He then called to mind his former calamity, and considered that the disorders in his family had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from those that were nearest to him, nor from his wife whom he loved so well; and suspecting that his future troubles would increase mightier and greater than those that were past, he was in great confusion of mind, for divine Providence had in reality conferred upon him a great many outward advantages for his happiness, even beyond his hopes, but the troubles he had at home were such as he never expected to have met with, and rendered him unfortunate; nay, both sorts came upon him to such a degree as no one could imagine, and made it a doubtful question, whether, upon the comparison of both, he ought to have exchanged so great a success of outward goods for so great misfortunes at home, or whether he ought not to have chosen to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had, for a compensation, never been possessed of the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

3. As he was thus disturbed and afflicted, in order to depress these young men, he brought to court another of his sons, that was born to him when he was a private man; his name was Antipater: yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterwards, when he was quite overcome by him, and let him do every thing as he pleased, but rather with a design of depressing the insolence of the sons of Mariamne, and managing this elevation of his son, that it might be for a warning to them; for this bold behaviour of theirs [he thought] would not be so great, if they were once persuaded that the succession to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone, or must of necessity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their antagonist, and imagined that he made a good provision for discouraging their pride, and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a proper season for expounding these to be of a better disposition: but the event proved otherwise than he intended, for the young men thought he did them a very great injury; and as Antipater was a shrewd man, when he had once obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one single design in his head, and that was to distress his brethren, and not at all to yield to them the pre-eminence, but to keep close to his father, who was already alienated from them by the calumnies he heard about them, and ready to be brought upon in any way his zeal against them should advise him to pursue, that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly all the reports that were spread abroad came from him, while he avoided himself the suspicion, as if those discoveries proceeded from him; but he rather chose to make use of those persons for his assistants that were unsuspected, and such as might be believed to speak truth by reason of the good-will they bore to the king; and indeed there were already not a few who cultivated their friendship with
Antipater, in hopes of gaining somewhat by him, and these were the men who most of all persuaded Herod, because they appeared to speak thus out of their good-will to him: and while these joint accusations, which, from various foundations, supported one another's veracity, the young men themselves afforded farther occasions to Antipater also; for they were observed to shed tears often, on account of the injury that was offered them, and had their mother in their mouths; and among their friends they ventured to reproach their father, as not acting justly by them; all which things were with an evil intention reserved in memory by Antipater against a proper opportunity; and when they were told to Herod, with aggravations, increased the disorder so much, that it brought a great tumult into the family; for while the king was very angry at imputations that were laid upon the sons of Mariamme, and was desirous to humble them, he still increased the honour that he had bestowed on Antipater, and was at last so overcome by his persuasions, that he brought his mother to court also. He also wrote frequently to Caesar in favour of him, and more earnestly recommending him to his care particularly. And when Agrippa was sent to Rome, after he had finished his ten years' government in Asia, Herod sailed from Judea; and when he met with him, he had none with him but Antipater, whom he delivered to Agrippa, that he might take him along with him, together with many presents, that so he might become Caesar's friend, insomuch that things already looked as if he had all his father's favour, and that the young men were already entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW, DURING ANTIPATER'S ABODE AT ROME, HEROD BROUGHT ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS BEFORE CESAR, AND ACCUSED THEM. ALEXANDER'S DEFENCE OF HIMSELF BEFORE CESAR, AND RECONCILIATION TO HIS FATHER.

§ 1. And now what happened during Antipater's absence augmented the honour to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brethren, for he made a great figure at Rome, because Herod had sent recommendations of him to all his friends there; only he was grieved that he was not at home, nor had proper opportunities of perpetually calumniating his brethren; and his chief fear was, lest his father should alter his mind, and entertain a more favourable opinion of the sons of Mariamme; and as he had this in his mind, he did not desist from his purpose, but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brethren, under pretence indeed of a deep concern for his preservation, but in truth, such as his malicious mind dictated, in order to purchase a greater hope of the succession, which yet was already great in itself: and thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he was already become very ill disposed towards the young men; but still while he delayed to exercise so violent a disgust against them, and that he might not either be too remiss or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accuse his sons before Caesar, and not indulge himself in any such crime as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impiety. But as he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to meet with Caesar at the city Aquileii; so when he came to the speech of Caesar, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, wherein he thought himself very miserable, and presented his sons there, and accused them of their mad actions, and of their attempts against him:—That they were enemies to him, they wished his death; and that he would give them a proper opportunity: and when they were told to Herod, with their endeavours to show their hatred to their own father, and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom, after the most barbarous manner: that he had power from Caesar to dispose of it, not by necessity, but by choice, to him who shall exercise the greatest piety towards him; while these my sons are not so desirous of ruling, as they are upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their own life, if so be they may but deprive their father of his life; so wild and polluted is their mind by time become, that out of their hatred to him: there whereas he had a long time before this was reported to Rome, he was compelled to lay it before Caesar, and to pollute his ears with such language, while he himself wants to know what severity they have ever suffered from him, or what hardships he had ever laid upon them to make them complain of him; and how they can think it just that he should not be lord of that kingdom which he in a long time, and with great danger, had gained, and not allow him to keep it and dispose of it to him who should deserve best; and this, with other advantages, he proposes as a reward for the piety of such as will hereafter imitate the care he hath taken of it, and that such a one may gain so great a requital as that is; and that it is an impious thing for them to pretend to meddle with it beforehand, for who hath ever the kingdom in his view, at the same time reckons upon procuring the death of his father, because otherwise he cannot come at the government: that as for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, and what was agreeable to such as are subject to the royal authority, and the sons of a king; but what ornaments they wanted, with servants and delicate fare, he had not refused. And besides illustrious families, the one [Aristobulus] to his sister's daughter, but Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus; and, what was the greatest favour of all, when their crimes were so very bad, and he had authority to punish them, yet had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them before Caesar, their common benefactor, and had not used the severity which either as a father who had been impiously abused, or as king who had been assaulted treacherously, he might have done, but made them stand upon the level with him in judgment: that, however, it was necessary that all this should not be passed over without punishment, nor himself live in the greatest fears; nay, that it was not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they had done, although they should escape at this
time, since they had done the vilest things, and would certainly suffer the greatest punishments that ever fell upon man among mankind.

2. These were the accusations which Herod laid with great vehemence against his sons before Caesar. Now the young men, both while he was speaking, and chiefly at his concluding, wept, and were in confusion. Now as to themselves, they knew in their own conscience they were innocent; but because they were accused by their father, they were sensible, as the truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely required, yet might with force and earnestness refute the accusation, yet was it not now decent so to do. There was therefore a difficulty how they should be able to speak; and tears, and at length a deep groan followed, while they were afraid, that if they said nothing, they should seem to be in this difficulty from a consciousness of guilt—nor had they any defence ready, by reason of their youth, and the disorder they were under; yet was not Caesar unappreised, when he looked upon them in the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defence did not arise from any consciousness of great enormities, but from their skilfulness and modesty. They were also commiserated by those that were there in particular; and they moved their father's affections in earnest till he had much ado to conceal them.

3. But when they saw there was a kind disposition arised both in him and in Caesar, and that every one of the rest did either shed tears, or at least did all grieve with them, the one of them, whose name was Alexander, called to his father, and attempting to answer his accusation, and said, O father, the benevolence thou hast shewed to us is evident, even in this very judicial procedure, for hadst thou any pernicious intentions about us, thou hadst not produced us here before the common savour of all, for it was in thy power, both as a king and as a father, to punish the guilty; but by thus bringing us to Rome, making Caesar himself a witness to what is done, thou intimatest that thou intendest to save us; for no one that hath a design to slay a man will bring him to the temple, and to the altar; yet are our circumstances still worse, for we can endure to live ourselves any longer under the danger, if it be believed that we have injured such a father; may, perhaps it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die without such guilt; and if our open defiance may be taken to be true, we shall be happy, both in pacifying thee, and in escaping the danger we are in; but if this calumny so prevails, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day; which why should we see, if this suspicion be fixed upon us? Now easy to say of young men, that they desired to reign; and to say farther, that this evil proceeds from the case of our unhappy mother. This is abundantly sufficient to produce our present misfortune out of the former; but consider well, whether such an accusation does not suit all such young men, and may not be said of them all promiscuously; for nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and their mother be dead, but the father may have a suspicion upon all his sons, as intending some treachery to him; but a suspicion is not sufficient to prove such an impious practice; for let any man say, whether we have actually and insolently attempted any such thing, whereby actions otherwise incredible used to be made credible. Can any body prove that poison hath been prepared for us, or prove a conspiracy of our equals, or the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? though indeed there are none of those things but have sometimes been pretended by way of calumny, when they were never done; for a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing; and that which thou callest a reward of piety, often becomes, among very wicked men, such a foundation of hope, as makes them leave no sort of mischief untir'd. Nor does any one lay any wicked practices to our charge; but as to every thing, how can we put an end to them, who will not hear what we have to say! Have we talked with too great freedom? yes; but not against thee, for that would be unjust, but against those that never conceal any thing that is spoken to them. Hath either of us lamented our mother? yes; but not because she is dead, but because she was evil spoken of by those that had no reason so to do. Are we desirous of that dominion which we know our father is possessed of? For what reason can we do so? If we already have royal honours, as we have, should not we labour in thy stead? And if we have no hope of any future hopes of thee? Or supposing that we had killed thee, could we expect to obtain thy kingdom? while neither the earth would let us tread upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, after such an action as that: nay, the religion of all your subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, would have prohibited parricides from assuming the government, and from entering into that most holy temple which was built by thees. But suppose we had made light of other dangers, can any murderer go unpunished while Caesar is alive? and if he be not, how can we be? thoughtless as that comes to, though perhaps more unfortunate than is convenient for thee. But in case thou neither findest any causes of complaint, nor any treacherous designs, what sufficient evidence hast thou to make such a wickedness of ours credible? Our mother is dead indeed, but then what befel her might be an instruction to us to caution, and not an incitement to wickedness. We are willing to make a larger apology for ourselves; but actions never done do not admit of discourse: nay, we will make this agreement with thee, and that before Caesar, and long afterwards, that there shall be no impieties regulators between us, if thou, O father, canst bring thyself by the evidence of truth, to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us, let us live, though even then we shall live in an unhappy way, for to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing; but if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou on in thy pious life, we will give this reason for our own conduct; our life is not so desirable to us as to desire to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us.

4. When Alexander had thus spoken, Caesar, who did not before believe so gross a calumny, was still more moved by it, and looked intently upon...
Herod, and perceived he was a little confounded: the persons there present were under an anxiety about the young men, and the fame that was abroad made the king hated, for the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commiseration of the flower of youth, the beauty of body, which were in the young men, pleaded strongly for assistance, and the more so on this account, that Alexander had made their defection notorious; and yet that they did not themselves any longer continue in their former countenances, which had been bedewed with tears, and cast downwards to the ground, but now there arose in them hopes of the best: and the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence wherewith to convict them. Indeed he wanted some apology for making the accusation; but Caesar, after some delay, said, that although the young men were thoroughly innocent of that for which they were calumniated, yet had they been so far to blame, that they had not demeaned themselves towards their father so as to prevent that suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them. He also exhorted Herod to lay all such suspicious aside, and to be reconciled to his sons; for that it was not just to give credit to any such reports concerning his own children; and that this repentence on both sides might heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve that their good-will to one another, whereby those on both sides, excusing the rashness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of affection towards each other than they had before. After Caesar had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men. When, therefore, they were disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up, and embraced them, as they were in tears, and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether freeman or slave, but was deeply affected when they saw.

5. Then did they return thanks to Caesar, and went away together; and with them went Antipater, with an hypocritical pretence that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And in the last days they were with Caesar, Herod made him a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting shows and largesses to the people of Rome: and Caesar made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honoured him with other gifts and incomes: and as to his own kingdom, he left it in his power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or to distribute it in parts to every one, that the dignity might thereby come to them all; and when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately, Caesar said he would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons.

6. After this, Herod returned to Judea again; but during his absence, no small part of his dominions about Trachon had revolted, when yet the commanders he left there had vanish'd, and compelled to a submission again. Now, as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to [the island] Euelus, which hath now changed its name for Sebaste, he met with Archeclus, king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly, as rejoicing that he was reconciled to his sons, and that 'against Alexander who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became kings to make. From hence Herod came to Judea and to the temple, where he made a speech to the people concerning what had been done in this his journey:—he also discoursed to them about Caesar's kindness to him, and about as many of the particulars he had done as he thought it for his advantage other people should be acquainted with. At last he turned his speech to the admonition of his sons; and exhorted those that lived at court, and the multitude, to concord; and informed them that his sons were to reign after him; Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne; but he desired that at present they should all have regard to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all, since he was not yet hindered by old age, but was in that period of life when he must be the most skilful in governing; and that he was not deficient in other arts of management that might enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children also. He farther told the rulers under him, and the soldiery, that in case they would look upon him alone, their life would be led in a peaceable manner, and they would make one another happy; and when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly. Which speech was acceptable to the greatest part of the audience, but not so to them all; for the contention among his sons, and the hopes of which he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovations among them.

CHAPTER V.

HOW HEROD CELEBRATED THE GAMES THAT WERE TO RETURN EVERY FIFTH YEAR, UPON THE BUILDING OF CESAREA; AND HOW HE BUILT AND ADORED MANY OTHER PLACES AFTER A MAGNIFICENT MANNER; AND DID MANY OTHER ACTIONS GLORIOUSLY.

§ 1. About this time it was that Cesarea Sebaste, which he had built, was finished. The entire building being accomplished in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell into the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second olympiad; there was accordingly a great festival, and most sumptuous preparations made presently, in order to its dedication; for he had appointed a contention in music, andames to be performed naked; he had also gotten ready a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose; horse-races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome, and in other places. He consecrated this combat to Caesar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent all sorts of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent; say, Julia, Caesar's wife, sent a great part of her most he had done there from Rome, insomuch that he had no want of any thing; the sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now when a great multitude was come to that city to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors whom other people sent, on account of the benefits they had received [from Herod], he entertained them all in the public rooms, and at public tables, and with perpetual feasts; this solemnity having in the day-time the
diversions of fights, and in the nighttime such merry meetings as cost vast sums of money, and publicly demonstrated the generosity of his soul; for in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exhibit what exceeded whatsoever had been done before of the same kind; and it is related that Caesar Agrippa often said, that the dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul; for that he deserved to have both all the kingdom of Syria, and that of Egypt also.

2. After this solemnity and these festivals were over, Herod erected another city in the plain called Capathrasa, where he choose out a fit place, both for plenty of water and goodness of soil, and proper for the production of what was there planted, where a river encompassed the city itself, and a grove of the best trees for magnificence was round about it; this he named Antipatris, from his father Antipater. He also built upon another spot of ground above Jericho, of the same name with his mother, a place of great security, and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cyprus. He also dedicated the finest monuments to his brother Phasælus, on account of the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itself, not less than the tower of Pharos, which he named Phasælus, which was at once a part of the strong defences of the city, and a memorial for him that was deceased, because it bare his name. He also built a city of the same name in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward, whereby he rendered the neighbouring country more fruitful, by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced, and this also he called Phasælus.

3. But as for his other benefits, it is impossible to reckon them up, those which he bestowed on cities, both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he came to in his voyages; for he seems to have conferred, and that after a most plentiful manner, what would minister to many necessities, and the building of public works, and gave them the money that was necessary to such works as wanted it, to support them upon the failure of their other revenues; but what was the greatest and most illustrious of all his works, he erected Apollo's temple at Rhodes, at his own expenses, and gave them a great number of talents of silver for the repair of their fleet. He also built the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of Neopolis, at Actium; and for the Antipatridæ, the inhabitants of the principal city of Syria, where a broad street cuts through the place lengthways, he built cloisters along it on both sides, and laid the open road with polished stone, which was of very great advantage to the inhabitants; and as to the Olympic games, which were in a very low condition, by reason of the failure of their revenues, he recovered their reputation, and appointed revenues for their maintenance, and made that solemn meeting more venerable, as to the sacrifices and other ornaments; and by reason of this vast liberality, he was generally declared in their inscriptions to be one of the perpetual managers of these games.

4. Now some there are who stand amazed at the diversity of Herod's nature and purposes; for when we respect to his magnificence, and the benefits which he bestowed on all mankind, there is no possibility for even those that had the least respect for him to deny, or not openly to confess, that he had a nature vastly beneficent; but when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his nearest relations, and takes notice of his severe and relenting disposition there, he will be forced to allow that he was brutal, and a stranger to all humanity; insomuch that these men suppose his nature to be different, and sometimes at contrariety with itself; but I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sorts of actions was one and the same; for being a man ambitious of honour, and quite overcome by that passion, he was induced to be magnificent wherever there appeared any hopes of future memorial, or of reputation at present; and as his expenses were beyond his abilities, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects; for the persons on whom he expended his money were so many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it; and because he was conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them, he thought it not an easy thing to amend his offences, for that was inconvenient for his revenue; he therefore strove on the other side to make their ill-will an occasion of his gains. As to his own court, therefore, if any one was not very obsequious to him in his language, and would not confess himself to be his slave, or but seeming to think of any innovation in his government, he was not able to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were enemies; and this wickedness he undertook out of a desire that he might be himself alone honoured. Now for this my assertion about that passion of his, I have the greatest evidence, by what he did to honour Caesar and Agrippa, and his other friends; for with what honours he paid his respects to them who were his superiors, the same did he desire to be paid to himself; and what he thought the most excellent present he could make another, he discovered an inclination to have the like presented to himself; but now the Jewish nation is by their law a stranger to all such things, and accustomed to prefer righteousness to glory; for which reason that nation was not agreeable to him, because it was out of their power to flatter the king's ambition with statues or temples, or any other such performances; and this seems to me to have been at once the occasion of Herod's crimes as to his own courtiers and counsellors, and of his benefactions as to foreigners and those that had no relation to him.

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CHAPTER VI.

AN EMBASSAGE TO THE JEWS IN CYRENE AND ASIA TO CAESAR, CONCERNING THE COMPLAINTS THEY HAD TO MAKE AGAINST THE GREEKS; WITH COPIES OF THE EPISTLES WHICH CAESAR AND AGrippA WROTE TO THE CITIES FOR THEM.

§ 1. Now the cities ill-treated the Jews in Asia, and all those also of the same nation which lived at Libya, which joins to Cyrene, while the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks affronted them at this time, and that so far as to make away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on other
particular occasions. When, therefore, they were thus afflicted, and found no end of the barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Caesar on those accounts; who gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonials of the ancient favourable disposition of the Roman emperors towards us.

2. "Cesar Augustus, high-priest and tribune of the people, ordains thus:—Since the nation of the Jews have been found grateful to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in times past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high-priest, under my father, Caesar the emperor, it seemed good to me and my counsellors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their forefathers, as they made use of them under Hyrcanus, the high priest of Almighty God; and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem; and that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the Sabbath-day, nor on the day of the preparation to it, after the ninth hour until any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order, that the testimonial which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise toward all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, together with the present decree, be proposed in that most eminent place which hath been consecrated to me by the community of Asia at Ancyras. And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Caesar.

3. "Cesar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting. Last year, as many as wert with thee, who have been my messengers and according to the ancient customs, to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same freely." These were the decrees of Caesar.

4. Agrippa also did himself write, after the manner following, on behalf of the Jews:—"Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. I will that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient customs; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus the pretor, that no one compel the Jews to come before a judge on the Sabbath-day."

5. "Marcus Agrippa to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius, the then pretor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely, as hath been their custom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and under pretence of taxes which were not due, are hindered from sending them; which I command to be restored without any diminution or disturbance given to them; and if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I further enjoin, that the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place."

6. "Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates of the Sardians, sendeth greeting. Caesar hath written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many soever they be, from assembling together according to the customs of their forefathers, nor from sending their money to Jerusalem: I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both Caesar and I would have you act accordingly."

7. Nor did Julius Antonius, the proconsul, write otherwise. "To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, on the ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia demonstrated to me that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first fruits, which every one of them freely offers to the Deity on account of piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem without disturbance. They also petitioned me, that I would confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own sanction. I would therefore have you take notice, that according to the will of Augustus and Agrippa, I permit them to use and do according to the customs of their forefathers without disturbance."

8. I have been obliged to set down these decrees, because the present history of our own acts will go generally among the Greeks; and I have hereby demonstrated to them, that we have formerly been in great esteem, and have not been prohibited by our governors, we were under, from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers; that we have been supported by them, while we followed our own religion, and the worship we paid to God: and I frequently make mention of these decrees, in order to reconcile other people to us, and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear to us. As for our customs, there is no nation which always makes use of the same, and in every city almost we meet with them different from one another; but natural justice is most agreeable to the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and barbarians, to which our laws have the greatest regard, and thereby render us, if we abide in them after a pure manner, benevolent and friendly to all men, on which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, and to inform them that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions a sufficient cause of alienation, but [join with us in] the pursuit of virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and of itself alone is sufficient for the preservation of human life. I now return to the thread of my history.

The remaining part of this chapter is remarkable, as justly distin-
CHAPTER VII.

HOW, UPON HEROD'S GOING DOWN INTO DAVID'S SEPULCHRE, THE SEDITION IN HIS FAMILY GREATLY INCREASED.

§ 1. As for Herod, he had spent vast sums about the church, both without and within his own kingdom; and as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulchre, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much greater number left behind, and indeed enough to suffice all his wants, he had a great while an intention to make the attempt; and at this time he opened that sepulchre by night, and went into it, and endeavoured that it should not be at all known in the city, but took only his faithful friends with him. As for any harm, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done; but that furniture of gold, and those precious stones that were laid up there; all which he took away. However, he had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon; where two of his guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out, and built a propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in; and this of white stone, at the mouth of the sepulchre, and that at a great expense also. And even Nicolaus, his historiographer makes mention of this monument built by Herod, though he does not mention his going down into the sepulchre, as knowing that action to be of ill repute; and many other things he treats of in the same manner in his book; for he wrote in Herod's life-time, and under his reign, and so as to please him, and as a servant to him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was desirous to set his true colors upon the death of Marianne and her sons, which were barbarous actions in the king, he tells falsehoods about the incontinence of Marianne, and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. Indeed, a man, as I said, may have a great deal to say by way of excuse for Nicolaus, for he did not so properly write this as a history for others, as somewhat that might be subservient to the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly allied to the Asamonean kings, and on that account have an honourable place, which is the priesthood, we think it indecent to say anything that is false about them, and accordingly we have described their actions after an unblemished and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Herod's posterity, who still reign, yet do we pay a greater regard to truth than to them, and thus when it sometimes happens that we incur their disapprobation, so do we. 4

2. And indeed Herod's troubles in his family seemed to be augmented by reason of this attempt he made upon David's sepulchre; whether divine vengeance increased the calamities he lay under, in order to render them incurable, or whether fortune made an assault upon him, in those cases, wherein the seasonableness of the cause made it strongly believed that the calamities came upon him for his impiety; for the tumult was like a civil war in his palace; and their hatred to one another was like that wherein each one strives to extingue another in quarrels. However, Antipater used stratagems perpetually against his brethren, and that very cunningly; while abroad he loaded them with accusations, but still took upon him frequently to apologize for them, that this apparent benevolence to them might make him be believed, and forward his attempts against them; by which means he, after various manners, circumvented his father, who believed that all he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolemy, who was a great director of the business to Antipater; and consulted with his mother about the public affairs also. And indeed these were all in all, and did what they pleased, and made the king angry against any other persons, as they thought it might be to their own advantage; but still the sons of Marianne were in a worse and worse condition perpetually; and while they were thrust out, and set in a more dishonourable rank, who yet by birth were the most noble, they could not bear the dishonour. And for the women, Gaphyra, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Archelaus, hated Salome, both because of her love to her husband, and because Gaphyra seemed to behave herself somewhat insolently towards Salome's daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, which equality of hers to herself Gaphyra took very impatiently.

3. Now, besides this second contention that had fallen among them, neither did the king's brother Pheroras keep himself out of trouble, but had a peculiar hazard in his career fixed; for he was overcome with the charge of his name, and of such a degree of madness, that he despised the king's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, and wholly bent his mind to the other, who had been but a servant. Herod also was grieved by the dishonour that was done him, because he had bestowed many favours upon him, and had advanced him to that height of power that he was almost a partner with him in the kingdom; and saw that he had not made him a due return for his favours, and esteemed himself unhappy on that account. So upon Pheroras' unworthy refusal, he gave the damsel to Phasaelus' son; but after some time, when he thought the heat of his brother's affections was over, he blamed him for his former conduct, and desired him to take his second daughter, whose name was Cyprus. Ptolemy also advised him to leave off affronting his brother, and to forsake her whom he had loved, for that it was a base thing to be so enamoured of a servant, as to deprive himself of the king's good-will to him, and become an occasion of his trouble, and make himself hated by him. Pheroras knew that this advice would be for his own advantage, particularly because he had been accused before, and forgiven; so he put his wife away, although he had already had a son by her, and engaged to the king that he would take his second daughter, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of his marriage; and swore
he would have no farther conversation with her whom he had put away; but when the thirty days were over, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed any thing he had promised, but continued still with his former wife. This occasioned Herod to grieve openly, and made him angry, while the king dropped one word or other against Phororbas perpetually; and many made the king's anger an opportunity for raising calumnies against him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or hour, but occasions of one fresh quarrel or another arose, of which the chief were those that were dearest to him; for Salome was of a harsh temper, and ill-natured to Mariamne's sons; nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men, to bear a good-will to her husband, but persuaded her to tell her if he said any thing to her in private, and when any misunderstandings happened, as is common, she raised great many suspicions out of it: by which means she learned all their concerns, and made the damsel ill-natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother, she often said that the young men used to mention Mariamne when they were by themselves; and that they hated their father, and were continually threatening, that if they had once got the kingdom, they would make Herod's sons by his other wives country-schoolmasters, for that the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning fitted them for such an employment. And as for the women, whenever they saw them adorned with their mother's clothes, they threatened, that instead of their present presentable apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were presently carried by Salome to the king, who was troubled to hear them, and endeavoured to make up matters: but these suspicions afflicted him, and becoming more and more uneasy, he believed every body against every body. However, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing the defence they made for themselves, he was easier for a while, though a little afterwards much worse accidents came upon him.

4. For Phororbas came to Alexander, the husband of Glaophyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, as we have already told you, and said that he had heard from Salome, that Herod was enamoured of Glaophyra, and that his passion for her was incurable. When Alexander heard that, he was all on fire, from his youth and jealousy; and he interpreted the instances of Herod's obliging behaviour to her, which were very frequent, for the worse, which came from those suspicions he had on account of that word which fell from Phororbas; nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but informed him what words Phororbas had said. Upon which Herod was in a greater disorder than ever; and not bearing such a false calumny, which was to his shame, was much disturbed at it: and often did he lament the wickedness of his domestics, and how good he had been to them, and how ill requitals they had made him. So he sent for Phororbas, and reproached him, and said, "Thou viles of all men! art thou come to that unmeasurable and extravagant degree of ingratitude, as not only to suspicious his love of me, but to speak of them! I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are: it is not thy only aim to reprove me, when thou usest such words to my son, but thereby to persuade him to plot against me, and get me destroyed by poison; and who is there, if he had not a good genius at his elbow, as hath my son, that would bear such a suspicion of his father, but would revenge himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only dropped a word for him to think of, and not rather hast put a sword into his hand to slay his father! And what dost thou mean, when thou really hatest both him and his brother, to pretend kindness to them, only in order to raise a reproach against me, and talk of all these things to one brother to put away, and impious wretch as thou art could either devise in these, or declare in their words? Begone, thou that art such a plague to thy benefactor and thy brother; and may that evil conscience of thine go along with thee; while I still overcome my relations by kindness, and am so far from avenging myself of them, as they deserve, that I bestow greater benefits upon them than they are worthy of."

5. Thus did the king speak. Whereupon Phororbas, who was caught in the very act of his villainy, said, that it was some one who was a friend, and in this plot, and that the words came from her; but as soon as she heard that, for she was at hand, she cried out, like one that would be believed, that no such thing ever came out of her mouth; that they all earnestly endeavoured to make the king hate her, and to make her away, because of the good will she bore to Herod, and because she was always foreseeing the dangers that were coming upon him, and that at present there were more plots against him than usual: for while she was the only person who persuaded him to his actions, she said she had been the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she were hated by him. As she said this, and often tore her hair, and often beat her breast, her countenance made her denial to be believed, but the perverseness of her manners declared at the same time her dissimulation in these proceedings; but Phororbas was caught between them, and had nothing plausible to offer in his own defence, while he confessed that he had said what was charged upon him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome; so the confusion among them was so great, and so resolute words one to another. At last the king, out of his hatred to his brother and sister, sent them both away; and when he had commended the moderation of his son, and that he had himself told him of the report, he went in the evening to refresh himself. After such a contest as this had fallen out among them, Salome's reputation suffered greatly, since she was supposed to have first raised the calumny; and the king's wives were grieved at her, as knowing that she was a very ill-natured woman, and would sometimes be easy, and sometimes an enemy, at different seasons; so they perpetually said one thing or another against her; and somewhat that now fell out, made them the bolder in speaking against her.

5. There was one Obodas, king of Arabia, an inactive and slothful man in his nature; but Syllerus managed most of his affairs for him. He was a shrewd man, although he was but young, and was handsome withal. This Syllerus, upon some occasion coming to Herod, and supping with him, saw Salome, and set his heart upon her; and understanding that she was a widow, he discoursed with her. Now because Salome was at this time less in favour with her brother, she looked upon Syllerus
CHAPTER VIII.

HOW HEROD TOOK UP ALEXANDER, AND BOUND HIM; WHOSE YET ARCHELAUS, KING OF CAPPADOCIA, RECONCILED TO HIS FATHER HEROD AGAIN.

§ 1. But still the affairs of Herod’s family were no better, but perpetually more troublesome. Now this accident happened, which arose from no decent occasion, but proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There were certain eunuchs which the king had, and on account of their beauty was very fond of them; and the care of bringing him drink was entrusted to one of them; of bringing him his supper, to another; and of putting him to bed to a third, who also managed the principal affairs of the government; and there was one told the king that these eunuchs were corrupted by Alexander the king’s son, by great sums of money; and what they were asked whether Alexander had had criminal conversation with them, they confessed it, but said they knew of no farther mischief of his against his father; but when they were more severely tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, and the tormentors, out of compliance with Antipater, stretched the neck to the very utmost, they said that Alexander bare ill-will and innate hatred to his father; and that he told them that Herod despaired to live much longer; and that, in order to cover his great age, he coloured his hair black, and endeavoured to conceal what would discover how old he was; but that if he would apply himself to him, when he should attain the kingdom, which in spite of his father, could come to no one else, he should quickly have the first place in that kingdom under him, for that he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birthright, but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it, because a great many of the rulers, and a great many of his friends, were of his side, and those no ill men neither, ready both to do and to suffer whatsoever should come on that account.

2. When Herod heard this confession, he was all over anger and fear, some parts seeming to him reproachful, and some made him suspicious of dangers that awaited the youth; and then upon certain counts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some more heavy plot was laid against him than he should be then able to escape from; whereupon he did not now make an open search, but sent about spies to watch such as he suspected, for he was now overrun with suspicion and hatred against all about him; and indulging abundance of those suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continued to suspect those that were guiltless: nor did he set any bounds to himself; but supposing that those who stood with him had all had the same hour, they were to him very frightful; and for the truth, he did not use to come to him, it seemed enough to name them [to make them suspected], and he thought himself safer when they were destroyed; and at last his dominions were come to that pass, that being no way secure of escaping themselves, they fell to accusing one another, and imagining that he who first accused another, was most likely to save himself; yet, when any had overthrown others, they were hated; and they were thought to suffer justly, who unjustly accused others; and they only thereby prevented their own punishment thereby; they not only executed their own private enmities by this means, and when they were caught, they were punished in the same way. Thus these men contrived to make use of this opportunity as an instrument and a snare against their enemies; yet, when they tried it, were themselves caught also in the same snare which they laid for others: and the king soon repented of what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain; and yet what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance, in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the same punishment upon their accusers.

3. And in this state of disorder were the affairs of the palace; and he had already told many of his friends directly, that they ought not to appear before him, nor come into the palace; and the reason of this injunction was, that when they were there he had less freedom of acting, or a greater restraint on himself on their account; for at this time it was that he expelled Andromachus and Gomelius, men who had of old been his friends, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom, and been of advantage to his family by their embassages and counsels; and had been tutors to,
his sons, and had in a manner the first degree of freedom with him. He expelled Andromachus, because his son Demetrius was a companion to Alexander; and Gemellus, because he knew that he wished him well, which arose from his having been with him in his youth, when he was at school, and absent at Rome. These he expelled out of his palace, and was willing enough to have done worse by them; but that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with depriving them of their dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

4. Now it was Antipater who was the cause of all this; who when he knew what a mad and licentious way of acting his father was in, and had been a great while one of his counsellors, he hurried him on, and then thought he should bring him to do somewhat to purpose, when every one that could oppose him was taken away. When therefore Andromachus and his friends were driven away, and had no discourse nor freedom with the king any longer, the king in the first place examined by torture all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander, whether they knew of any of his attempts against him: but these died without having any thing to say to that matter, which made the king more zealous [after discoveries] when he could not find out what evil proceedings he suspected them of. As for Antipater, he was very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent, as if they had been only on that constancy and fidelity [to Alexander], and thereupon provoked Herod to discover by the torture of great numbers, what attempts were still concealed. Now there was a certain person among the many that was tortured, who said he knew that the young man had often said, that when he was commanded as a tall man in his body, and a skilful marksmen, and that in his other commendable exercises he exceeded all men, those qualifications given him by nature, and in them and in those were not advantageous to him, because his father was grieving at them, and envied him for them; and that when he walked along with his father, he endeavoured to depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall; and that when he shot at any thing he was hunting, when his father was by, he missed his mark on purpose; for he knew how ambitious his father was of being superior in such exercises. So when the man was tormented about this saying, and had ease given his body alter it, he added, that he had his brother Aristobulus for his assistance, and contrived to lie in wait for their father, as they were hunting, and kill him; and when they had done so, to fly to Rome, and desire to have the kingdom given them. There were also letters of the young man found, written to his brother; wherein he complained that his father did not act justly in giving Antipater a country, whose [yearly] revenues amounted to ten hundred talents. Upon these confessions Herod presently thought he had somewhat to depend on, in his own opinion, as to his name; and about his sons: so he took up Alexander and bound him; yet did he still continue to be uneasy, and was not quite satisfied of the truth of what he had heard; and when he came to recollect himself, he found that they had only made juvenile complaints and contentions, and that it was an incredible thing, that when his son should have slain him, he should openly go to Rome [to beg the kingdom]; so he was desirous to have some surer mark of his son's wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison too rashly; so he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting any of the things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble, one of the younger sort, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and desired that he might be quickly invited thither by Cesar, and that he could discover a plot against him; that Mithridates, the king of Parthia, was joined in friendship with his father against the Romans, and that he had a poisonous potion ready prepared at Askelon.

5. To these accusations Herod gave credit, and enjoyed hereby, in his miserable case, some sort of consolation, in excuse of his rashness, as flattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition; but as for the poisonous potion which he laboured to find, he could find none. As for Alexander, he was very desirous to aggravate the vast misfortunes he was under, so he pretended not to deny the accusations, but punished the rashness of his father with a greater crime of his own; and perhaps he was willing to make his father ashamed of his easy belief of such calumnies: he aimed especially, if he could gain belief to his story, to plague him and his whole kingdom; for he wrote four letters and sent them to him, that he did not need to torture any more persons, for he had plotted against him; and that he had for his partners, Phorormas and the most faithful of his friends; and that Salome came in to him by night, and that she lay with him whether he would or not; and that all men were come to be of one mind to make away with him as soon as they could, and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him. Among these were accused Ptolemy and the principal of the most faithful friends to the king. And what more could be said, but that those who before were the most intimate friends, were become wild beasts to one another, as if a certain madness had fallen upon them, while there was no room for defence or refutation, in order to the discovery of the truth, but all were at random doomed to destruction! so that some lamented those that were in prison, some those that were put to death, and others lamented that they were in expectation of the same miseries; and a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed, and quite the reverse to that happy state it was formerly in. Herod's own life also was entirely disturbed; and, because he could trust nobody, he was sorely punished by the expectation of farther misery; for he often fancied in his imagination, that his son had fallen upon him, or stood by him with a sword in his hand; and thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and revolved it over and over, and no otherwise than if he were under a distraction. And this was the sad condition Herod was now in.

6. But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, and being in great distress about his daughter, and the young man [her husband], and grieving with Herod as with a man that was his friend, on account of so great a disturbance as he was under, he came [to Jerusalem] on purpose to compose their differ-
CHAPTER IX.

CONCERNING THE REVOLT OF THE TRACHONITES; HOW SYLLEUS ACCUSED HEROD BEFORE CÆSAR; AND HOW HEROD, WHEN CÆSAR WAS ANGRY AT HIM, RESOLVED TO SEND NICOLAU'S TO ROME.

§ 1. When Herod had been at Rome, and was come back again, a war arose between him and the Arabians, on the occasion following:—The inhabitants of Trachonitis, after Cæsar had taken the country away from Zenodorus, and added it to Herod, had not now power to rob, but were forced to cultivate the ground, and to do all possible humility, which was a thing they did not like; and when they did take that pains, the ground did not produce much fruit for them. However, at the first the king would not permit them to rob; and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbours, which procured Herod a great reputation for his care. But when he was sailing to Rome, it was at that time when he went to accuse his son Alexander, and to commit Antipater to Cæsar’s protection, the Trachonites spread a report as if he were desirous of revolting from his dominion, and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbours; at which time the king’s commanders subdued them during his absence; but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by those that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia, Sylleus entertaining them, after he had missed of marrying Salome, and gave them a place of strength, in which they dwelt. So they overran not only Judea, but all Arabia also, and carried off the prey, while Sylleus afforded them places of protection and quietness during their wicked practices. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had greatly suffered by them, and since he could not reach the robbers themselves, because of the secure retreat they had in that country, and which the Arabian government afforded them, and yet being very uneasy at the injuries they had done him, he went all over Trachonitis, and slew their relations; whereupon these robbers were more angry than before, it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations and all their descendants, by all possible means; so they continued to tear and rend every thing under Herod’s dominion with impunity; then did he discourse about the robbers to Saturninus and Volumius, and required that they should be punished; upon which occasion they still the more confirmed themselves in their robberies, and became more numerous, and made very great disturbances, laying waste the countries and villages that belonged to Herod’s kingdom, and killing those men whom they caught, till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thousand;—at which Herod was sore displeased, and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obedas, by Sylleus, which was sixty talents, and since the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him: but Sylleus, who had laid Obedas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money; about which there was a hearing before Saturninus and Volumius, who were
then the presidents of Syria. At last, he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty days' time Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects reciprocally. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the other's subjects found in his kingdom, either as doing any injustice, or on any other account; but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

3. Then when the day appointed for payment of the money was past, without Syllæus's performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be delivered up; and, by the permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, executed the judgment himself upon those that were refractory. He took an army that he had, and led it into Arabia, and in three days' time marched seven mansions; and when he came to the garrison wherein the robbers were, he made an assault upon them, and to them said, and demolished the place, which was called Ræpta, but did no harm to any others. But as the Arabians came to their assistance, under Naceb their captain, there ensued a battle, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Naceb, the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his soldiers fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when he had brought these to punishment, he placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an answer to the tables that were about Phonicia, and demonstrated that he had done nothing but what he ought to do in punishing the refractory Arabians, which, upon an exact inquiry, they found to be no more than what was true.

3. However, messengers were hasted away to Syllæus to Rome, and informed him what had been done, and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Syllæus had already insinuated himself into the knowledge of Caesar, and was then about the palace, and, as he had heard of those things, he changed his habit into black, and went in, and told Caesar that Arabia was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, upon Herod's laying it waste with his army; and he said, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had been destroyed, and that their captain Næbus, his familiar friend and kinsman, was slain; and that the riches that were at Ræpta were carried off; and that Obobas was deepseed, whose infirm state of body rendered him unfit for war; on which account neither he nor the Arabian army were present. When Syllæus said so, and added invidiously, that he would not himself have come out of the country, unless he had believed that Caesar would have provided that they should all have peace one with another, and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod's advantage. Caesar was provoked when this was said; and asked no more than this one question, both of Herod's friends that were there, and of his own friends, who were come from Syria, Whether Herod had led an army thither? And when they were forced to confess so much, Caesar, without staying to hear for what reason he did it, and how it was done, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this, that whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now use him as his subject. Syllæus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians; who were so elevated with it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them, nor paid the money that was due: they retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this became the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Caesar's anger at him. Those of Trachonitis also made use of this opportunity, and rose up against the Idumean garrison, and followed the same way of robbing with the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were more rigid in their unjust proceedings, not only in order to get by it, but by way of revenge also.

4. Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that confidence of his being quite gone with which Caesar's favour used to inspire him; for Caesar should not admit as much as an embassy from him, to make an apology for him; and when they came again, he sent them away without success: so he was cast into sadness and fear; and Syllæus's circumstances grieved him exceedingly, who was now believed by Caesar, and was present at Rome, nay, sometimes aspiring higher. Now it came to pass that Obobas was dead: and Æneas, whose name was Aretas, took the government, for Syllæus endeavoured by calumnies to get him turned out of his principality, that he might himself take it; with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Caesar, who indeed was angry that Aretas had not sent to him first before he took the kingdom, yet did Æneas send an epistle to Caesar, and a crown of gold of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Syllæus as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obobas by poison; and that while he was alive he had governed him as he pleased; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain in the dominion himself; yet did not Caesar give heed to these accusations, but sent his ambassadors back without receiving any of his presents. But in the meantime the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because, bad as they were, nobody had power to govern them; for of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil-doers; and as for Herod, Caesar was immediately angry at him for having avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him, he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome again, and see whether his friends had prevailed to mitigate Caesar, and to address themselves to Caesar himself; and the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolaus of Damascus.

[1] This Aretas was now become so established a name for the kings of Arabia (at Petra and Damascus), that when the crown came to this throne, he chose and named himself, as Herod had done before him; see Ant. b. xii. ch. iv. sect. 8.
CHAPTER X.

HOW EURYCLE FAKELY ACCUSED HEROD'S SON; AND HOW THEIR FATHER FOUND THEM, AND WROTE TO CAESAR ABOUT THEM OF SYLEUS; AND HOW HE WAS ACCUSED BY NICOLAS.

§ 1. The disorders about Herod's family and children about this time grew much worse; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen beforehand, that fortune threatened the greatest and most insupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Its progress and augmentation at this time arose on the occasion following:—One Eurycles, a Lacedemonian (a person of note there, but a man of a perverse mind, and so cunning in his ways of volublouness and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet seem to indulge neither of them), came in his travels to Herod, and made him present, but so that he received more presents from him. He also took such proper seasons for insinuating himself into his friendship, and he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He had his lodging in Antipater's house; but he had not only access, but free conversation, with Alexander, as pretending to him that he was in great favour with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; whence he pretended much respect to Glaphyra, and, in an occult manner, cultivated a friendship with them all, but always attending to what was said and done, that he might be furnished with calumnies to please them all. In short, he behaved himself so to every body in his conversation, as to appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his being anywhere was for that person's advantage. So he won upon Alexander, who was but young; and persuaded him, that he might open his grievances to him with assurance, and with nobody else. So he declared his grief to him, how his father was alienated from him. He related to him also the affairs of his mother, and of Antipater; that he had driven them from their proper dignity, and had the power over every thing himself; that no part of this was tolerable, since his father was already come to hate them; and he added, that he would neither admit them to his table nor his conversation. Such were the complaints, as was but natural, of Alexander about the things that troubled him: and these discourses Eurycles carried to Antipater, and told him, he did not inform him of this on his own account, but being overcome by his kindness, the great importance of the thing obliged him to do it; and he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for that what he said was spoken with vehemency, and that, in consequence of what he said, he would certainly kill him with his own hand. Whereupon Antipater, thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him presents upon all occasions, and at length persuaded him to inform Herod of what he had heard. So when he related to the king Alexander's ill temper, as discovered by the words he had heard him speak, he was easily believed by him; and he thereby brought the king to that pass, turning him about by his words, and irritating him till he increased his hatred to him, and made him incapable, which he showed at that very time, for he immediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty talents; who, when he had gotten them, went to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander before him, and told him that he had been many ways of advantage to him, in making a reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out; but when Eurycles was returned to Lacedemon, he did not leave off doing mischief; and so, for his many acts of injustice, he was banished from his own country.

2. But as for the king of the Jews, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been content with the hearing their calumnies when others told him of them, but he was now come to that pass as to hate them himself, and to urge men to speak against them, though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said, and put questions, and gave ear to every one that would speak, if they could but say anything against them, till at length he heard that Eutatus of Cusa was a conspirator with Alexander; which thing to Herod was the most agreeable and sweetest news imaginable.

3. But still a greater misfortune came upon the young men; while the calumnies against them were continually increased, and, as a man may say, one would think it was every one's endeavour to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which might appear to be for the king's preservation. There were two guards of Herod's body, who were in great esteem for their great strength and tallness, Jucundus and Tyranus; these men had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased at them; these now used to ride along with Alexander, and for their skill in their exercises were in great esteem with him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed on them. Now the king, having an immediate suspicion of these men, had them tortured; who endeavoured the torture courageously for a long time; but at last confessed that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts, that it might he said he fell from his horse, and was run through with a spear, for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. They also showed where there was money hidden in the stable, under ground; and these convicted the king's chief hunter, that he had given the young men the royal hunting spears and weapons to Alexander's dependants, and at Alexander's command.

4. After these, the commander of the garrison of Alexandria was caught and tortured; for he was accused to have promised, to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king's which was laid up in that fortress, yet did not acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son came in, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these:—"When we have finished, by God's help all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you; but do your endeavours, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no doubt about the treachery of his son against him; but Alexander said that Diophantas, the scribe, had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantas appeared to be very cunning in such practices; and as he was afterwards convicted of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

5. So the king produced those that had been t-
tured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to have them accuse the young men, which accusers many of the people stoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander likewise, the king would not permit them to do so, but restrained the multitude, by means of Ptolomy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that nobody might come at them; and all that they did or said was watched, and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals; and one of them, who was Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his aunt, and his mother-in-law, to the king, to make intercession for him. So when this was enjoined them, they wrote this: that they had laid no treacherous designs, nor made any preparations against their father, but that they had intended to fly away; and that by the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

6. About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia from Archelaus, whose name was Melaus; he was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod being desirous to show Archelaus's ill-will to him, called for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning his flight, whither and how they had resolved to retire; Alexander replied,—To Archelaus, who had promised to send them away to Rome; but that they had no wicked or mischievous designs against their father, and that nothing of that nature which their adversaries had charged upon them was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyranus and Juwundus more strictly, but that they had been suddenly slain by the means of Antipater, who put his own friends among the unclean, to bring Alexander, bade him say whether his wife was conscious of his actions. He replied, "How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do?" Upon which she cried out, that she knew of no wicked designs of his; but that yet, if her accusing herself falsely would tend to his preservation, she would confess it all. Alexander replied, "There is no such wickedness as those (who ought the least of all so to do) suspect, which either I have imagined, or thou knowest of, but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from the Romans, which she also confessed. Upon which Herod, suspecting that Archelaus's ill-will to him was fully proved, sent a letter by Olympus and Volumnius; and bade them, as they sailed by, to touch at Eleusia of Cilicia, and give Archelaus the letter. And that when they had expostulated with him, that he had a hand in his son's treacherous designs against him, they should from thence sail to Rome; and that, in case they found Nicolaus had gained any ground, and that Caesar was no longer displeased at him, he should give him his letters, and the proof which he had ready to charge against Archelaus. Thus to Archelaus, he made his defence for himself, that he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father's advantage so to do, lest some too severe procedure should be gone upon in that anger and disorder they were in on occasion of the present suspicions; but that still he had not promised to send them to Caesar; and that he had not promised any thing else to the young men that could show any ill-will to him.

8. When these ambassadors were come to Rome, they had a fit opportunity to deliver their letters to Caesar, because they found him reconciled to Herod; for the circumstances of Nicolaus's embassy had been as follows:—As soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first of all set about what he was come for only, but he thought fit also to accuse Sylene. Now, the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another; and some of them left Sylene's party, and joining themselves to Nicolaus, informed him of all the wicked things that had been done; and produced to him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Obodas's friends by Sylene; for when these men left Sylene, they had carried off with them those letters whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus saw such an opportunity afforded him, he made use of it, in order to gain his own point afterward, and endeavoured immediately to make a reconciliation between Caesar and Herod; for he was fully satisfied, that if he should desire to make a defence for Herod, he should be not allowed that liberty; but that if he desired to accuse Obodas, he had an occasion present itself of speaking on Herod's behalf. So when the cause was ready for hearing, and the day was appointed, Nicolaus, while Aretas's ambassadors were present, accused Sylene, and said that he imputed to him the destruction of the king [Obodas], and of many others of the Arabians: that he had borrowed money for no good design; and he proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not only with the Arabian, but Roman women also. And he added, that above all the rest he had alienated Caesar from Herod; and that all that he had said about the actions of Herod were falsities. When Nicolaus was come to this topic, Caesar stopped him from going on, and desired him only to speak to this affair of Herod, and to show that he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country. To which Nicolaus made this answer:—"I shall principally demonstrate, that either nothing at all, or but a very little, of those imputations are true, of which thou hast been informed; for had they been true, thou
CHAPTER XI.

HOW HEROD, BY PERMISSION FROM CESAR, ACCUSED HIS SONS BEFORE AN ASSEMBLY OF JUDGES AT BERYTUS; AND WHAT TERRO SUFFERED, FOR USING A BOUNDLESS AND MILITARY LIBERTY OF SPEECH, CONCERNING ALSO THE DEATH OF THE YOUNG MEN, AND THEIR BURIAL AT ALEXANDRIUM.

§ 1. So Caesar was now reconciled to Herod, and wrote thus to him:—That he was grieved for him on account of his sons; and that, in case they had been guilty of any profane and insolent crimes against him, it would be his duty to punish them as paricides, for which he gave him power accordingly; but if they had only contrived to fly away, he would have him give them an admonition, and not proceed to extremity with them. He also advised him to get an assembly together, and to appoint some place near Berytus, which is a city belonging to the Romans, and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought to be illustrous for their friendship to him, and the dignities they were in, and determine what should be done by their approbation. These were the directions that Caesar gave him. Accordingly Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was immediately very glad of Caesar’s reconciliation to him, and very glad also that he had a complete authority given him over his sons. And it strangely came about, that whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed shown himself severe, yet had he not been very rash, nor hasty, in procuring the destruction of his sons; he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freed he now had, to exercise his hatred against after an unheard-of manner; he therefore sent called as many as he thought fit to this assembly excepting Archelaus; for as for him, he eit

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*This oath, by the Jews, was put to Polycarp, a bishop of Smyrna, by the Roman governor, to try whether he were a Christian, as they were then esteemed who refused to swear that oath. Martyr’s Polycarp, sect 9.*

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§ 1. What Josephus relates of Augustus to have said, that he was a city belonging to the Romans, is confirmed here:—"It was (says) by a solemn place there, "Ulpia, De Cens. bd. 1, 7, xiv. The colony is famous by the benefit of Caesar; and therefore of Augustus, we meet with some having this colony of Augustus at Berytus."
hated him, so that he would not invite him, or thought he would be an obstacle to his designs.

2. When the presidents, and the rest that belonged to the cities were come to Berea, he kept his sons in a certain village belonging to Sidon, called Piatans, but near to this city, that if they were called he might produce them, for he did not think fit to bring them before the assembly: and when there were one hundred and fifty assessors present, Herod came by himself alone, and accused his sons, and in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and not made but out of necessity, and upon the misfortunes he was under; indeed, in such a way as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons, for he was very vehement and disordered when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of, and gave the greatest signs of passion and barbarity; nor would he suffer the assessors to consider of the weight of the evidence, but asserted them to be true by his own authority, after a manner most indecent in a father against his sons, and read himself what they themselves had written, wherein there was no confession of any plots or contrivances against him, but only how they had contrived to fly away, and containing within certain reproaches against him, on account of the ill-will he bare them; and when he came to those reproaches, he cried out most of all, and exaggerated what they said, as if they had confessed the design against him; and took his oath that he had rather lose his life than hear such reproachful words. At last he said that he had sufficient authority, both by nature and by Cæsar’s grant to him, [to do what he thought fit]. He also added an allegation of a law of their country, which enjoined this:—That if parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accursed, the standers by were obliged to cast stones at him, and thereby slay him; which though he were ready to do in his own country and kingdom, yet did he wait for their determination; and yet they came thither not so much as judges, to condemn them for such manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished by his sons’ means, but as persons that had an opportunity of showing their detestation of such practices, and declaring how unworthy a thing it must be in any, even the most remote, to pass over such treacherous designs [without punishment].

3. When the king had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defence for themselves, the assessors perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority. And in the first place, Saturninus, a person that had been consul, and one of great dignity, pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation and trouble; and said, that he condemned Herod’s sons; but did not think they should be put to death. He had sons of his own; and to put one’s son to death, is a greater misfortune than any other that could befall him by their means. After him Saturninus’s sons, for he had three sons that followed him, and were his legates, pronounced a sentence upon those sons. On the contrary, Volumnius’s sentence was in strict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father; and the greatest part of the rest said the same, insomuch that the conclusion seemed to be, that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately after this Herod came away from thence, and took his sons to Tyre, where Nicolaus met him in his voyage from Rome; of whom he inquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berea, what his sentiments were about his sons, and what his friends at Rome thought of the matter. His answer was, “That what they had determined to do to thee was improper, and that thou oughtest to keep thyself in prison: and if thou thinkest any thing farther necessary, thou mayest indeed so punish them, that thou mayest not appear to indulge thy anger more than to govern thyself by judgment; but if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayest absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable: and this is the opinion of the greater part of thy friends at Rome also.” Whereupon Herod was silent, and in great thoughtfulness, and bade Nicolaus sail along with him.

4. Now as they came to Cæsarea, every body was there talking of Herod’s sons; and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people in great expectations of what would become of them, for a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great trouble about their sufferings; nor was it without danger to say any rash thing about this matter, nor even to hear another saying it, but men’s pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, which rendered the excess of their sorrow very irksome, but very silent; yet was there an old soldier of Herod’s, whose name was Tero, who had a son of the same age as Alexander, and his friend, who was so very free as openly to speak out what others thought about the matter; and was forced to cry out often among the multitude, and said, in the most unguarded manner, that truth was perished, and justice taken away from men, while lies and ill-will prevailed, and brought such a mist before public affairs, that the offenders were not able to see the greatest mischiefs that can befall men. And as he was so bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of danger, by speaking so freely; but the reasonableness of what he said moved men to regard him as having behaved himself with great manhood, and this at a proper time also, for which reason every one heard what he said with pleasure: and although they first took care of their own safety by keeping silent themselves, yet did they kindlv receive the great freedom he took; for the expectation they were in of so great an affliction, put a force upon them to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased.

This man had thrust himself into the king’s presence with the greatest freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do; where he said this:—“Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under so great a concern as I am under, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take, which may be for thy advantage, if thou mind to get any profit by it, before my own safety. Whither is thy understanding gone, and left thy soul empty? Whither is that extraordinary sagacity of thine gone, whereby thou hast performed so many and such glorious actions? Whither is the exercise of the devotion of thy friends and relations? Of which I cannot but determine that they are neither thy friends nor relations, while they overlook such horrid wickedness in thy once happy kingdom. Dost not thou perceive what is doing? Wilt thou slay these two young men, born of thy queen, who are accomplished with every virtue in the highest degree,
and leave thyself destitute in thy old age, but exposed to one son, who hath very ill managed the hopes thou hast given him, and to relations, whose death thou hast so often resolved on thyself! Dost not thou take notice, that the very silence of the multitude at times does the crime, and that absenteeism is a fact! The whole army and the officers have consimilation on the poor unhappy youths, and hatred to those that are the actors in this matter. — These words the king heard, and for some time with good temper. But what can one say! When Tero plainly touched upon the bad behaviour and perfidiousness of his domestics, he was moved at it; but Tero went farther, and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech, nor was he so well disciplined as was true to himself in the time: so Herod was greatly disturbed, and seemed to be rather reproached by this speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage, while he learned thereby that both the soldiers abhorred the thing he was about, and the officers had indignation at it, he gave order that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

6. When this was over, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, took the opportunity, and came up to Tero with the usual offices of a man that served him, when he beseeched him, to cut his throat, for that by this means he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had said this, the king gave order that Tero, and his son, and the barber, should be tortured, which was done accordingly; but while Tero bore up himself, his son, seeing his father already in a sad case, and with no hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the consequence of his terrible sufferings, said, that if the king would free him and his father from these torments for what he should say, he would tell the truth. And when the king had given his word to do so, he said that there was an agreement made, that Tero should lay violent hands on the king, because it was easy for him to come when he was alone; and that if, when he had done the thing, he should suffer death for it, as was not unlikely, it would be an act of generosity done in favour of Alexander. This was what Tero's son said, and whereby freed his father from the distress he was in; but uncertain it is whether he had been thus forced to speak as he did, or whether it was a contrivance of his in order to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries.

7. As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about the slaughter of his sons, there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it; but he had banished away whatsoever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning better about this matter, so he already made haste to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He also brought out three hundred of the officers that were under an accusation, as also Tero and his son, and the barber, that attended them, before an assembly, and brought an accusation against them all; whom the multitude stoned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them. Alexander also and Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste, by their father's command, and there strangled; but their dead bodies were, in the night-time, carried to Alexandria, where their uncle, by the mother's side, and the greatest part of their ancestors, had been deposited.

8. * And now perhaps it may not seem unreasonable to some, that such an inveterate hatred might increase so much [on both sides], as to proceed farther, and overcome nature; but it may justly deserve consideration, whether this be the case with the children of the younger men, that they gave such an occasion to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did, and by going on in the same way, put things past remedy, and brought him to use them so unmercifully; or whether it be to be laid to the father's charge, that he was so hard-hearted, and so very tender in the desire of government, and of other things that would tend to his glory, that he would take no one into a partnership with him, that so whatsoever he would have done, he was done himself. Accordingly, of the two other causes of this sad event, any body may lay the blame on the young men, who acted by youthful vanity, and pride of their royal birth, that they should bear to hear the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not equitable judges of the actions of his life, but ill-natured in suspecting, and intemperate in speaking of it, and on both accounts easily caught by those that observed them, and revealed them to gain favour; yet cannot their father be thought worthy of excuse, as to that horrid impiety which he was guilty of about them, while he ventured, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and without any proofs that they had made preparations for such an attempt, to kill his own sons, who were of very comely bodies, and the great darlings of other men, and no way deficient in their conduct, whether it were in hunting, or in warlike exercises, or in speaking upon occasional topics of discourse; for in all these they were skilful, and especially Alexander, who was the eldest; for certainly it had been sufficient, even though he had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to let them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, while he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him, whose help would prevent his suffering anything by a sudden onset, or by open force; but for him to kill them on the sudden, in order to gratify a passion that governed him, was a demonstration of insufferable impiety. He also was guilty of so great a crime in his old age; nor will the delays that he made, and the length of time in which the thing was done, plead at all for his excuse; for when a man is on a sudden amazed, and in commotion of mind, and then commits a wicked action, although this be a heavy crime, yet it is a thing that frequently happens; but to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings-off, to undertake it at last, and

* The reader is here to note, that this eighth section is entirely wanting in the old Latin version, as Speckham truly observes; nor is there any other reason for it, I suppose, than the great difficulty of translation.
accompany it, was the action of a murderous mind, and such as was not easily moved from that which was evil: and this temper he showed in what he did afterward, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, wherein, though the justice of the punish-ishment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter also. But of those persons we shall have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

BOOK XVII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOURTEEN YEARS.

FROM ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS'S DEATH TO THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS.

CHAPTER I.

HOW ANTIPATER WAS HATED BY ALL THE NATION [OF THE JEWS] FOR THE SLAUGHTER OF HIS BRETHREN; AND HOW, FOR THAT REASON, HE GOT INTO FAVOUR WITH HIS FRIENDS AT ROME, BY GIVING THEM MANY PRESENTS; AS HE DID ALSO WITH SATURNINUS, THE PRESIDENT OF SYRIA, AND THE GOVERNORS WHO WERE UNDER HIM; AND CONCERNING HEROD'S WIVES AND CHILDREN.

§ 1. When Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and had brought his father into the highest degree of impiety, till he was haunted with furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind, as to the rest of his life; for although he was delivered from the fear of his brethren being his rivals as to the government, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation against him on that account was become very great; and besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the affairs of the soldiery grieved him still more, who were alienated from him, from which yet these kings derived all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation: and all this danger was drawn upon him by his destruc-tion of his brethren. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed no other than a king already: and he was for that very reason trusted, and more firmly depended on, for which he ought himself to have been put to death, as appearing to have betrayed his brethren out of his concern for the preservation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill-will to them, and before them, to his father himself; and this was the accused state he was in. Now, all Antipater's contrivances tended, to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising; and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him their assistance, since they must thereby have Antipater for their open enemy; insomuch that the very plots he had laid against his brethren, were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod, because, if he were once dead, the government would now be firmly secured to him; but if he were suffered to live any longer, he should be in danger upon a discovery of that wickedness of which he had been the contriver, and his father would then of necessity become his enemy. And on this account it was that he became very bountiful to his father's friends, and bestowed great sums on several of them, in order to surprise men with his good deeds, and take off their hatred against them. And he sent great presents to his friends at Rome particularly, to gain their good-will; and, above all, to Saturninus, the president of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favour of Saturninus's brother with the large presents he bestowed on him; as also he used the same art to [Salome] the king's sister, who had married one of Herod's chief friends. And, when he counterfeited friendship to those with whom he conversed, he was very subtle in gaining their belief, and very cunning to hide his hatred against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who understood him of a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deluded, especially while she had already used all possible caution in preventing his pernicious designs. Although Antipater's uncle by the mother's side was married to her daughter, and this by his own connivance and management, while she had before been married to Aristobulus, and while Salome's other daughter by that husband was married to the son of Calless; yet that marriage was no obstacle to her, who knew how wicked he was, in her discovering his designs, as her former kindred to him could not prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod had compelled Salome, while she was in love with Sylleus the Arabian, and had taken a fondness to him, to marry Alexas; which match was by her submitted to at the instance of Julia, who persuaded Salome not to refuse it, lest she should herself be their open enemy, since Herod had sworn that he would never be friends with Salome if she would not accept of Alexas for her husband; so she submitted to Julia, as being Caesar's wife; and besides that, she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time also it was that Herod sent back king Archelaus's daughter, who had been Alexander's wife, to her father,
returning the portion he had with her out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

2. Now Herod brought up his sons’ children with great care; for Alexander had two sisters, Glaphyra and Theodora, who bore sons by Berenice, Salome’s daughter, and two daughters; and as his friends were once with him, he presented the children before them; and deploiring the hard fortune of his own sons, he prayed that no such ill fortune would befall those who were their children, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and might make him amends for his care of their education. He also caused them to be betrothed against they should come to the proper age of marriage; the elder of Alexander’s sons to Phissoras’s daughter, and Antipater’s daughter to Aristobulus’s eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus’s daughters to Antipater’s son, and Aristobulus’s other daughter to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high-priest’s daughter: for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time. Now the king made these espousals for the children, out of commodification of them now they were fatherless, as endeavouring to render Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fail to bear the same temper of mind towards him as he had towards his father, for which he had born to his brothers themselves; and his father’s concern about them provoked his indignation against them upon his proposal, that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been; while Archelaus, a king, would support his daughter’s sons, and Phissoras, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters as a wife to his son. What provoked him also was this, that all the multitude would so commiserate these fatherless children, and so hate him [for making them fatherless], that all would come out, since they were no strangers to his vile disposition towards his children. He conceived, therefore, to overturn his father’s settlements, as thinking it a terrible thing that they should be so related to him, and be so powerful with. So Herod yielded to him, and changed his resolution at his entreaty; and the determination now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus’s daughter, and Antipater’s son should marry Phissoras’s daughter. So the espousals for the marriages were changed after this manner, even without the king’s real approbation.

3. Now Herod, the king had at this time nine wives; one of them Antipater’s mother, and another the high-priest’s daughter by whom he had a son of his own name. He had also two who were his brother’s daughter, and another his sister’s daughter; which two had no children. One of his wives also was of the Samaritan nation, whose sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and whose daughter was Olympias; which daughter was afterwards married to Joseph, the king’s brother’s son; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up with a certain private man at Rome. Herod had also to wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had his sons Herod and Philip; which last was also brought up at Rome: Pallas was also one of his wives, who bare him his son Phissoras; and besides these, he had for his wives Phdra and Elpis, by whom he had his daughters Roxana and Salome. As for his elder daughters by the same mother with Alexander and Aristobulus, and whom Pherorbas neglected to marry, he gave them in marriage to Antipater, the king’s sister’s son, and the other to Phissoras, his brother’s son—and this was the posterity of Herod.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING ZAMARIS, THE BABYLONIAN JEW; CONCERNING THE PLOTS LAID BY ANTIPATER AGAINST HIS FATHER; AND SOMETHING ABOUT THE PHARISEES.

§ 1. And now it was that Herod, being desirous to secure himself on the side of the Trachonites, resolved to build a village as large as a city for the Jews, in the middle of that country, which might make his own country difficult to be assaulted, and whence he might be at hand to make sallies upon them, and do them a mischief. Accordingly, when he understood that there was a man who was a Jew come out of Babylon, with five hundred horsemen, all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horseback, and, with a hundred of his relations, had passed over Euphrates, and now abode at Antioch by Daphne of Syria, where Saturninus, who was then president, had given them a place for habitation called Balsada, he sent for this man, with the multitude that followed him, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called Batanea, which country is bounded with Trachonitis, as desirous to make that his habitation a guard to himself. He also engaged to let him hold the country free from tribute, and that they should dwell entirely without paying such customs as used to be paid, and gave him it tax-free.

2. The Babylonian was induced by these offers to come hither; so he took possession of the land, and built in it fortresses and a village, and named it Bathyra. Whereby this man became a safeguard to the inhabitants against the Trachonites, and preserved those Jews who came out of Babylon, to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem, from being hurt by the Trachonite robbers; so that a great number came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people, by reason of their universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod; but when Philip, who was [tetrarch] after him, took the government, he made them pay some small taxes, and that for a little while only; and Agrippa the Great, and his son of the same name, although they harassed them greatly, yet would they not take it away. From whom, when the Roman taken the government into their own still gave them the privilege of their suppress them entirely with the impost Of which matter I shall treat more of the progress of this history.†

† This is now

3. At length Zamaris the Herod had given that coin died; having lived virtu
of a good character behind him: one of whom was Jacim, who was famous for his valour, and taught his followers how to use their horses; and a troop of them were guards to the forementioned kings; and when Jacim was dead in his old age, he left a son whose name was Philip, one of great strength in his hands, and in other respects also more eminent for his valour than any of his contemporaries; on which account there was a confidence and firm friendship between him and king Agrippa. He had also an army which he maintained, as great as that of a king which he exercised and led wherever he had occasion to march.

4. When the affairs of Herod were in the condition I have described, all the public affairs depended upon Antipater; and his power was such, that he could do good turns to as many as he pleased, and this by his father's concession, in hopes of his good-will and fidelity to him; and this till he ventured to use his power still farther, because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe everything he said. He was also formidable to all, not so much on account of the power and authority he had, as for the shrewdness of his wile attempts both wounded: but he who prudently cultivated a friendship with him was Pheroras, which received the like marks of his friendship; while Antipater had cunningly encompassed him about by a company of women, whom he placed as guards about him; for Pheroras was greatly ensnared to his wife, and to her mother, and to her sister; and this notwithstanding the hatred he bare them, for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet did he bear them; and nothing was to be done without the women, who had got this man into their circle, and continued still to assist each other in all things, insomuch that Antipater was entirely addicted to them both by himself and by his mother; for these four women* said all one and the same thing; but the opinions of Pheroras and Antipater were different in some points of no consequence. But the king's sister [Salome] was their antagonist, who for a good while had looked about all their affairs, and was apprised that this their friendship was made, in order to do Herod some mischief, and was disposed to inform the king of it; and since these people knew that their friendship was very disagreeable to Herod, as tending to do him a mischief, they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered; so they pretended to hate one another, and abuse one another when time served, and especially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him; but still their intimacy was firmer than ever, when they were privy; and this was the course they took. But they could not conceal from Salome neither their first contrivance, when they set about these their intentions, nor when they had made some progress in them; but she searched out every thing, and, aggravating the relations to her brother, declared to him, as well the machinations and counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which, if they were not in order to destroy him, they might well enough have been open and public; but to appearance they are at variance, and speak about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, but agree so well together when they are but of the sight of the multitude; for when they are alone by themselves they act in concert, and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal their designs: and thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them, who understood also of himself a great deal of what she said, but still durst not depend upon it, because of the suspicions he had of his sister's slaveries; for there was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God, by whom this set of women were inveigled. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good-will to Caesar, and to the king's government, these very men did not swear, being above six thousand; and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Pherorae's wife paid their fine for them. In order to rectify which kindness of hers, since they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come by divine inspiration, they found how God had decreed that Herod's government should cease, and his posterity should be deprived of it; but that the kingdom should come to her and Pheroras. These predictions were not concealed from Salome, but were told the king; as also how they had perverted some persons about the palace itself. So the king slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and Bagas the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his catamite. He slew also all those of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold; and for Bagas, he had been puffed up by them, as though he should be named the father and the beneficiary of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE ENMITY BETWEEN HEROD AND PHERORAS; HOW HEROD SENT ANTIPATER TO CAESAR; AND OF THE DEATH OF PHERORAS.

§ 1. WHEN Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he gathered an assembly together of his friends, and accused Pheroras's wife; and ascribing the abuses of the virgins to the impudence of that woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonour she had brought upon them: that she had studiously counselled, and caused a quarrel between him and his brother; and, by her ill temper, had brought them into a state of war, both by her words and actions: that the fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done, had been done without her: "for which reason Pheroras would do well, if he
which he did very willingly, and spake many oaths that he would not come again till he heard that Herod was dead. And indeed when upon a sickness of the king, he was desired to come to him before he died, that he might entrust him with some of his injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him; yet did not Herod so retain his hatred to Pheroras, but remitted of his purpose [not to see him] which he before had, and that for such great causes as have been already mentioned: but as soon as he began to beill he came to him, and this without being sent for; and when he was dead he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem, and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. This [death of Pheroras] became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes, although he had already sailed for Rome, God now being about to punish him for the murder of his brethren. I will explain the history of this matter very distinctly, that it may be for a warning for mankind, that they take care of conducting their whole lives by the rules of virtue.

CHAPTER IV.

Pheroras's wife is accused by his freedmen as guilty of poisoning him; and how Herod, upon examining of the matter by torture, found the poison; but so that it had been prepared for himself by his son Antipater; and upon an inquiry by torture, he discovered the dangerous designs of Antipater.

§ 1. As soon as Pheroras was dead, and his funeral was over, two of Pheroras's freedmen, who were much esteemed by him, came to Herod, and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother without avenging it, but to examine into such an unreasonable and unhappy death. When he was moved with these words, for they seemed to him to be true, they said that Pheroras supper'd with his wife the day before he fell sick, and that a certain potion was brought to him in a sort of food as he was not used to eat; but that when he had eaten it he died of it; that this potion was brought out of Arabia by a woman, under pretence indeed as a love potion, for that was its name, but in reality to kill Pheroras; for that the Arabian women are skilful in making such poisons; and the woman to whom they ascribe this, was confessedly a most intimate friend of one of Sylles's mistresses; and that both the mother and the sister of Pheroras's wife had been at the place where she lived, and had persuaded her to sell them this potion, and had come back and brought it with them the day before that of his supper. Hereupon the king was provoked, and put the women slaves to the torture, and some that were free with them; and as the fact did not yet appear, because none of them would confess it, at length one of them, under the utmost agonies, said, that Pheroras desired that God would send the like agonies upon Antipater's mother who had been the occasion of these miseries to all of them. This prayer induced Herod to increase the women's tortures, till thereby all was discovered: their merry meetings, their secret assemblies, and the disclosing of what he had said to his son alone unto Pheroras's * women. [Now what

* 1195 With her mother, and sister.
then the presidents of Syria.* At last, he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty days' time Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects reciprocally. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the other's subjects found in his kingdom, either as doing any injustices, or on any other account; but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

2. When the day appointed for payment of the money was past, without Syleneus's performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be delivered up; and, by the permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, executed the judgment himself upon those that were refractory. He took an army that he had, and led it into Arabia, and in three days' time marched seven mansions; and when he came to the garrison wherein the robbers were, he made an assault upon them, and took them all, and destroyed the place, which was called a town, but did no harm to any others. But as the Arabians came to their assistance, under Naceb their captain, there ensued a battle, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Naceb, the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his soldiers fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when he had brought those to punishment, he placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account to the captains that were about Rhesica, and demonstrated that he had done nothing but what he ought to do in punishing the refractory Arabians, which, upon an exact inquiry, they found to be no more than what was true.

3. However, messengers were haste away to Syleneus to Rome, and informed him what had been done, and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Syleneus had already imputated himself into the knowledge of Caesar, and was then about the palace; and as soon as he heard of these things, he changed his habit into black, and went in, and told Caesar that Arabia was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, upon Herod's laying it waste with his army; and he said, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had been destroyed, and that their captain Naebus, his familiar friend and kinsman, was slain; and that the riches that were at Rasepta were carried off; and that Obodas was deep-seized, whose infant state of body rendered him unfit for war; on which account neither he nor the Arabian army were present. When Syleneus said so, and added invidiously, that he would not himself have come out of the country, unless he had believed that Caesar would have provided that they should all have peace one with another, and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod's advantage. Caesar was provoked when this was said; and asked no more than this one question, both of Herod's friends that were there, and of his own friends, who were come from Syria, Whether Herod had led an army thither? And when they were forced to confess so much, Caesar, without staying to hear for what reason he did it, and how it was done, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this, that whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now use him as his subject. Syleneus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians; who were so elevated with it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them, nor paid the money that was due: they retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Caesar's anger at him. Those of Trachonitis also made use of this opportunity, and rose up against the Idumean garrison, and followed the same way of robbing with the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were more rigid in their unjust proceedings, not only in order to get by it, but by way of revenge also.

4. Now Herod was forced to bear all this; this confidence of his being quite gone with which Caesar's favour used to inspire him; for Caesar would not admit so much as an embassage from him, to make an apology for him; and when they came again, he sent them away without success: so he was cast into sadness and fear; and Syleneus's circumstances grieved him exceedingly, who was now believed by Caesar, and was present at Rome, nay, sometimes aspiring higher. Now it came to pass that Obodas was dead; and aeni, whose name was Aretas, took the government, for Syleneus endeavoured by calumnies to get him turned out of his principality, that he might himself take it; with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Caesar, who indeed was angry that Aretas had not sent to him first before he took the kingdom, yet did Aeni send an epistle to Caesar, and a crown of gold of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Syleneus as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obodas by poison; and that while he was alive he had governed him as he pleased; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain the dominion for himself: yet did not Caesar give heed to these accusations, but sent his ambassadors back without receiving any of his presents. But in the meantime the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because, bad as they were, nobody had power to govern them; for of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil-doers; and as for Herod, Caesar was immediately angry at him for having avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him, he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome again, and see whether his friends had prevailed to mitigate Caesar, and to address themselves to Caesar himself; and the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolaus of Damascenus.

* The joint presidents of Syria, Saturninus and Volumnius, were not perhaps of equal authority, but the latter like a procurator under the former, as the very learned Morus and Pagi, and with them Dr. Hookes, determine.
CHAPTER X.

HOW EURYCLES FALSELY ACCUSED HEROD'S SONS; AND HOW THEIR FATHER FOUND THEM, AND WROTE TO CAESAR ABOUT THEM, OF SYLLIUS; AND HOW HE WAS ACCUSED BY NICOLAIUS.

§ 1. The disorders about Herod's family and children about this time grew much worse; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen beforehand, that fortune threatened the greatest and most insupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Its progress and augmentation at this time arose on the occasion following:—One Eurycles, a Lacedemonian (a person of note there, but a man of a perverse mind, and so cunning in his ways of volupportuneness and flattery, as to indulge him as if he indulged neither of them), came in his travels to Herod, and made him present, but so that he received more presents from him. He also took such proper seasons for insinuating himself into his friendship, and he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He had his lodging in Antipater's house; but he had not only access, but free conversation, with Alexander, as pretending to him that he was in great favour with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; whence he pretended much respect to Ophryas, and, in an occult manner, cultivated a friendship with them all, but always attending to what was said and done, that he might be furnished with calumnies to please them all. In short, he behaved himself so to every body in his conversation, as to appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his being anywhere was for that person's advantage. So he won upon Alexander, who was but young; and persuaded him, that he might open his grievances to him with assurance, and no body else. So he declared his grief to him, how his father was led to his ruin; and he related to him also the affairs of his mother, and of Antipater; that he had driven them from their proper dignity, and had the power over every thing himself; that no part of this was tolerable, since his father was already come to hate them; and he added, that he would neither admit them to his table nor his conversation. Such were the complaints, as was but natural, of Alexander about the things that troubled him: and these discourses Eurycles carried to Antipater, and told him, he did not inform him of this on his own account, but that being overcome by his kindness, the great importance of the thing obliged him to do it; and he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for that what he said was spoken with vehemency, and that, in consequence of what he said, he would certainly kill him with his own hand. Whereupon Antipater, thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him presents upon all occasions, and at length persuaded him to inform Herod of what he had heard. So when he related to the king Alexander's ill temper, as discovered by the words he had heard him speak, he was easily believed by him; and he thereby brought the king to that pass, turning him about by his words, and irritating him till he increased his hatred to him, and made him implacable, which he showed at that very time, for he immediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty talents; who, when he had gotten them, went to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander before him, and told him that he had been many ways of advantage to him, in making a reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out; but when Eurycles was returned to Lacedemon, he did not leave off doing mischief; and so, for his many acts of injustice, he was banished from his own country.

2. But as for the king of the Jews, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been content with the hearing their calumnies when others told him of them, but he was now come to that pass as to hate them himself, and to urge men to speak against them, though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said, and put questions, and gave ear to every one that would but speak, if they could but say any thing against them, till at length he heard that Euratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander and Antipater. Then Herod was the most agreeable and sweetest news imaginable.

3. But still a greater misfortune came upon the young men; while the calumnies against them were continually increased, and, as a man may say, one would think it was every one's endeavour to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which might appear to be for the king's preservation. There were two guards of Herod's body, who were in great esteem for their great strength and tallness, Acarnus and Tyrannus; these men had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased at them; they were now used to ride along with Alexander, and for their skill in their exercises were in great esteem with him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed on them. Now the king, having an immediate suspicion of these men, had them tortured; who endured the torture courageously for a long time; but at last confessed that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts, that it might be said he fell from his horse, and was run through with a spear, for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. They also showed where there was money hidden in the stable, under ground; and these convicted the king's chief hunter, that he had given the young men the royal hunting-spear and weapons to Alexander's dependants, and at Alexander's command.

4. After these, the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium was caught and tortured; for he was accused to have promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king's which was laid up in that fortress, yet did not acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son came in, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these:— "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you; but do your endeavours, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no doubt about the actual departure of his sons; and he then said that Diophantus, the scribe, had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices; and as he was afterwards convicted of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

5. So the king produced those that had been tor-
tured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to have them accuse the young men, which accuses many of the people stoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander and Aristobulus likewise, the length and pretense to do so, but restrained the multitude, by means of Ptolemy and Pheroenas. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that nobody might come at them; and all that they did or said was watched, and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals; and one of them, who was Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his aunt, and his mother-in-law, to lament with him for his calamities, and to hate him who had suffered so much to come to that pass; when he said to her, "Art thou not in danger of destruction also, while the report goes that thou hast disclosed beforehand all our affairs to Sylene, when thou wast in hopes of being married to him?" But she immediately carried those words to her brother: upon which he was out of patience, and gave command to blind him; and enjoined them both, now they were kept separate one from the others, to write down all the ill things they had done against their father, and bring the writing to him. So when they knew this, they wrote what they suspected that they had laid no treacherous designs, nor made any preparations against their father, but that they had intended to fly away; and that by the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

6. About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia from Archelaus, whose name was Melas; he was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod being desirous to shew Archelaus's ill-will to him, called for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning his flight, whether and how they had resolved to retire; Alexander replied,—To Archelaus, who had promised to send them away to Rome; but that they had no wicked or mischievous designs against their father, and that nothing of that nature which their adversaries had charged upon them was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyranus and Jucundus more strictly, but that they had been suddenly slain by the means of Antipater, who put his own friends among the multitude [for that purpose].

7. When this was said, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melas should be carried to Glympyra, Archelaus's daughter, and that she should be asked, whether she did not know somewhat of Alexander's treacherous designs against Herod! Now as soon as they were come to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she beat her head, and in great consternation, gave a deep and a moving groan. The young man also fell into tears. This was so miserable a spectacle to those present, that, for a great while, they were not able to say or to do anything; but at length Ptolemy, who was ordered to bring Alexander, bade him say whether his wife was conscious of his actions. He replied, "How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do?" Upon which she cried out, that she knew of no wicked designs of his; but that yet, if her accusing herself falsely would tend to her preservation, she would confess it all. Alexander replied, "There is no such wickedness as those (who ought the least of all to do) suspect, which either I have imagined, or thou knowest of, but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome." Whhich she also confessed. Upon which Herod, supposing that Archelaus's ill-will to him was firm, sent a friend a letter by Olympus and Volumnius; and bade them, as they sailed by, to touch at Eleusa of Cilicia, and give Archelaus the letter. And that when they had expostulated with him, that he had a band in his son's treacherous designs against him, they should from thence sail to Rome; and that, in case they found Nicolas had gained any ground, and that Caesar was no longer displeased at him, he should give him his letters, and the proof which he had ready to show against the young men. As to Archelaus, he made his defence for himself, that he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father's advantage so to do, lest some too severe procedure should be gone upon in that anger and disorder they were in on occasion of the present suspicions; but that still he had not promised to send them to Caesar; and that he had not promised any thing else to the young men that could show any ill-will to him.

When these ambassadors were come to Rome, they had a fit opportunity to deliver their letters to Caesar, because they found him reconciled to Herod, for the circumstances of Nicolas's embassage had been as follows:—As soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first of all set about what he was come for only, but he thought fit also to accuse Sylene. Now, the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another; and some of them left Sylene's party, and joining themselves to Nicolas, informed him of all the wicked things that had been done; and produced to him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Oboadas's friends by Sylene; for when those men left Sylene, they had carried off with them those letters whereby they could convict him. When Nicolas saw such an opportunity afforded him, he made use of it, in order to gain his own point afterward, and endeavoured immediately to make a reconciliation between Caesar and Herod; for he was fully satisfied, that if he should desire to make a defence for Herod directly, he should not be allowed that liberty; but that if he desired to accuse Sylene, there would be an occasion present, speaking on Herod's behalf. So when the cause was ready for hearing, and the day was appointed, Nicolas, while Aretas's ambassadors were present, accused Sylene, and said that he imputed to him the destruction of the king [Oboadas], and of many others of the Arabians: that he had borrowed money for no good design; and he proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not only with the Arabian, but Roman women also. And he added, that above all the rest he had alienated Caesar from Herod; and that all that he had said about the actions of Herod were falsehoods. When Nicolas was come to this topic, Caesar stopped him from going on, and desired him only to speak to this affair of Herod, and to show that he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country. To which Nicolas made this answer:—"I shall principally demonstrate, that either nothing at all, or but a very little, of those imputations are true, of which thou hast been informed; for had they been true, thou
much that he told Sylleus, that he had compelled him, by his lying account of things, to be guilty of ingratitude against a man that was his friend. At the last all came to this, Sylleus was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be punished [with death]; but still Cæsar was offended with Aretas, that he had taken upon himself the government, without his consent first obtained, for he had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod; but that the letters he had sent hindered him from so doing; for Olympus and Volumnius, perceiving that Cæsar was now become unfavourable to Herod, thought fit immediately to deliver him the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him concerning his sons. When Cæsar had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another government to him, nor was he old, and in an ill state with relation to his sons, so he admitted Aretas's ambassadors; and after he had just reproved him for his rashness, in not marrying till he received the kingdom from him, he accepted of his presents, and confirmed him in his government.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW HEROD, BY PERMISSION FROM CÆSAR, ACCUSED HIS SONS BEFORE AN ASSEMBLY OF JUDGES AT BERYTUS; AND WHAT ZERO SUFFERED, FOR USING A BOUNDLESS AND MILITARY LIBERTY OF SPEECH. CONCERNING ALSO THE DEATH OF THE YOUNG MEN, AND THEIR BURIAL AT ALEXANDRIUM.

§ 1. So Cæsar was now reconciled to Herod, and wrote thus to him:—That he was grieved for him on account of his sons; and that in case they had been guilty of any profane and insolent crimes against him, it would behave him to punish them as perjuries, for which he gave him power accordingly; but if they had only contrived to fly away, he would have him give them an admonition, and not proceed to extremity with them. He also advised him to get an assembly together, and to appoint some place near Berytus, which is a city belonging to the Romans, and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought to be illustrous for their friendship to him, and the dignities they were in, and determine what should be done by their approbation. These were the directions that Cæsar gave him. Accordingly Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was immediately very glad of Cæsar's reconciliation to him, and very glad also that he had a complete authority given him for the protection of his sons. And it so happened that, whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed shown himself severe, yet had he not been very rash, nor hasty, in procuring the destruction of his sons; he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to exercises his hatred against them, after an unheard-of manner; he therefore sent and called as many as he thought fit to this assembly, excepting Archelaus; for as for him, he either

* This oath, by the formula of Cæsar, was put to Polycarp, a bishop of Berytus, by the Roman governor, to try whether he were a Christian, as they were then esteemed who refused to swear such oath. Martyr. Polycarp, sect. 5.
hated him, so that he would not invite him, or thought he would be an obstacle to his designs.

2. When the presidents, and the rest that belonged to the cities were come to Berytus, he kept them in a certain village belonging to Sidon, called Platauma, but near to this city; for if they were called he might produce them, for he did not think fit to bring them before the assembly; and when there were one hundred and fifty assessors present, Herod came by himself alone, and accused his sons, and in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and not made but out of necessity, and upon the misfortunes he was under; indeed, in such a way as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons, for he was very vehement and disorderly when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of, and gave the greatest signs of passion and barbarity: nor would he suffer the assessors to consider of the weight of the evidence, but asserted them to be true by his own authority, after a manner most indecent in a father against his sons, and read himself what they themselves had written, wherein there was no confession of any plots or contrivances against him, but only how they had contrived to fly away, and containing withal certain reproaches against him, on account of the ill will he bare them; and when he accused his sons, he spoke out most falsely, and, all, and exaggerated what they said, as if they had confessed the design against him,—and took his oath that he had rather lose his life than hear such reproachful words. At last he said that he had sufficient authority, both by nature and by Cesar's grant to him, [to do what he thought fit]. He also added an allegation of a law of their country, which enjoined this:—That if parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accused, the standers by were obliged to cast stones at him, and thereby slay him: which though he were ready to do in his own country and kingdom, yet did he wait for their determination; and yet they came thither not so much as judges, to condemn them for such manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished by his sons' means, but as persons that had an opportunity of showing their detestation of such practices, and declaring how unworthy a thing it must be in any, even the most remote, to pass over such treacherous designs [without punishment].

3. When the king had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defence for themselves, the assessors perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority. And in the first place, Saturnius, a person that had been consul, and one of great dignity, pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation and trouble; and said, that he condemned Herod's sons; but did not think they should be put to death. He had sons of his own; and to put one's son to death, is a greater misfortune than any other that could befall him by their means. After him Saturninus's son, for he had three sons that followed him, and were his legates, pronounced the same sentence with their father. On the contrary, Volumnius's sentence was to inflict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father; and the greatest part of the rest said the same, insomuch that the conclusion seemed to be, that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately after this Herod came away from thence, and took his sons to Tyro, where Nicollaus met him in his voyage from Rome; of whom he inquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berytus, what his sentiments were about his sons, and what his friends at Rome thought of the matter. His answer was, "That what they had determined to do to them was impious, and that thou oughtest to keep them in prison: and if thou thinkest any thing further necessary, thou mayest indeed so punish them, that thou mayest not appear to induge thy anger more than to govern thyself by judgment; but if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayest absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable; and this is the opinion of the greater part of thy friends at Rome also." Whereupon Herod was silent, and indeed thought thou mayest absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable; and this is the opinion of the greater part of thy friends at Rome also. Whereupon Herod was silent, and indeed thought they mayest absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable; and this is the opinion of the greater part of thy friends at Rome also.

4. Now as they came to Cesar's, every body was there talking of Herod's sons; and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people in great expectation of what would become of them, for a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great trouble about their sufferings; nor was it without danger to say any rash thing about this matter, nor even to hear another saying it, but men's pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, who desired the preservation of their very irksome, but very silent; yet was there an old soldier of Herod's, whose name was Tero, who had a son of the same age as Alexander, and his friend, who was so very free as openly to speak out what others thought about the matter; and was forced to cry out often among the multitude, and said, in the most unguarded manner, that truth was perished, and justice taken away from men, while lies and ill-will prevailed, and brought such a mist before public affairs, that the offenders were not able to see the greatest mischiefs that could befall men. And as he was so bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of danger, by speaking so freely; but the reasonableness of what he said moved men to regard him as having behaved himself with great manhood, and this at a proper time also, for which reason every one heard what he said with pleasure: and although they first took care of their own safety by keeping silent themselves, yet did they kindly receive the great freedom he took; for the expectation they were in of some an affliction, put a force upon them to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased.

5. This man had thrust himself into the king's presence with the greatest freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do; where he said this:—"Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under so great a concern as I am under, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take, which may be for thy advantage, if thou mind to get any profit by it, before my own safety. Whither is thy understanding gone, and loft thy soul empty? Whither is that extraordinary sagacity of thine gone, whereby thou hast performed so many and such glorious actions! Whene'er comes this solitude, and desertion of thy friends and relations! Of which I cannot but determine that they are neither thy friends nor relations, while they overlook such horrid wickedness in thy once happy kingdom. Dost not thou perceive what is doing? Wilt thou slay these two young men, born of thy queen, who are accomplished with every virtue in the highest degree,
and leave thyself destined in thy old age, but exposed to one son, who hath very ill managed the hopes thou hast given him, and to relations, whose death thou hast so often resolved on thyself! Dost not thou take notice, that the very silence of the multitude at once makes the crime, and abhors the fact? The whole army and the officers have consignment on the poor unhappy youth, and hatred to those that are the actors in this matter."—These words the king heard, and for some time with good temper. But what can one say! When Tero plainly touched upon the bad behaviour and perfidiousness of his domestics, he was moved at it; but Tero went on farther, and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech, nor was he slow for any time to speak what was true, or whether it be the time; so Herod was greatly disturbed, and seemed to be rather reproached by this speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage, while he learned thereby that both the soldiers abhorred the thing he was about, and the officers had indignation at it, he gave order that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

6. When this was over, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, took the opportunity, and came and brought Tero and his son, and the barber, who had been accused of being of the number of those who had been the instigators of the king; he cut his throat, for that by this means he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had said this, the king gave order that Tero, and his son, and the barber, should be tortured, which was done accordingly; but while Tero bore up himself, his son, seeing his father already in a sad case, and with no hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the consequence of his terrible sufferings, said, that if the king would free him and his father from these torments for what he should say, he would tell the truth. And when the king had given his word to do so, he said that there was an agreement made, that Tero should lay violent hands on the king, because it was easy for him to come when he was alone; and that if, when he had done the thing, he should suffer death for it, as was not unlikely, it would be an act of generosity done in favour of Alexander. This was what Tero's son said, and thereby freed his father from the distress he was in; but uncertain it is whether he had been the instigator of what they had done, or whether it were a contrivance of his in order to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries.

7. As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about the slaughter of his sons, there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it; but he had banished away whatsoever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning better about this matter, so he already made haste to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He also brought out three hundred of the officers that were under an accusation as also Tero and his son, and the barber that accused them, before an assembly, and brought an accusation against them all; whom the multitude stoned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them. Alexander also and Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste, by their father's command, and there strangled; but their dead bodies were, in the night-time, carried to Alexandria, where their uncle, by the mother's side, and the greatest part of their ancestors, had been deposited.

8. * And now perhaps it may not seem unreasonable to some, that such an inveterate hatred might increase so much [on both sides], as to proceed farther, and overcome nature; but it may justly deserve consideration, when we see the ancient law laid to the charge of the younger men, that they gave such an occasion to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did, and by going on long in the same way, put things past remedy, and brought him to use them so unmercifully; or whether it be to be laid to the father's charge, that he was so hard-hearted, and so very tender in the desire of government, and of other things that would tend to his glory, that he would take no one into a partnership with him, that so whatsoever he would have done himself might continue immoveable; or, indeed, whether fortune has not greater power than all prudent reasonings; whence we are persuaded that human actions are thereby determined beforehand by an inevitable necessity, and we call her Fate, because there is nothing which is not done by her; wherefore I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion with that other, which attributes somewhat to ourselves, and renders men not accountable for the different conduct of their lives; which notion is no other that the philosophy of the ancients; for, accordingly, of the two other causes of this sad event, any body may lay the blame on the young men, who acted by youthful vanity, and pride of their royal birth, that they should bear to hear the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not equitable judges of the actions of his life, but ill-natured in suspecting, and intemperate in speaking of it, and on both accounts easily caught by those that observed them, and revealed them to gain favour; yet cannot their father be thought worthy of excuse, as to that how rigid impiety which he was guilty of about them, while he ventured, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and without any proofs that they had made preparations for such an attempt, to kill his own sons, who were of very comely bodies, and the great darlings of other men, and no way deficient in their conduct, whether it were in hunting, or in warlike exercises, or in speaking upon occasional topics of discourse; for in all these they were skilful, and especially Alexander, who was the eldest; for certainly it was not sufficient, even though he had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to let them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, while he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him, whose help would prevent his suffering anything by a sudden onset, or by open force; but for him to kill them on the sudden, in order to gratify a passion that governed him, was a demonstration of insufferable impiety. He also was guilty of so great a crime in his old age; nor will the delays that he made, and the length of time in which the thing was done, plead at all for his excuse; for when a man is on a sudden amazed, and in commotion of mind, and then commits a wicked action, although this be a heavy crime, yet it is a thing that frequently happens; but to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings-off, to undertake it at last, and
accomplish it, was the action of a murderous mind, and such as was not easily moved from that which was evil: and this temper he showed in what he did afterward, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, wherein, though the justice of the punish-

ment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter also. But of those persons we shall have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

BOOK XVII.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOURTEEN YEARS.

FROM ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS’S DEATH TO THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS.

CHAPTER I.

HOW ANTIPATER WAS HATED BY ALL THE NATION [OF THE JEWS] FOR THE SLAUGHTER OF HIS BRETHREN; AND HOW, FOR THAT REASON, HE GOT INTO FAVOUR WITH HIS FRIENDS AT ROME, BY GIVING THEM MANY PRESENTS; AS HE DID ALSO WITH SATURNINUS, THE PRESIDENT OF SYRIA, AND THE GOVERNORS WHO WERE UNDER HIM; AND CONCERNING HEROD’S WIVES AND CHILDREN.

§ 1. When Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and had brought his father into the highest degree of impiety, till he was haunted with furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind, as to the rest of his life; for although he was delivered from the fear of his brethren being his rivals as to the government, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation against him on that account was become very great; and, besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the affairs of the soldiery grieved him still more, who were alienated from him, from which yet these kings derived all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation: and all this danger was drawn upon him by his destruction of his brethren. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed no other than a king already; and he was for that very reason trusted, and more firmly depended on, for which he ought himself to have been put to death, as appearing to have betrayed his brethren out of his concern for the preservation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill-will to them, and before them, to his father himself; and this was the accursed state he was in. Now, all Antipater’s contrivances tended to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising; and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him their assistance, since they must thereby have Antipater for their open enemy; insomuch that the very plots he had laid against his brethren, were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more than ever set upon

the execution of his attempts against Herod, because, if he were once dead, the government would now be firmly secured to him; but if he were suffered to live any longer, he should be in danger upon a discovery of that wickedness of which he had been the contriver, and his father would then of necessity become his enemy. And on this account it was that he became very bountiful to his father’s friends, and bestowed great sums on several of them, in order to surprise men with his good deeds, and thereby soften their anger against him. And he sent great presents to his friends at Rome particularly, to gain their good-will; and, above all, to Saturninus, the president of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favour of Saturninus’s brother with the large presents he bestowed on him; as also he used the same art to [Salome] the king’s sister, who had married one of Herod’s chief friends. And, when he counterfeited friendship to those with whom he conversed, he was very subtle in gaining their belief, and very cunning to hide his hatred against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who understood him of a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deluded, especially while she had already used all possible caution in preventing his pernicious designs. Although Antipater’s uncle by the mother’s side was married to her daughter, and this by his own compliance and management, while she had before been married to Aristobulus, and while Salome’s other daughter by that husband was married to the son of Calleas; yet that marriage was no obstacle to her, who knew how wicked he was, in her discovering his designs, as her former kindness to him could not prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod had compelled Salome, while she was in love with Syleneus the Arabian, and had taken a fondness to him, to marry Alexas; which match was by her submitted to at the instance of Julius, who persuaded Salome not to refuse it, lest she should herself be their open enemy, since Herod had sworn that he would never be friends with Salome if she would not accept of Alexas for her husband; so she submitted to Julius, as being Caesar’s wife; and besides that, she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time also it was that Herod sent back king Archelaus’s daughter, who had been Alexander’s wife, to her father,
returning the portion he had with her out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

9. Now Herod brought up his sons' children with great care; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphrya; and Aristobulus had three sons by Bernice, Salome's daughter, and two daughters; and as his friends were once with him, he presented the children before them; and depleting the hard fortune of his own sons, he prayed that no such ill fortune would befall those who were their children, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and might make him amends for his care of their education. He also caused them to be betrothed against they should come to the preprance of marriage; the elder of Alexander's sons to Pheroras's daughter, and Antipater's daughter to Aristobulus's eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus's daughters to Antipater's son, and Aristobulus's other daughter to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest's daughter: for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time. Now the king made these espousals for the children, out of commiseration of them now they were fatherless, as endeavouring to render Antipater and Aristobulus's sons unmarriageable. But Antipater did not fail to bear the same tender of mind to his brothers' children which he had born to his brothers themselves; and his father's concern about them provoked his indignation against them upon his supposal, that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been; while Archelaus, a king, would support his daughter's sons, and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters as a wife to his son. What provoked him also was this, that all the multitude would so commiserate these fatherless children, and so hate him for making them fatherless, that all would come out, since they were no strangers to his vile disposition towards his brethren. He contrived, therefore, to overturn his father's settlements, as thinking it a terrible thing that they should be so related to him, and be so powerful withal. So Herod yielded to him, and changed his resolution at his entreaty; and the determination now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus's daughter, and Antipater's son should marry Pheroras's daughter. So the espousals for the marriages were changed after this manner, even without the king's real approbation.

3. Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives; one of them Antipater's mother, and another the high-priest's daughter, by whom he had a son of his own name. He had also one who was his brother's daughter, and another his sister's daughter; which two had no children. One of his wives also was of the Samaritan nation, whose sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and whose daughter was Olympias; which daughter was afterwards married to Joseph, the king's brother's son; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up with a certain private man at Rome. Herod had also to wife Cleopatra, Cleopatra, and by her he had his sons Herod and Philip; which last was also brought up at Rome: Pallas was also one of his wives, who bore him his son Phasselus; and besides these, he had for his wives Phedra and Elpis, by whom he had his daughters Roxana and Salome. As for his elder daughters by the same mother with Alexander and Aristobulus, and whom Pheroras neglected to marry, he gave the one in marriage to Antipater, the king's sister's son, and the other to Phasselus, his brother's son—and this was the posterity of Herod.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING ZAMARIS, THE BABYLONIAN JEW; CONCERNING THE PLOTS LAID BY ANTIPATER AGAINST HIS FATHER; AND SOMETHING ABOUT THE PHARISEES.

§ 1. And now it was that Herod, being desirous to secure himself on the side of the Trachonites, resolved to build a village as large as a city for the Jews, in the middle of that country, which might make his own country difficult to be assailed, and whence he might be at hand to make sallies upon them, and do them a mischief. Accordingly, when he had understood that there was a man whose name as a Jew came out of Babylon, with five hundred horsemen, all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horseback, and with a hundred of his relations, had passed over Euphrates, and now abode at Antioch by Daphne of Syria, where Saturninus, who was then president, had given them a place for habitation called Valsa, he sent for this man, with the multitude that followed him, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called Batanea, which country is bounded with Trachonitis, as desirous to make that his habitation a guard to himself. He also engaged to let him hold the country free from tribute, and that they should dwell entirely without paying such customs as used to be paid, and gave it him tax-free.

2. The Babylonian was induced by these offers to come hither; so he took possession of the land, and built in it fortresses and a village, and named it Bathyra. Whereby this man became a safeguard to the inhabitants against the Trachonites, and preserved those Jews who came out of Babylon, to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem, from being hurt by the Trachonite robbers; so that a great number came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people, by reason of their universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod; but when Philip, who was [tetrarch] after him, took the government, he made them pay some small taxes, and that for a little while only; and Agrippa the Great, and his son of the same name, although they harassed them greatly, yet would they not take their liberty away. From whom, when the Romans have now taken the government into their own hands, they still gave them the privilege of their freedom, but oppress them entirely with the imposition of taxes. Of which matter I shall treat more accurately in the progress of this history.†

3. At length Zamaris the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a possession, died; having lived virtuously, and left children

† This is now wanting.
of a good character behind him; one of whom was Jaceim, who was famous for his valour, and taught his Babyloniats how to ride their horses; and a troop of them were guards to the forementioned kings; and when Jaceim was dead in his old age, he left a son whose name was Philip, of great strength in his hands, and in other respects also more eminent for his valour than any of his contemporaries; on which account there was a confidence and firm friendship between him and king Agrippa. He had also an army which he maintained, as great as that of a king; which he exercised and led wheresoever he had occasion to march.

4. When the affairs of Herod were in the condition I have described, all the public affairs depended upon Antipater; and his power was such, that he could do good turns to as many as he pleased, and this by his father's concession, in hopes of his good-will and fidelity to him; and this till he ventured to use his power still farther, because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe every thing he said. He was also formidable to all, not so much on account of the power and authority he had, as for the shrewdness of his vile attempts beforehand; but who he principally cultivated a friendship with him was Phæorras, who received the like marks of his friendship; while Antipater had cunningly encompassed him about by a company of women, whom he placed as guards about him; for Phæorras was greatly enslaved to his wife, and to her mother, and to her sister; and this notwithstanding the hatred he bare them, for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet did he bear them; and nothing was to be done without the women, who had got this man into their circle, and continued still to assist each other in all things, insomuch that Antipater was entirely addicted to them both by himself and by his mother; for these four women* said all one and the same thing; but the opinions of Phæorras and Antipater differed in matters of sequence. But the king's sister [Salome] was their antagonist, who for a good while had looked about all their affairs, and was apprised that this their friendship was made, in order to do Herod some mischief, and was disposed to inform the king of it; and since those people knew that their friendship was very disagreeable to Herod, as tending to do him a mischief, they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered; so they pretended to hate one another, and abuse one another when time served, and especially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him; but still their intimacy was firmer than ever, when they were private; and this was the course they took. But they could not conceal from Salome neither their first contrivance, when they set about these their intentions, nor when they had made some progress in them; but she searched out every thing, and, aggravating the relations to her brother, declared to him, as well their secret assemblies and complotions, as their counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which, if they were not in order to destroy him, they might well else have been open and public; one of appearance they are at variance, and speak about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, but agree so well together when they are out of the sight of the multitude; for when they are alone by themselves they act in concert, and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal their designs: and thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them, who understood also of himself a great deal of what she said, but still durst not depend upon it, because of the suspicions he had of his sister's calumnies; for there was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God, by whom this set of women were inveigled. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good-will to Caesar, and to the king's government, these very men did not swear, being above six thousand; and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Phæorras's wife paid their fine for them. In order to require which kindness of hers, since they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come by divine inspiration, they foretold how God had decreed that Herod's government should cease, and his posterity should be deprived of it; but that the kingdom should come to her and Phæorras. These predictions were not concealed from Salome, but were told the king; as also how they had perverted some persons about the palace itself. So the king slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and Bagos the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his catamite. He slew also all those of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold; and for Bagos, he had been puffed up by them, as though he should be named the father and the benefactor of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagos to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE ENMITY BETWEEN HEROD AND PHÆORRAS; HOW HEROD SENT ANTIPATER TO CAESAR; AND OF THE DEATH OF PHÆORRAS.

§ 1. When Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he gathered an assembly together of his friends, and accused Phæorras's wife; and ascribing the abuses of the virgins to the impudence of that woman, brought an accusation against her for the dashing she had brought upon them; that she had studiously introduced a quarrel between him and his brother; and, by her ill temper, had brought them into a state of war, both by her words and actions; that the fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done, had been done without her; so for which reason Phæorras would do well, if he

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* Phæorras's wife, and his mother and sister, and Doris, Antipater's mother.
which he did very willingly, and swore many oaths that he would not come again till he heard that Herod was dead. And indeed when upon a sickness of the king, he was desired to come to him before he died, that he might entrust him with some of his injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him; yet did not Herod so retain his hatred to Pheroras, but remitted of his purpose [not to see him] which he before had, and that for such great causes as have been already mentioned: but as soon as he began to beill he came to him, and this without being sent for; and when he was dead he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem, and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. This [death of Pheroras] became the origin of Antipater’s misfortunes, although he had already sailed for Rome, God now being about to punish him for the murder of his brethren. I will explain the history of this matter very distinctly, that it may be for a warning for mankind, that they take care of conducting their whole lives by the rules of virtue.

CHAPTER IV.

PHEROVAS’S WIFE IS ACCUSED BY HIS FREEDMEN AS GUILTY OF POISONING HIM; AND HOW HEROD, UPON EXAMINING OF THE MATTER BY TORTURE, FOUND THE POISON; BUT SO THAT IT HAD BEEN PREPARED FOR HIMSELF BY HIS SON ANTIPATER; AND UPON AN INQUIRY BY TORTURE, HE DISCOVERED THE DANGEROUS DESIGNS OF ANTIPATER.

§ 1. As soon as Pheroras was dead, and his funeral was over, two of Pheroras’s freedmen, who were much esteemed by him, came to Herod, and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother without avenging it, but to examine into such an unreasonable and unhappy death. When he was moved with these words, for they seemed to him to be true, they said that Pheroras supped with his wife the day before he fell sick, and that a certain potion was brought to him in a sort of food as he was not used to eat; but that when he had eaten it he died of it; that this potion was brought out of Arabia by a woman, under pretence indeed as a love potion, for that was its name, but in reality to kill Pheroras; for that the Arabian women are skilful in making such poisons; and the woman to whom they ascribe this, was confessedly a most intimate friend of one of Syleneus’s mistresses; and that both the mother and the sister of Pheroras’s wife had been at the place where she lived, and had persuaded her to sell them this potion, and had come back and brought it with them the day before that of his supper. Hereupon the king was provoked, and put the women slaves to the torture, and some that were free with them; and as the fact did not yet appear, because none of them would confess it; at length one of them, under the utmost agonies, said no more but this, that she prayed that God would send the like agonies upon Antipater’s mother who had been the occasion of these miseries to all of them. This prayer induced Herod to increase the women’s tortures, till thereby all was discovered: their merry meetings, their secret assemblies, and the disclosing of what he had said to his son alone unto Pheroras’s * women. (Now what

* His wife, her mother, and sister.

3. At this time Herod commanded Pheroras, that since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, he should retire into his own tetrarchy;
called me to him, and said to me, 'O woman! Antipater hath circumvented me in this affair of his father and my brother, by persuading me to have a murderous intention to him, and procuring a potion to be subervient thereto: do thou, therefore, go and fetch my potion (since my brother appears to have still the same virtuous disposition towards me which he had formerly, and I do not expect to live long myself, and that I may not defile my forefathers by the murder of a brother) and burn it before my face'; that accordingly she immediately brought it, and did as her husband bade her; and that she burnt the greatest part of the potion; but a little of it was left, that if the king after Phereor's death, should treat her ill, she might poison herself, and thereby get clear of her miseries.' Upon her saying thus, she brought out the potion, and the box in which it was, before them all. Nay, there was another brother of Antiphus, and his mother also, who, by the extremity of pain and torture, confessed the same things, and owned the box [to be that which was brought out of Egypt]. The high-priest's daughter also accused her, who was accused to have been conscious of all this, and had resolved to conceal it; for which reason Herod divorced her, and bloted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one that was to reign after him; and he took the high-priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simeon the son of Boethus, and appointed Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high-priest in his room.

3. While this was doing, Bathyllus also, Antipater's freedman, came from Rome, and on torture was found to have brought another potion, to give it into the hands of Antipater's mother, and of Phereor, that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off. There came also letters from his friends at Rome, by the approbation and at the suggestion of Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus, and as if they commiserated their deaths, and as if, because they were sent for home (for their father had already recalled them), they concluded they were themselves also to be destroyed. These letters had been procured by great rewards, by Antipater's friends; but Antipater himself wrote to his father about them, and laid the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said they were but young men, and so imputed their words to their youth. But he said, that he had himself been very busy in the affair relating to Syllaeus, and in getting interest among the great men; and on that account had bought splendid ornaments to present them withal, which cost him two hundred talents. Now, one may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea during seven months before this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them. The causes of which were, that the roads were exactly guarded, and that men hated Antipater; for there was nobody who would run any hazards himself, to gain him any advantages.
CHAPTER V.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER V.

ANTIPIATER’S NAVIGATION FROM ROME TO HIS FATHER; AND HOW HE WAS ACCUSED BY NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS, AND CONDEMNED TO DIE BY HIS FATHER, AND BY QUINTILIVUS VARUS, WHO WAS THEN PRESIDENT OF SYRIA; AND HOW HE WAS THEN BOUND TILL CAESAR SHOULD BE INFORMED OF HIS CAUSE.

§ 1. Now Herod, upon Antipater’s writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and this in the manner he was to do it, he would suddenly come to him, concealed his anger against him, and wrote back to him, and bade him not delay his journey, lest any harm shouldbefall himself in his absence. At the same time also he made some little complaint about his mother, but promised that he would lay those complaints aside when he should return. He withal expressed his entire affection for him, as fearing lest he should have some suspicion of him, and defer his journey to him; and lest, while he lived at Rome, he should lay plots for the kingdom, and moreover do somewhat against himself. This letter Antipater met with in Cilicia; but had received an account of Phheroras’s death before at Tarentum. The last news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Phheroras, but because he was dead without having murdered his father, which he had promised to do. And when he was at Celenurnis in Cilicia, he began to deliberate with himself about his sailing home, as being much grieved with the ejection of his mother. Now, some of his friends advised him that he should tarry awhile somewhere, in expectation of farther information. But others advised him to sail home without delay; for that if he were once come thither, he would soon put an end to all accusations, and that nothing afforded any weight to his accusers at present but his absence. He was persuaded by these last, and sailed, and landed at the haven called Sebastus, which Herod had built at vast expenses in honour of Caesar, and called Sebastus. And now was Antipater evidently in a miserable condition, while nobody came to him nor saluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wishes or joyful acclamations; nor was there now any thing to hinder them from entertaining him, on the contrary, with bitter curses, while they supposed he was come to receive his punishment for the murder of his children.

2. Now Quintilius Varus was at this time at Jerusalem, being sent to succeed Saturninus as president of Syria, and was come as an assessor to Herod, who had desired his advice in his present affairs; and as they were sitting together, Antipater came upon them, without knowing any thing of the matter; so he came into the palace clothed in purple. The porters indeed received him in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great disorder, and presently understood the condition he was in, while, upon his going to salute his father, he was repulsed by him, who called him a murderer of his children, and a scatterer of destruction against himself, and told him that Varus should be his auditor and his judge the very next day; so he found, that what misfortunes he now heard of was already upon him, with the greatness of which he went away in confusion; upon which his mother and his wife met him (which wife was the daughter of Antigonus, who was king of the Jews before Herod), from whom he learned all circumstances which concerned him, and then prepared himself for his trial.

3. On the next day Varus and the king sat together in judgment, and both their friends were also called in, as also the king’s relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discover any thing, and such as had been tortured; and besides these, some slaves of Antipater’s mother, who were taken up a little before Antipater’s coming, and brought with them a written letter, the sum of which was this: That he should not come back, because all was come to his father’s knowledge; and that Caesar was the only refuge he had left to prevent both his and her delivery into his father’s hands. Then did Antipater fall down at his father’s feet, and besought him not to prejudice his case, but that he might be first heard by his father, and that his father would be his judge. All this while he was crying. Herod ordered him to be brought into the midst, and then lamented himself about his children, from whom he had suffered such great misfortunes; and because Antipater fell upon him in his old age, he also reckoned up what maintenance, and what education he had given them; and what seasonable supplies of wealth he had afforded them, according to their own desires; none of which favours had hindered them from contriving against him, and from bringing his very life into danger in order to gain his kingdom, after an impious manner, by taking away his life before the course of nature. His father, then, ordered his execution, and said that he would not interfere with the sins of his father, their father’s wishes, or justice, required that that kingdom should come to them; and that he wondered what hopes could elevate Antipater to such a pass as to be hardy enough to attempt such things; that he had by his testament in writing declared him his successor in the government; and while he was alive, he was in no respect inferior to him; either in his illustrious dignity, or in power and authority, he having no less than fifty talents for his yearly revenue, and had received for his journey to Rome no fewer than a greater talent. He also objected to him the case of his brethren whom he had accused; and if they were guilty, he had imitated their example; and if not, he had brought him groundless accusations against his near relations; for that he had been acquainted with all these things by him, and by nobody else, and had done what was done by his approbation, and whom he now absolved from all that was criminal, by becoming the inheritor of the guilt of such their mistake.

4. When Herod had thus spoken, he fell aweeping, and was not able to say any more; but at his desire Nicolaus of Damascus, being the king’s friend, and always conversant with him, and acquainted with whatsoever he did, and with the circumstances of his affairs, proceeded with what remained, and explained all that concerned the demonstrations and evidences of the facts. Upon which Antipater, in order to make his legal defence, turned himself to his father, and enlarged upon the many indications he had given of his good-will to him; and instanced in the honours that had been done him, which yet had not been done, has he not deserved them by his virtuous concern about him; for that he had made provision for every thing that was fit to be foreseen beforehand, as to giving him his wisest advice; and whenever there was occa-
tion for the labour of his own hands, he had not grudged any such pains for him. And that it was almost impossible that he, who had delivered his father from so many treacherous contrivances laid against him, should be in a plot against him, and so lose all the reputation he had gained for his virtue, by his wickedness which succeeded it; and this while he had nothing to prohibit him, who was already appointed his successor, to enjoy the royal honour with his father also at present; and that there was no likelihood that a person who had the same half of that authority without any danger, and with a good character, should hunt after the whole with infamy and danger, and this when it was doubtful whether he could obtain it or not; and when he saw the sad example of his brethren before him, and was both the informer and accuser against them, at a time when they might not otherwise have been discovered; nay, was the author of the punishment inflicted upon them, when it appeared evidently that they were guilty of a wicked attempt; nay he never could guess thy advantage thereby, which they had not been able to do if he had been there. Moreover he showed the weakness of the evidence obtained by torture, which was commonly false; because the distress men are in under such tortures, naturally obliges them to say many things in order to please those that govern them. He also offered himself to the torture.

5. Hereupon there was a change observed in the assembly, while they greatly pitied Antipater, who, by weeping and putting on a countenance suitable to his case, made them commiserate the adversary; insomuch that his very enemies were moved to compassion; and it appeared, plainly that Herod himself was affected in his own mind, although he was not willing it should be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to prosecute what the king had begun, and that with great bitterness; and summed up all the evidence which arose from the tortures, or from the testimonies. He principally and largely cried up the king’s virtues, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his sons; and how, by this very means, they could gain thy advantage thereby, but still fell from one misfortune to another. Although he owned that he was not so much surprised with that thoughtless behaviour of his former sons, who were but young, and were besides corrupted by wicked counsellors, who were the occasion of their wiping out of their minds all the righteous dictates of nature, and this out of a desire of coming to the government sooner than they ought to do; yet that he could not but justly stand amazed at the horrid wickedness of Antipater, who, although he had not only had great benefits bestowed on him by the king, yet he could not guess thy advantage thereby, yet could not be more tamed than the most envenomed serpents; whereas even those creatures admit of some mitigation, and will not bite their benefactors, while Antipater hath not let the misfortunes of his brethren be any hinderance to him, but he hath gone on to imitate their barbarity notwithstanding. “Yet was thou, O Antipater! (as thou hast thyself confessed) the informer as to what wicked actions they had done, and the searcher out of the evidence against them, and the author of the punishment they underwent upon detection. Nor do we say this as accusing thee for being so zealous in thy anger against them, but are astonished at thy endeavours to imitate their profligate behaviour; and we discover thereby, that thou didst not act thus for the safety of thy father, but for the destruction of thy brethren, that by such outside hatred of their impiety thou mightest be believed a lover of thy father, and mightest thereby get thee power enough to do mischief with the greatest impunity; which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true, thou lookest thy brethren off, because thou didst convict them of their wicked designs; but thou didst not use them as their partners, and thereby didst make it evident to all men that thou madest a covenant with them against thy father, when thou choosest to be the accuser of thy brethren, as desirous to gain to thyself alone this advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and so to enjoy double pleasure, which is truly worthy of thy evil disposition,—which thou hast openly shown against thy brethren; on which account thou didst rejoice, as having done a most famous exploit, nor was that behaviour unworthy of thee; but if thy intention were otherwise, thou art worse than they; while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them; not as plotters against thy father, for in that case thou hadst not fallen upon the like crime, but as successors of his dominions, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldest kill thy father after thy brethren, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected; and lest thou shouldst suffer what punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to exact that punishment of thy unhappy father, and didst devise such a sort of uncommon parricide as the world never yet saw.—The king did not only lay a treasonous design against thy father, and didst it while he loved thee, and had been thy benefactor,—had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom, and had openly declared thee his successor, while thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already, and hadst the firm hope of what was future by thy father’s determination, and the security of a written testament; but for certain thou didst not measure these things according to thy father’s various dispositions, but according to thy own thoughts and inclination; and wast not a man, and that remained away from thy too indulgent father, and soughtest to destroy him with thy deeds, whom thou in words pretendedst to preserve. Nor wast thou content to be wicked thyself, but thou filledst thy mother’s head with thy devices, and raisedest disturbance among thy brethren, and hadst the boldness to call thy father a wild beast; while thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent, whence thou sentest out that poison among thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors, and instilled that thought to thee and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides by the love of both men and women against an old man,—as though that mind of thine was not sufficient of its
self to support so great a hatred as thou hast to him; and here thou appearst, after the tortures of thy father and thy domestics, of men and women, which have been examined on thy account, and after the informations of thy fellow-conspirators, as making haste to contradict the truth; and has thought on ways not only how to take thy father out of the world, but to disannul that written law which is against thee, and the virtue of Varus, and the nature of justice; may, such is that impudence of thine on which thou confidest, that thou desirest to be put to the torture thyself, while thou allegest that the tortures of those already examined thereby have made them tell lies; that those that have been the deliverers of thy father may not be allowed to have spoken the truth; but that thy tortures may be esteemed the discoverers of truth. Wilt not thou, O Varus! deliver the king from the injuries of his kindred? Wilt not thou destroy this wicked wild beast, which hath pretended kindness to his father, in order to destroy his brethren; while yet he is himself alone ready to carry off the kingdom immediately, and appears to be the most bloody butcher to him of them all! for thou art sensible that paranoia is a general injury both to nature and to common life; and that the intention of paranoia is but to prepare in others what does not punish it, is injurious to nature itself.

6. Nicolaus added farther what belonged to Antipater’s mother, and whatsoever she had practised like a woman; as also about the predictions and the sacrifices relating to the king; and whatsoever Antipater had done lasciviously in his cups and his amours among Phæorias’s women; the examination upon torture; and whatsoever concerned the testimonies of the witnesses, which were many, and of various kinds; some prepared beforehand, and others were sudden answers, which farther declared and confirmed the foregoing evidence. For those men who were not acquainted with Antipater’s practices, but had concealed them out of fear, when they saw that he was exposed to the accusations of the former witnesses, and that his great good fortune, which had supported him hitherto, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were now insatiable in their hatred to him, told all they knew of him; and his ruin was now hastened, not so much by the enmity of those who were his accusers, by his gross, impudent, and wicked contrivances, and by his ill-will to his father and his brethren; while he had filled their house with disturbances, and caused them to murder one another; and was neither fair in his hatred nor kind in his friendship, but just so far as served his own turn. Now, there were a great number who for a long time beforehand had seen all this, and especially such as were naturally disposed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue, because they were used to determine about affairs without passion, but had been restrained from making any open complaints before; these, upon the leave now given them, produced all that they knew before this date. The demonstrations also of those wicked facts were disposed by the discourse, because the many witnesses there were did neither speak out of favour to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep what they had to say silent, out of suspicion of any danger they were in; but they spoke what they knew, because they thought such actions very wicked, and that Antipater deserved the greatest punishment; and indeed not so much for Herod’s safety, as on account of the man’s own wickedness. Many things were also said, and those by a great number of persons, who were many obliged to say them: insomuch that Antipater, who used generally to be very shrewd in his lies and impudence, was not able to say one word to the contrary. When Nicolaus had left off speaking, and had produced the evidence, Varus bade Antipater to betake himself to making his defence, if he had prepared any thing whereby it might appear that he was not guilty of the crimes he was accused of; for that, as he was himself desirous, so did he know that his father was in like manner desirous also to have him found entirely innocent; but Antipater fell down on his face, and appealed to God and to all men, for testimonies of his innocence, desiring that God would declare, by some evident signals, that he had not laid any plots against his father. This being the usual method of all men destitute of virtue, that, when they set about any wicked undertakings, they fail to work according to their own inclinations, as if they believed that God was unconcerned in human affairs; but when once they are found out, and are in danger of undergoing the punishment due to their crimes, they endeavoured to overthrow all the evidence against them, by appealing to God for salvation; which was the very thing which Antipater now did; for whereas he had done every thing as if there were no God in the world, when he was on all sides distressed by justice, and when he had no other advantage to expect from any legal proofs, by which he might disprove the accusations laid against him, he impudently abused the majesty of God, and ascribed it to his power, that he had been preserved hitherto; and produced before them all what difficulties he had ever undergone in his bold acting for his father’s preservation.

7. So when Varus, upon asking Antipater what he had to say for himself, found that he had nothing to say besides his appeal to God, and saw that there was no end of that, he bade them bring the potion before the court, that he might see what virtue still remained in it; and when it was brought, and one that was condemned to die had drank it by Varus’s command, he died presently. Then Varus got up and departed out of the court, and went away the day following to Antioch, where his usual residence was, because that was the palace of the Syrians; upon which Herod laid his son in bonds; but what were Varus’s discourses to Herod, was not known to the generality, and upon what words it was that he went away; though it was also generally supposed, that whatever Herod did afterward about his son, was done with his approbation; but when Herod had bound his son, he sent letters to Rome to Caesar about him, and such messengers withal as should by word of mouth, inform Caesar of Antipater’s wickedness. Now, at this very time there was seized a letter of Antiphanes, written to Antipater out of Egypt (for he lived there); and, when it was opened by the king, it was found amongst other things contained in the same Arame’s letter, and hazards my own life; for thou knowest that I am in danger from two families, if I be discovered. I wish thee good success in thy affair.” These were the contents of this letter; but the king made inquiry about the other letter also, for it did not appear; but Antiphanes’s slave, who brought the letter which had been read, denied that he had received the other; but while the
CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE DISEASE THAT HEROD FELL INTO, AND THE SEDITION WHICH THE JEWS RAISED THEREUPON; WITH THE PUNISHMENT OF THE SEDITIOUS.

§ 1. Now Herod's ambassadors made haste to Rome; but sent, as instructed beforehand, what answers they were to make to the questions put to them. They also carried the epistles with them. But Herod now fell into a distemper, and made his will, and bequeathed his kingdom to [Antipas], his youngest son; and this out of that hatred to Archelaus and Philip, which the calamities of Antipater had raised against them. He also bequeathed a thousand talents to Caesar, and five hundred to Julia, Caesar's wife, to Caesar's children, and friends and freedmen. He also distributed among his sons and their sons his money, his revenue, and his lands. He also made Salome, his sister, very rich, because she had continued faithful to him in all his circumstances, and was never so rash as to do him any harm. And as he despaired of recovering, for he was now about the seventieth year of his age, he grew fierce, and indulged the bitterest anger upon all occasions; the cause whereof was this, that he thought himself despised, and that the nation was pleased with his misfortunes; besides which, he resented a sedition which some of the lower sort of men excited against him, the occasion of which was as follows:—

2. There was one Judas, the son of Saripheus, and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws, and men well beloved by the people, because of their education of their youth; for all those that were studious of virtue frequented their lectures every day. These men, when they found that the king's distemper was incurable, excited the young men that they would pull down all those works which the king had erected contrary to the law of their fathers, and thereby obtain the reward which the law will confer on them for such actions of piety; for that was truly on account of Herod's rashness in making such things as the law had forbidden, and of his other misfortunes, and this distemper also, which was so unusual among mankind, and with which he was now afflicted, came upon him; for Herod had caused such things to be made, which were contrary to the law, of which he was accused by Judas and Matthias; for the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a large golden eagle, of great value, and had dedicated it to the temple. Now, the law forbids these that propose to live according to it, to erect images, or representations of any living creature. So these wise men persuaded [their scholars] to pull down the golden eagle; alleging, that although they should incur any danger which might bring them to their deaths, the virtue of the action now proposed to them would appear much more advantageous to them than the pleasures of life; since they would die for the preservation and observation of the law of their fathers; since they would also acquire an everlasting fame and commendation; since they would be both commended by the present generation, and leave an

* That the making of images, without an intention to worship them, was not unlawful to the Jews, see the note on Antiq. b. viii. sect. 8.
example of life that would never be forgotten to posterity; since that common calamity of dying cannot be avoided by our living so as to escape any such dangers: that therefore it is a right thing for them, who are sure to die with a virtuous conduct, to wait for that fatal hour by such a method, as their virtue can carry them out of the world with praise and honour; and that this will alleviate death to such a degree, thus to come at it by the performance of brave actions, which bring us into danger of it; and at the same time to leave that reputation behind them to their children, and to all their relations, whether they be men or women, which will be of great advantage to them afterward.

3. And with such discourses as this did these men exhort the young men to this action; and a report being come to them that the king was dead, this was an addition to the wise men's persuasions, so, in the very middle of the day they got upon the place, they pulled down the eagle, and cut it into pieces with axes, while a great number of the people were in the temple. And now the king's captain, upon hearing what the undertaking was, and supposing it a thing of higher nature than it proved to be, came up thither, having a great band of soldiers with him, such as was sufficient to put a stop to the multitude of those who pulled down what was dedicated to God; so he fell upon them unexpectedly, and as they were upon this bold attempt, in a foolish presumption rather than a cautious circumspection, as is usual with the multitude, and while they were in disorder, and incensatory of what was for their advantage, so he caught no fewer than forty of the young men, who had the courage to stay behind when the rest ran away, together with the authors of this bold attempt, Judas and Matthias, who thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon his approach, and led them to the king. And when they were come to the king, and he had asked them if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God, the king said, what was contrived we contrived, and what had been performed, we performed it; and that with such a virtuous courage as become men; for we have given our assistance to those things which were dedicated to the majesty of God, and we have provided for what we have learned by hearing the law: and it ought not to be wondered at, if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested to him, and were taught him by God, and which he wrote and left behind him, more worthy of observation than thy commands. Accordingly we will undergo death, and all sorts of punishments which thou canst inflict upon us, with pleasure, since we are conscious to ourselves that we shall die, not for any unrighteous actions, but for our love to religion. And thus they all said, and their courage was still equal to their profession, and equal to that with which they readily set about this undertaking. And when the king had ordered them to be bound, he sent them to Jericho, and called together the principal men among the Jews; and when they were come, he made them assemble in the theatre, and because he could not himself stand, he lay upon a couch, and enumerated the many labours he had endured for the temple, and his building of the temple, and what a vast charge that was to him; while the Asmonaeans, during the hundred and twenty-five years of their government, had not been able to perform any so great a work for the honour of God as that was; that he had also adorned it with very valuable donations; on which account he hoped that he had left himself a memorial, and procured himself a reputation after his death. He then cried out, that these men had not abstained from affronting him, even in his life-time, but that he the very next day, and in sight of the multitude, they had abused him to that degree, and that, upon what he had dedicated, and in that way of abusing, had pulled it down to the ground. They pretended indeed, that they did it to affront him; but if any one consider the thing truly, they will find that they were guilty of sacrilege against God therein.

4. But the people, on account of Herod's barbarous temper, and for fear he should be so cruel as to inflict punishment on them, said what was done, was done without approbation, and that it seemed to them that the actors might well be punished for what they had done. But as for Herod, he dealt more mildly with others [of the assembly]; but he deprived Matthias of the high-priesthood, as in part on occasion of this action, and made Joazar, who was Matthias's wife's brother, high-priest in his stead. Now it happened, that during the time of the high-priesthood of this Matthias, there was another person made high-priest for a single day, that very day which the Jews observe as a fast. The occasion was this:—This Matthias the high-priest, on the 'night before that day when the fast was to be celebrated, seemed, in a dream, to have conversation with his wife; and because latterly he could not officiate himself on that account, Joseph, the son of Eleazarus, his kinsman, assisted him in that sacred office. But Herod deprived this Matthias of the high-priesthood, and burnt the other Matthias, who had raised the sedition, with his companions, alive. And that very night there was an eclipse of the moon.†

5. But now Herod's distemper greatly increased upon him after a severe manner, and this by God's judgment upon him for his sins: for a fire glorified in him slowly, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly; it brought upon him a vehement appetite to eating, which he could not be satisfied to supply with one sort of food or other. His entrails were also exacerbat ed, and the chief violence of his pain lay on his colon; an aqueous and transparent liquor also had settled itself about his feet, and a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly. Nay, farther, his privy-member was putrid, and produced worms; and when he sat upright he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very loathsome, on account of the stench of his breath, and the quickness of its returns; he had also convulsions in all parts of his body, which increased his strength to an insufferable degree. It

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† This fact, that one Joseph was made high-priest for a single day, on occasion of the action hence specified, that belted Matthias, the real high-priest, on the 'night before the great day of expiation, is attested to both in the Mishna and Talmud, as Dr. Hudson here informs us. And indeed from this fact, that he was the first to violate the pretended rule in the Talmud here mentioned, and endeavoured to be excused by Behad, that the high-priest was not subject to suffer the pains of death before that high-priest, was the great day of expiation: —which, rather than be subject to dispossession according to such Talmudic rules, when unsupported by better evidence, much less contravened thereby, seems to me of weight enough to deserve that so great a man as Joseph should spend his time in controversies at their vernal equinox.

‡ This eclipse of the moon (which is the only eclipse of either of the luminaries mentioned by our Josephus in any of his writings) is of the date that Herod the Great, and Antipater, and for the duration and entire chronology of Jesus Christ. It happened March 18th, in the year of the Julian period, 1 and the 4th year before the Christian era. See its calculation by the rules of astronomy, at the end of the Astronomical Lexicon, edit. Edit. p. 463, 462.
was said by those who pretended to divine, and who were endued with wisdom to foretell such things, that God inflicted this punishment on the king on account of his great impiety; yet was he still in hopes of recovering, though his afflictions seemed greater than any one could bear. He also sent for physicians, and did not refuse to follow what they prescribed in his case as assistant; and when beyond the river Jordan, and bathed himself in warm baths that were at Callirrhoe, which, besides their other general virtues, were also fit to drink; which water runs into the lake called Asphaltitis. And when the physicians once thought fit to have him bathed in a vessel full of oil, it was supposed that he was just dying; but, upon the lamentable cries of his domestics, he revived; and having no longer the least hopes of his recovering, he gave order that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmæ, and he also gave a great deal to their commanders, and to his friends, and came again to Jericho, where he grew so choleric, that it brought him to do all things like a madman; and though he were near his death, he contrived the following wicked designs. He commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewish nation, wheresoever they lived, should be called to him. Accordingly, there were a great number that came, because the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this call, and death was the penalty of such as should despise the epistles that were sent to call them. And now the king was in a wild rage against them all, the innocent as well as those that had afforded him ground for accusations; and when they were come, he ordered them all to be shut up in the hippodrome, and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and spake thus to them:—“I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains; which death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented, and without such mourning as men usually expect at a king’s death.” For that he was not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews, that his death would be a thing very acceptable, and exceedingly advantageous to them—because during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him, and to abuse the donations he had dedicated to God: that it therefore was their business to resolve to afford him some alleviation of his great sorrows on this occasion; for that if they do not refuse him their consent in what he desires, he shall have a great mourning at his funeral, and such as never any king had before him; for then the whole nation would mourn from their very soul, which otherwise would be done in sport and mockery only. Whereupon a woful lamentation echoed through the palace, and great tumult was made, as if the king were dead. Upon which Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold in his discourse, as hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take possession of the kingdom into his hands, without any more ado; so he discharged with the javelir about letting him go, and in that case promised him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question; but the javelir did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitations he had from him [of that nature]. Whereupon Herod, who had formerly no affection nor good-will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the javelir said, he cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death’s door, and thrust himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without any farther

CHAPTER VII.

HEROD HAS THOUGHTS OF KILLING HIMSELF WITH HIS OWN HAND; AND A LITTLE AFTERWARDS HE ORDERS ANTIPATER TO BE SLAIN.

§ 1. As he was giving these commands to his relations, there came letters from his ambassadors, who had been sent to Rome unto Caesar, which when they were read, their purport was this:—That Acme was slain by Caesar, out of his indignation at what hand she had in Antipater’s wicked practices; and that as to Antipater himself, Caesar left it to Herod to act as became a father and a king, and either to banish him or to take away his life, which he pleased. When Herod heard this, he was somewhat better, out of the pleasure he had from the contents of the letters, and was elevated at the death of Acme, and at the power that was given him over his son; but, as his pains were become very great, he was not ready to faint for want of something to eat; so he called for an apple and a knife; for it was his custom formerly to pare the apple himself, and soon afterwards to cut it, and eat it. When he had got the knife, he looked about, and had a mind to stab himself with it; and he had done it, had not his first cousin, Achiabus, prevented him, and cried out loudly. Whereupon a woful lamentation echoed through the palace, and great tumult was made, as if the king were dead. Upon which Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold in his discourse, as hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take possession of the kingdom into his hands, without any more ado; so he discharged with the javelir about letting him go, and in that case promised him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question; but the javelir did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitations he had from him [of that nature]. Herenpon Herod, who had formerly no affection nor good-will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the javelir said, he cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death’s door, and thrust himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his guards, and com-
delay, and to do it presently, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Hyrcania.

CHAPTER VIII.
CONCERNING HEROD'S DEATH, AND TESTAMENT, AND BURIAL.

§ 1. And now Herod altered his testament upon the alteration of his mind; for he appointed Antigonus, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Beroea, and granted the kingdom of Arabia to Archelaus. He also gave Gaulonitans, and Trachonitis, and Panæas, to Philip, who was his son, but own brother to Archelaus, by the name of a Tetrarchy; and bequeathed Jannia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis, to Salome his sister, with five hundred thousand [drachmae] of silver that was coined. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them sums of money and annual revenues, and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Cæsar ten millions [of drachmae] of coined money; besides both vessels of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly, to Julia, Cæsar's wife; and to certain others, five millions. When he had done those things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain; having reigned, since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passions; but above the consideration of what was right; yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was, for from a private man he became a king; and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life till a very old age; but then, as to the affairs of his family and children, in which, indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate, because he was able to conquer his enemies; yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate.

2. But then Salome and Alexas, before the king's death was made known, dismissed those that were shut up in the hippodrome, and told them that the king ordered them to go away to their own lands, and take care of their own affairs, which was esteemed by the nation a great benefit; and now the king's death was made public, when Salome and Alexas gathered the soldiery together in the circus at Jericho; and the first thing they did was, they read Herod's letter, written to the soldiery, thanking them for their fidelity and good-will to him, and exhorting them to afford his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed for their king, like fidelity and good-will. After which Pilometus, who had the king's seal intrusted to him, read the king's testament, which was to be of force no otherwise than as it should stand when Cæsar had inspected it; so there was presently an acclamation made to Archelaus, as king; and the soldiers came by hundreds, and their commanders with them, and pressed the same good-will to him, and readiness to serve him, which they had exhibited to Herod; and they prayed God to be assistant to him.

3. After this was over, they prepared for his funeral, it being Archelaus's care that the procession to his father's sepulchre should be very sumptuous. Accordingly he brought out all his ornaments to adorn the pomp of the funeral. The body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious stones of great variety, and it was covered over with purple, as well as the body itself; he had a diadem upon his head, and above it a crown of gold; he had also a sceptre in his right hand. About the bier were his sons and his numerous relations; next to these was the soldiery distinguished according to their several countries and denominations; and they were put into the following order:—First of all went his guards; then the band of Thracians; and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians, every one in their habiliments of war; and behind these marched the whole army in the same manner as they used in going out to war; and as they used to be put in array by their musitians, centurions, and decurions: these were followed by five hundred of his domestics, carrying spices. So they went eight furlongs to Herodium; for there, by his own command, he was to be buried; and thus did Herod end his life.

4. Now Archelaus paid him so much respect, as to continue his mourning till the seventh day; so for so many days are appointed for it by the law of our fathers; and when he had given a treat to the multitude, and left off his mourning, he went up into the temple; he had also acclamations and praises given him, which way soever he went, every one striving with the rest who should appear the loudest acclamations. So he ascended a high elevation made for him, and took his seat, in a throne made of gold, and spake kindly to the multitude, and declared with what joy he received their acclamations, and the marks of the good will they showed to him; and returned them thanks that they did not remember the injuries his father had done them, to his disadvantage; and promised them he would endeavour not to be behind-hand with them in rewarding their acclerity in his servies, after a suitable manner; but that he should abstain at present from the name of king; and that he should have the honour of that dignity, if Cæsar should confirm and settle that testament which his father had made; and that it was on this account, that when the army would have put the diadem on him at Jericho, he would not accept of that honour, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who was to be principially concerned in bestowing it, would give it him; although, by his acceptance of the government, he should not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him; and that it should be his undertaking, as to all the rest for whom he was concerned, to prove in every respect better than his father. Whereupon the multitude, as it is usual with them, supposed that the first days of those that enter...
upon such governments, declare the intentions of those that accept them; and so by how much Archelaus spake the more gently and civilly to them, by so much did they more highly commend him, and made application to him for the grant of what they desired. Some made a clamour that he would ease them of some of their annual payments; but others desired him to release those that were put into prison by Herod, who were many, and had been put there at several times; others of them required that he would take away those taxes which had been severely laid upon what was publicly sold and bought. So Archelaus contradicted them in nothing, since he pretended to do all things so as to cast the good-will of the multitude upon him, as looking upon that good-will to be a great step towards his preservation of the government. Hereupon he went and offered sacrifice to God, and then betook himself to feast with his friends.

CHAPTER IX.

HOW THE PEOPLE RAISED A SEDITION AGAINST ARCHELAUS, AND HOW HE SANK TO ROME.

§ 1. At this time also it was that some of the Jews got together out of a desire of innovation. They lamented Matthias, and those that were slain with him by Herod, who had not any respect paid them by a funeral mourning, out of the fear men were in of that man; they were those who had been condemned for pulling down the golden eagle. The people made a great clamour and lamentation hereupon, and cast out some reproaches against the king also, as if that tended to alleviate the miseries of the deceased. The people assembled together, and desired of Archelaus, that, in way of revenge on their account, he would inflict punishment on those who had been honoured by Herod; and that, in the first and principal place, he would deprive that high-priest whom Herod had made, and would choose one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high-priest. This was granted by Archelaus, although he was mightily offended at their importunity, because he proposed to himself to go to Rome immediately, to look after Cæsar’s determination about him. However, he sent the general of his forces to use persuasions, and to tell them that the death which was inflicted on their friends, was according to the law; and to represent to them, that their petitions about these things were carried to a great height of injury to him; that the time was not now proper for such petitions, but required their unanimity until such time as he should be established in the government by the consent of Cæsar, and should then be come back to them; for that he would then consult with them in common concerning the pursuit of their petitions; but that they ought at present to be quiet, lest they should seem seditious persons.

2. So when the king had suggested these things, and instructed his general in what he was to say, he sent him away to the people; but they made a clamour, and would not give him leave to speak, and put him in danger of his life, and as many more as were desirous to venture upon saying openly any thing which might reduce them to a sober mind, and prevent their going on in their present courses,—because they had more concern to have all their own wills performed than to yield obedience to the king. So Archelaus, he thought nothing insufferable that, while Herod was alive, they should lose those that were the most dear to them, and that when he was dead, they could not get the actors to be punished. So they went on with their designs after a violent manner, and thought all to be lawful and right which tended to please them, and being unskilful in foreseeing what dangers they incurred; and when they had suspicion of such a thing, yet did the present pleasure they took in the punishment of those they deemed their enemies overweigh all such considerations; and although Archelaus sent many to speak to them, yet they treated them not as messengers sent by him, but as persons that came of their own accord to mitigate their anger, and would not let one of them speak. The sedition, also, was made by such as were in a great passion; and it was evident that they were proceeding farther in seditious practices, by the multitude running so fast upon them.

3. Now, upon the approach of that feast of unleavened bread, which the law of their fathers had appointed for the Jews at this time, which feast is called the Passover,* and is a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt; when they offer sacrifices with great alacrity; and when they are required to slay more sacrifices in number than at any other festival; and when an innumerable multitude came thither out of the country, nay, from beyond its limits also, in order to worship God), the seditious lamented Judas and Matthias, those teachers of the law, and kept together in the temple, and had plenty of food, because these seditious persons were not ashamed to beg it. And as Archelaus was afraid lest some terrible thing should spring up by means of these men’s madness, he sent a regiment of armed men, and with them a captain of a thousand, to suppress the violent efforts of the seditical, before the whole multitude should be infected with the like madness; and gave them this charge, that if they found any much more openly seditious than others, and more busy in tumultuous practices, they should bring them to him. But those that were seditious on account of those teachers of the law, irritated the people by the noise and clamours they used to encourage the people in their designs; so they made an assault upon the soldiers, and came up to them, and stoned the greatest part of them, although some of them ran away wounded, and their captain among them; and when they had thus done, they returned to the sacrifices which were already in their hands. Now Archelaus thought there was no way to preserve the entire government, but by cutting off those who made this attempt upon it; so he sent out the whole army upon them, and sent the horsemen to prevent those that had their tents without the temple, and to kill such as ran away from the footmen when they thought themselves out of danger; which horsemen slew three thousand men, while these went to the neighbouring mountains. Then did Archelaus order proclamation to be made to them all, that they should retire to their own homes; so they went away, and left the festival, out of fear of somewhat worse which would follow, although they had been so bold by reason of their

* This passover, when the sedition here mentioned was raised against Archelaus, was not one, but thirteen months after the eclipse of the moon, already mentioned.
want of instruction. So Archelaus went down to the sea with his mother, and took with him Nicolaus and Potemly, and many others of his friends, and left Philip his brother as governor of all things belonging both to his own family and to the public. There went out also with him Salome, Herod's sister, who took with her her children, and many of her kindred were with her; which kindred of hers went, as they pretended, to assist Archelaus in gaining the kingdom, but in reality to oppose him, and chiefly to make loud complaints of what he had done in the temple. But Sabinus, Caesar's steward for Syrian affairs, as he was making haste into Judaea, to preserve Herod's effects, met with Archelaus at Cesarea; but Varus, (president of Syria) came at that time, and restrained him from meddling with them, for he was there as sent for by Archelaus by means of Potemly. And Sabinus, out of regard to Varus, did neither seize upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor did he seal up the treasures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them, until Caesar should declare his resolution about them; so that, upon this his promise, he tarried still at Cesarea. But after Archelaus was sailed for Rome, and Varus was removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and did not pass the next day, but he was sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all things that had the charge of Herod's effects, and declared publicly that he should require them to give an account of what they had; and he disposed of the castles in the manner he pleased: but those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them in command, but continued to keep all things in the manner they had been enjoined them; and their pretense was, that they kept them all for Caesar.

4. At the same time also did Antipas, another of Herod's sons, sail to Rome, in order to gain the government; being buoyed up by Salome with promises that he should take that government; and that he was a much honester and fitter man than Archelaus for that authority, since Herod had, in his former testament, deemed him the worthiest to be made king; which ought to be esteemed more valid than his latter testament. Antipas also brought with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolas, one that had been Herod's most honoured friend, and was now zealous for Antipas: but it was famous the oracle, and one who, on account of his reputation for sagacity, was intrusted with the affairs of the kingdom, who most of all encouraged him to attempt to gain the kingdom; by whose means it was that, when some advised him to yield to Archelaus, as to his elder brother, and who had been declared king by their father's last will, he would not submit so to do. And when he was come to Rome, all his relations revolted to him: not out of their good-will to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus; though indeed they were most of all desirous of gaining their liberty, and to be put under a Roman governor; but, if there were too great an opposition made to this, he thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus, and so joined with him, in order to preserve the kingdom for him. Sabinus also, by letters, accused Archelaus to Caesar.

5. Now when Archelaus had sent in his papers to Caesar, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom and his father's testament, with the accounts of Herod's money, and with Ptolemy, who brought Herod's seal, he so expected the event; but when Caesar had read these papers, and Varus's and Sabine's letters, with the accounts of the money, and thought that what were the annual incomes of the kingdom, he understood that Antipas had also sent letters to lay claim to the kingdom, he summoned his friends together, to know their opinions, and with them Caius, the son of Agrippa, and of Julia his daughter, whom he had adopted, and took him, and made him sit at first of all, and desired such as pleased to speak their minds about the affairs now before them. Now, Antipater, Salome's son, a very subtle orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, spake first to this purpose:—That it was ridiculous in Archelaus to plead now to have the kingdom given him since he had, in reality, taken already the power over it to himself, before Caesar had granted it to him; and appealed to those bold actions of his, in destroying so many at the Jewish festival; and, if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing of them should have been reserved to those that were out of the country, but had the power to punish them, and not been executed by a man that, if he pretended to be a king, he did an injury to Caesar, by usurping that authority before it was determined for him by Caesar; but, if he owned himself to be a private person, his case was much worse, since he was not only the son of a king, but was put over the charge of Herod's effects, and declared publicly that he should require them to give an account of what they had; and he disposed of the castles in the manner he pleased: but those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them in command, but continued to keep all things in the manner they had been enjoined them; and their pretense was, that they kept them all for Caesar.

He also touched sharply upon him, and appealed to his changing the commanders in the army, and his sitting in the royal throne beforehand, and his determination of lawsuits; all done as if he were no other than a king. He appealed also to his concessions to those that petitioned him on a public account, and indeed doing such things, than which he could devise no greater if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Caesar. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners that were in the Hippodrome, and many other things, that either had been done certainly by him, or were believed to be done, and easily might be believed to have been done, because they were of such a nature as to be usually done by young men, and by such as, out of a desire of ruling, seize upon the government too soon. He also charged him with his neglect of the funeral mourning for his father, and with having merry meetings the very night in which he died; and that it was the too the multitude took the handle of raising a tumult; and if Archelaus could thus require his dead father, who had bestowed such benefits upon him, and bequeathed such great things to him, by pretending to shed tears for him in the daytime, like an actor on the stage, but every night making mirth for having got the government, he would appear to be the same Archelaus with regard to Caesar, if he granted him the kingdom, which he had been to his father; since he had then dancing and singing, as though an enemy of his were fallen, and not as though a man were carried to his funeral that was so nearly related, and had been so great a benefactor to him. But he said that the greatest crimes of all that thing that came now before Caesar to obtain the government by his grant, while he had before acted in all things as he could have acted if Caesar himself, who ruled all, had fixed him firmly in the government. And what he most aggrieved in his pleading, was the slaughter of those about the temple, and the im-
ous endeavours to injure his determination, while they have not themselves had the same regard to their kinsmen (which Archelaus had). Cæsar will not therefore disannul the testament of a man whom he had entirely supported, of his friend and confederate, and that which is committed to him in trust to satisfy; nor will Cæsar’s virtuous and upright disposition, which is known and uncontested throughout all the habitable world, imitate the wickedness of these men in condemning a king as a madman, and as having lost his reason, while he hath bequeathed the succession to a good son of his, and to one who flies to Cæsar’s upright determination, for refuge. Nor can Herod at any time have been mistaken in his judgment about a successor, while he showed so much prudence as to submit all to Cæsar’s determination.

7. Now when Nicolaus had laid these things before Cæsar, he ended his plea; whereupon Cæsar was so obliging to Archelaus, that he raised him up when he had cast himself down at his feet, and said, that he well deserved the kingdom: and he soon let them know that he was so far moved in his favour, that he would not act otherwise than his father’s testament directed, and that was for the advantage of Archelaus. However, while he gave this encouragement to Archelaus to depend on him securely, he made no full determination about him; and, when the assembly was broken up, he considered by himself whether he should confirm the kingdom to Archelaus, or whether he should part it among all Herod’s posterity; and this, because they all stood in need of much assistance to support them.

CHAPTER X.

1. But before these things could be brought to a settlement, Malthace, Archelaus’s mother, fell into a distemper, and died of it; and letters came from Varus, the president of Syria, which informed Cæsar of the revolt of the Jews: for, after Archelaus was slain, the whole nation was in a tumult. So Varus, since he was there himself, brought the authors of the disturbance to punishment; and when he had restrained them for the most part from this sedition, which was a great one, he took his journey to Aintoch, leaving one legion of his army at Jerusalem to keep the Jews quiet, who were now very fond of innovation. Yet did not this at all avail to put an end to that their sedition, for, after Varus was gone away, Sabinus, Cæsar’s procurator, staid behind, and greatly distressed the Jews, relying on the forces that were left there, that they would by their multitude protect him; for he made use of them, and armed them as his guards, whereby so oppressing the Jews, and giving them so great disturbance, that at length they rebelled; for he used force in seizing the citadels, and zealously pressed on the search after the king’s money, in order to seize upon it by force, on account of his love of gain, and his extraordinary contentiousness.

2. But on the approach of Pentecost, which is a festival of ours, so called from the days of our forefathers, a great many ten thousands of men
got together; nor did they come only to celebrate the festival, but out of their indignation at the madness of Sabinus, and at the injuries he offered them. A great number there was of Galileans, and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, and others who had passed over the river Jordan, and inhabited those parts. This whole multitude joined themselves to all the rest, and were more zealous than the others in making an assault on Sabinus, in order to be avenged on him; so they parted themselves into three bands, and encamped themselves in the places following—some of them seized on the Campodrome; and of the other two bands, one pitched themselves from the northern part of the temple to the southern, on the east quarter; but the third band held the western part of the city, where the king's palace was. Their work tended entirely to besiege the Romans, and to enclose them on all sides. Now Sabinus was afraid of these men's number, and of their resolution, who had little regard to their lives, but were very desirous not to be overcome, while they thought it a point of puissance to overcome their enemies; so he sent immediately a letter to Varus, and, as he used to do, was very pressing with him to entreat him to come quickly to his assistance; because the forces he had left were in imminent danger, and would probably, in no long time, be seized upon, and cut to pieces; while he did himself get up to the highest tower of the fortress Phasaelis, which had been built in honour of Phasaelus, king Herod's brother, and called so when the Parthians had brought him to his death. 

So Sabinus gave thence a signal to the Romans to fall upon the Jews, although he did not himself venture so much as to come down to his friends, and thought he might expiate. All the armies also exposed themselves first to die on account of his aversion. However, the Romans ventured to make a sally out of their place, and a terrible battle ensued; wherein, though it is true the Romans beat their adversaries, yet were not the Jews daunted in their resolutions, even when they had the sight of that terrible slaughter that was made of them; but they went round about, and got upon those cloisters which encompassed the outer court of the temple, where a great fight was still continued, and they cast stones at the Romans, partly with their hands, and partly with slings, as being much less exposed. All the arrows also exposed themselves in array, did the Romans a great deal of mischief, because they used their hands dexterously from a place superior to the others, and because the others were at an utter loss what to do; for when they tried to shoot their arrows against the Jews upwards, these arrows could not reach them, insomuch that the Jews were easily too hard for their enemies. And this sort of fight lasted a great while, till at last the Romans, who were greatly distressed by what was done, set fire to the cloisters so privately, that those who were gotten upon them did not perceive it. This fire, being fed by the great deal of combustible matter, caught hold immediately on the roof of the cloisters; so the wood, which was full of pitch and wax, and whose gold was laid on it with wax, yielded to the flame presently, and those vast works, which were of the highest value and estimes were destroyed utterly, while those that were on the roof, unexpectedly perished at the same time; for as the roof tumbled down, some of these men tumbled down with it, and others of them were killed by their enemies who encompassed them. There was a great number more, who out of despair of saving their lives, and out of astonishment at the misery that surrounded them, did either cast themselves into the fire, or threw themselves upon their own swords, and so got out of their misery. But as to those that retired behind the same way by Helicon, and thereby escaped, which they ascended, of whom they ascended, they were all killed by the Romans, as being unarmed men, and their courage failing them; their wild fury being now not able to help them, because they were destitute of armour, insomuch that of those that went up to the top of the roof, not one escaped. The Romans also rushed through the fire, where it gave them room so to do, and seized on that treasure where the sacred money was reposited: a great part of which was stolen by the soldiers; and Sabinus got openly four hundred talents.

But the calamity of the Jews, and their friends, who fell in this battle, greatly grieved them, as did also this plundering of the money dedicated to God in the temple. Accordingly, that body of them which continued best together, and was the most warlike, encompassed the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, and kill all that were in it. Yet still they commanded them to go out presently, and promised that if they would do so, they would not hurt them, nor Sabinus neither; at which time the greatest part of the king's troops deserted to them, while Rufus and Grausus, who had three thousand of the most warlike of Herod's army with them, who were men of active bodies, went over to the Romans. There was also a band of horsemen under the command of Rufus, which itself went over to the Romans also. However, the Jews went on with the siege, and dug mines under the palace-walls, and besought those that were gone over to the other side, not to be their hindrance, now they had such a proper opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty; and for Sabinus, truly he was desirous of going away with his soldiers, but was not able to trust himself with the enemy, on account of what mischief he had already done them; and he took great care for an argument why he should not comply with them; and so, because he expected that Varus was coming, he still bade on the siege.

4. Now, at this time there were ten thousand other disorders in Judea, which were like tumults, because a great number put themselves into a warlike posture, either out of hopes of gain to themselves, or out of enmity to the Jews. In particular, two thousand of Herod's old soldiers, who had been already disbanded, got together in Judea itself, and fought against the king's troops, although as he was driven out of the palaces into the mountain parts by the military skill of those men, he kept himself in the fastnesses that were there, and saved what he could.

5. There was also Judas, the son of that Ex"
kings, who had been head of the robbes; which
Ezekias was a very strong man, and had with great
difficulty been caught by Herod. This Judas hav-
ing gotten together a multitude of men of a proli-
gate character about Serphoris in Galilee, and made
an assault upon the palace [there], and seized upon
all the weapons that were laid up in it, and with
them armed every one of those that were with him,
and carried away what money was left there; and
he became terrible to all men, by tearing and rend-
ing those that came near him; and all this in order
to raise himself, and out of an ambitious desire of
the royal dignity; and he hoped to obtain that as
the reward, not of his virtuous skill in war, but of
his extravagance in doing injuries.
6. There was also Simon, who had been a slave
of Herod the king, but in other respects a comely
person, of a tall and robust body; he was one that
was much superior to others of his order, and had
had great things committed to his care. This man
was elevated at the disorderly state of things, and
was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, while
a certain number of the people stood by him, and
by them he was declared to be a king, and thought
himself more worthy of that dignity than any one
else. He burnt down the royal palace at Jericho,
and plundered what was left in it. He also set fire
to many others of the king’s houses in several
places of the country, and utterly destroyed them,
and permitted those that were with him to take
what was left in them for a prey; and he would
have done greater things, unless care had been
taken to repress him immediately; for Gratus,
when he had joined himself to some Roman sol-
diers, took the forces he had with him, and met
Simon, and after a great and a long fight, no small
part of those that came from Perea, who were a
disordered body of men, and fought rather in a bold
than in a skilful manner, were destroyed; and al-
though Simon had saved himself by flying away
through a certain valley, yet Gratus overtook him,
and cut off his head. The royal palace, also, at
Amathus, by the river Jordan, was burnt down, by a
certain seditious could, who were those belonging to
Simon. And thus did a great and wild fury spread
itself over the nation, because they had no king to
keep the multitude in good order; and because those
foreigners, who came to reduce the seditious to sobriety, did, on the con-
trary, set them more in a flame, because of the in-
juries they offered them, and the avaricious ma-
nagement of their affairs.
7. But because Athronges, a person neither
eminence by the dignity of progenitors, nor for any
great wealth he was possessed of, but one that had
in him that which made him the most skilful shep-
der only, and was not known by any body; yet because he was a tall man, and excelled others in the strength of his
hands, he was so bold as to set up for king. This
man thought it so sweet a thing to do more than
ordinary injuries to others, that although he should
be killed, he did not so much care, if he lost his life
in so great a design. He had also four brethren,
who were tall men themselves, and were believed to
be superior to others in the strength of their hands,
and thereby were encouraged to aim at great
things, and thought that strength of theirs would
support them in retaining the kingdom. Each of
these ruled over a band of men of their own; for
those they got together to them were very numero-
sous. They were every one of them also command-
ers; but, when they came to fight, they were sub-
ordinate to him, and fought for him, while he put
a diadem upon his head, and assembled a council to
debate about what things should be done; and all
things were done according to his pleasure. And
this man retained his power a great while; he was
also called king, and had nothing to hinder him
from doing what he pleased. He also, as well as
his brethren, slew a great many both of the Romans
and of the king’s forces, and managed matters with
the like hatred to each of them. The king’s forces
they fell upon, because of the licentious conduct
they had been allowed under Herod’s government;
and they fell upon the Romans, because of the in-
juries they had so lately received from them. But
in process of time they grew more cruel to all sorts
of men; nor could any one escape from one or other
of these seditions, since they slew some out of the
hopes of gain, and others from a mere custom of
slaying men. They once attacked a company of
Romans at Emmaus, who were bringing corn and
weapons to the army, and fell upon Arios, the cen-
turion, who commanded the company, and shot
forty of the best of his foot-soldiers; but the rest
of them were affrighted at their slaughter, and left
their dear dead behind them, but saved themselves
by the means of Gratus, who came with the king’s
troops that were about him, to their assistance.
Now, these four brethren continued the war a long
while by such sort of expeditions, and much grieved
the Romans (but did their own nation also a great
deal of mischief); yet were they afterwards sub-
duced; one of them in a fight with Gratus, another
with Ptolemy; Archelaus also took the eldest of
them prisoner; while the last of them was so de-
dejected at the others’ misfortune, and saw so plainly
that he had no way now left to save himself, his
way being torrid away with sickness and continual
labours, that he also delivered himself over to Au-
laus, upon his promise and oath to God [to preserve
his life]. But these things came to pass a good
while afterward.
8. And now Judea was full of robberies; and, as
the several companies of the seditions lighted upon
any one to head them, he was created a king im-
mEDIATELY, IN ORDER TO DISMISS THE PUBLIC.
They were in some small measure indeed, and in
small matters, hurtful to the Romans, but the mur-
ders they committed upon their own people, lasted
a long while.
As soon as Varus was once informed of the state
of Judea, by Sabinus’s writing to him, he was
afraid for the legion he had left there; so he took
the two other legions (for there were three legions
in all belonging to Syria), and four troops of horse-
men, with the several auxiliary forces which either
the kings or certain of the tetarchs afforded him,
and made what haste he could to assist those that
were then besieged in Judea. He also gave order,
that all that were sent out for this expedition should
make haste to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytus
also gave him fifteen hundred auxiliaries, as he
passed through their city. Arebas also, the king
of Arabia Petrea, out of his hatred to Herod, put
in order to purchase the favour of the Romans, sent
him no small assistance, besides their footmen and
horsemen: and, when he had now collected all their forces together, he committed part of them to his son, and to a friend of his, and sent them upon an expedition into Galilee, which lies in the neighbour­hood of Ptolemais, who made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight, and took Sephoris, and made its inhabitants slaves, and burnt the city. But Varus himself pursed his march to Samaria with his whole army: yet did not he meddle with the city of that name, because it had not at all joined with the seditious, but pitched his camp at a certain village that belonged to Poltemis, whose name was Arus, which the Arabians burnt, out of their hatred to Herod, and out of the enmity they bore to his friends; whence they marched to another village, whose name was Sampho, which the Arabians plundered and burnt, although it was a fortified and strong place; and all along this march nothing escaped them, but all places were full of fire and of slaughter. Emmass was also burnt by Varus’s order, after its inhabitants had deserted it, that he might avenge those that had there been destroyed. From thence he now marched to Jeru­usalem; whereupon the Jews whose camp lay there, and who had besieged the Roman legion, not bearing the coming of this army, left the siege imperfect: but as to the Jerusalem Jews, when Varus reproached them bitterly for what had been done, they cleared themselves of the accusation; and alleged that the influx of the people was occasioned by the feast; that the war was not made with their approbation, but by the rashness of the strangers; while they were on the side of the Romans, and besieged together with them, rather than having any inclination to besiege them. There also came beforehand to meet Varus, Joseph, the cousin-ger­man of king Herod, as also Gratus and Rufus, who brought their soldiers along with them, together with those Romans who had been besieged: but Sabinius did not come into Varus’s presence, but stole out of the city privately, and went to the sea­side.

10. Upon this, Varus sent a part of his army into the country, to seek out those that had been the authors of the revolt; and when they were disco­vered, he punished some of them that were most guilty, and some he dismissed: now the number of those that were crucified on this account were two thousand: after which he disbanded his army, which he found nowise useful to him in the affairs he came about; for they belied themselves very disorderly, and disobeyed his orders, and what Varus desired them to do; and this out of regard to that gain which they made by the mischief they did. As for himself, when he was informed that ten thousand Jews had gotten together, he made haste to catch them; but they did not proceed so far as to fight him, but, by the advice of Achiabus, they came together, and delivered themselves up to him: hereupon Varus forgave the crime of rev­olting to the multitude, but sent their several commanders to Caesar, many of whom Caesar dis­missed; but for the several relations of Herod who had been among these men in this war, they were the only persons whom he punished, who, without the least regard to justice, fought against their own kindred.

CHAPTER XI.

AN EMBASSAGE OF THE JEWS TO CESAR; AND HOW CESAR CONFIRMED HEROD’S TESTAMENT.

§ 1. So when Varus had settled these affairs, and had placed the former legion at Jerusalem, he re­turned back to Antioch: but as for Archelaus, he had new sources of trouble come upon him at Rome, on the occasions following: for an embassage of the Jews was come to Rome, Varus having permitted the nation to send it, that they might petition for the liberty of living by their own laws.* Now, the number of the ambassadors that were sent by the authority of the nation, were fifty, to which they joined above eight thousand of the Jews that were at Rome already. Hereupon Caesar assembled his friends, and the chief men among the Romans, in the temple of Apollo,† which he had built at a vast charge; whither the ambassadors came, and a mul­titude of the Jews that were there already, came with them, as did also Archelaus and his friends; but as for the several kinmen which Archelaus had, they would not join themselves with him, out of their hatred to him: and yet they thought it too gross a thing for them to assist the ambassadors [against him], as supposing it would be a disgrace to them in Caesar’s eyes, to think of thus acting in opposition to a man of their own kindred: Philip also was come hither out of Syria, by the persuasion of Varus, with this principal intention to assist his brother [Archelaus]; for Varus was his great friend: but still so, that if there should any change happen in the form of government, (which Varus suspected there would), and if any distribution should be made on account of the num­ber that desired the liberty of living by their own laws, that he might not be disappointed, but might have his share in it.

§ 2. Now, upon the liberty that was given to the Jewish ambassadors to speak, they hoped to obtain a dissolution of kingly government, betook themselves to accuse Herod of his iniquities; and they declared that he was indeed in name a king, but that he had taken to himself an uncontrollable authority, which tyrants exercise over their sub­jects, and had made use of that authority for the destruction of the Jews, and did not abstain from making many innovations among them besides, ac­cording to his own inclinations; and that whereas there were a great many who persisted by that destruction he brought upon them, so many indeed as no other history relates, they that survived were far more miserable than those that suffered under him, not only by the anxiety they were under from his looks and disposition towards them, but from the danger their estates were in of being taken away by him. That he did never leave off adorning these cities that lay in their neighbourhood, but were inhabited by foreigners; but so that the cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly destroyed; that whereas, when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourishing condition, he had filled the nation with the utmost degree of poverty; and when, upon unjust pre­tences, he had slain any of the nobility, he took away their estates: and when he permitted any o.

* See Of the War, b. ii. ch. ii. sect. 8.
† See the note, Of the War, b. ii. ch. vi. sect. 1.
‡ He was afterwards afterwards.
kings, who had been head of the robbers; which Ezekias was a very strong man, and had with great difficulty been caught by Herod. This Judas hav- ing gotten together a multitude of men of a profli- gate character about Sepphoris in Galilee, and made an assault upon the palace [there], and seized upon all the spoils that were laid up in it, and with them a great number of the treasures with them, and carried away what money was left there; and he became terrible to all men, by tearing and rend- ing those that came near him; and all this in order to raise himself, and out of an ambitious desire of the royal dignity; and he hoped to obtain that as the reward, not of his virtuous skill in war, but of his extravagance in doing injuries.

6. There was also Simon, who had been a slave of Herod the king, but in other respects a comely person, of a tall and robust body; he was one that was much superior to others of his order, and had had great things committed to his care. This man was elevated at the disorderly state of things, and was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, while a certain number of the people stood by him, and by him he was declared to be a king, and thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any one else. He burnt down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it. He also set fire to many others of the king's houses in several places of the country, and utterly destroyed them, and permitted those that were with him to take what was left in them for a prey; and he would have done greater things, unless care had been taken to repress him immediately; for Gratus, when he had joined himself to some Roman sol- diers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon, and after a great and long fight, no small part of those that came from Peræa, who were a disbanded body of men, and fought rather in a bold than in a skilful manner, were destroyed; and al- though Simon had saved himself by flying away through a certain valley, yet Gratus overtook him, and cut off his head. The royal palace, also, at Amathus, by the river Jordan, was burnt down, by a party of men that were got together as were those belonging to Simon. And thus did great and wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king to keep the multitude in good order; and because those foreigners, who came to reduce the seditions to sobriety, did, on the contrary, set them more in a flame, because of the in- juries they offered them, and the avaricious ma- nagement of their affairs.

7. But because Athronges, a person neither eminent by the dignity of progenitors, nor for any great wealth he was possessed of, but one that had in his own family only a shepherd only, and was not known by any body; yet because he was a good man, and excelled others in the strength of his hands, he was so bold as to set up for king. This man thought it so sweet a thing to do more than ordinary injuries to others, that although he should be killed, he did not so much care, if he lost his life in so great a design. He had also four brethren, who were tall men themselves, and were believed to be superior to others in the strength of their hands, and thereby were encouraged to aim at great things, and thought that strength of theirs would support them in retaining the kingdom. Each of these ruled over a band of men of their own; for those they got together to them were very numer- ous. They were every one of them also command- ers; but, when they came to fight, they were sub- ordinate to him, and fought for him, for he put a diadem upon his head, as he absolved a certain to debate about what things should be done; and all things were done according to his pleasure. And this man retained his power a great while; he was also called king, and had nothing to hinder him from doing what he pleased. He also, as well as his brethren, slew a great many both of the Romans and of the king's forces, and managed matters with the like hatred to each of them. The king's forces they fell upon, because of the licentious conduct they had been allowed under Herod's government; and they fell upon the Romans, because of the injuries they had so lately received from them. But in process of time they grew more cruel to all sorts of men; nor could any one escape from one or other of these seditions, since they slew some out of the hopes of gain, and others from a mere custom of slaying men. They once attacked a company of Romans at Emmaus, who were bringing corn and weapons to the army, and fell upon Arius, the cen- taurion, who commanded the company, and shot forty of the best of his foot-soldiers; but the rest of them were affrighted at their slaughter, and left their dead behind them, but saved themselves by the means of Gratus, who came with the king's troops that were about him, to their assistance. Now, these four brethren continued the war a long while by such sort of expeditions, and much grieved the Romans (but did their own nation also a great deal of mischief); yet were they afterwards subdued; one of them in a fight with Gratus, another with Ptolemy; Archelaus also took the eldest of them prisoner; while the last of them was so de- jected at the others' misfortune, and saw so plainly that he had no way now left to save himself, his army being worn away with sickness and continual murders, that he also delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his promise and oath to God to [preserve his life]. But these things came to pass a good while afterward.

8. And now Judea was full of robberies; and, as the several companies of the seditionists lighted upon any one to head them, he was created a king im- mediately, in order to do mischief to the public. They were in some small measure indeed, and in small matters, hurtful to the Romans, but the murders they committed upon their own people, lasted a long while.

As soon as Varus was once informed of the state of Judea, by Sabinius's writing to him, he was afraid for the legion he had left there; so he took the two other legions (for there were three legions in all belonging to Syria), and four troops of horse- men, with the several auxiliary forces which either the kings or certain of the tetrarchs afforded him, and made what haste he could to assist those that were then besieged in Judea. He also gave order, that all that were sent out for this expedition should make haste to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berythus also gave him fifteen hundred auxiliaries, as he passed through their city. Aretas also, the king of Arabia Petraea, out of love of the Romans, in order to purchase the favour of the Romans, sent him no small assistance, besides their footmen and
AN EMBASSY OF THE JEWS TO CAESAR; AND HOW
CAESAR CONFIRMED HEROD'S TESTAMENT.

§ 1. So when Varus had settled these affairs, and
had placed the former legion at Jerusalem, he re-
turned back to Antioch; but as for Archelaus, he
had new sources of trouble come upon him at Rome,
on the occasions following: for an embassage of the
Jews was come to Rome, Varus having permitted
the nation to send it, that they might petition for
the liberty of living by their own laws. Now, the
number of the ambassadors that were sent by the
authority of the nation, were fifty, to which they
joined above eight thousand of the Jews that were
at Rome already. Hereupon Caesar assembled his
friends, and the chief men among the Romans, in
the temple of Apollo, which he had built at a vast
charge; whither the ambassadors came, and a mul-
titude of the Jews that were there already, came
with them, as did also Archelaus and his friends;
but as for the several kinsmen which Archelaus
had, they would not join themselves with him, out
of their hatred to him: and yet they thought it too
gross a thing for them to assist the ambassadors
[against him], as supposing it would be a disgrace
to them in Caesar’s opinion to think of this acting
in opposition to a man of their own kindred: Philip
also was come hither out of Syria, by the
persuasion of Varus, with this principal intention
to assist his brother [Archelaus]; for Varus was
his great friend: but still so, that if there should
any change happen in the form of government,
(which Varus suspected there would), and if any
distribution should be made on account of the num-
ber that desired the liberty of living by their own
laws, that he might not be disappointed, but might
have his share in it.

2. Now, upon the liberty that was given to the
Jewish ambassadors to speak, they who had not
obtain a dissolution of kingly government, betok
themselves to accuse Herod of his iniquities; and
they declared that he was indeed in name a king,
but that he had taken to himself an uncontrollable
authority, which tyrants exercise over their sub-
jects, and had made use of that authority for the
destruction of the Jews, and did not abstain from
making many innovations among them besides, ac-
cording to his own inclinations; and that whereas
there were a great many who perished by that
destruction he brought upon them, so many indeed
as no other history relates, they that survived were
far more miserable than those that suffered under
him, not only by the anxiety they were under from
his looks and disposition towards them, but from
the danger their estates were in of being taken away
by him. That he did never leave off adorning
these cities that lay in their neighbourhood, but
were inhabited by foreigners; but so that the cities
belonging to his own government were ruined, and
utterly destroyed; that whereas, when he took the
kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourishing
condition, he had filled the nation with the utmost
defence of poverty; and when, upon the fall of the
fortresses, he had slain any of the nobility, he took
away their estates: and when he permitted any a.

See Of the War, b. 11, ch. 11, sect. 3.
† See the note, Of the War, b. 11, ch. vi. sect. 1.
‡ He was afterwards.
them to live, he condemned them to the forfeitour of what they possessed. And, besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they were to make liberal presents to himself, to his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favour of being his tax-gatherers; because there was no way of obtaining a freedom from unjust violence, without giving either gold or silver for it. That they would say nothing of the corruption of the chastity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for intemperance, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not a smaller pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed, than it would have been not to have suffered them. That Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put on them, if he had power given him to rule over us: and that, although their nation had passed through many subversions and alterations of government, their history gave no account of any calamity they had ever been under, that could be compared with this which Herod had brought upon them; that is, for this reason that they thought they might justly and gladly salute Archelaus as king, upon this supposition, that whoever should be set over their kingdom, he would appear more mild to them than Herod had been; and that they had joined with him in the mourning for his father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him; but that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son; and so, without any delay, he immediately let them know that he was under his charge, and this being the case, his dominion was well established, since the power of disposing of it belonged to Cæsar, who could either give it to him or not, as he pleased. That he had given a specimen of his future virtue to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, by that his first action which concerned them, his own citizens, and God himself also, when he made the slaughter of three thousand of his own countrymen at the temple. How, then, could they avoid the just hatred of him, who, to the rest of his barbarity, lieth added this as one of our crimes, that we have oppressed and indicted him in the exercise of his authority? Now the main thing they desired was this: That they might be delivered from knigly and the like forms of government; and might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such presidents of theirs as should be sent to them; for that it would thereby be made evident, whether they were really a seditions people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they would live in an orderly manner, if they might have governors of any sort of moderation set over them.

So when the Jews said this, Nicolaus vindicated the kings from those accusations, and said, that as for Herod, since he had never been thus accused all the time of his life, it was not fit for those that might have accused him of lesser crimes than those now mentioned, and might have procured him to be punished during his lifetime, to bring an accusation against him now he is dead. He also attributed the actions of Archelaus to the Jews' injuries to him, who, affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going about to kill those that would have hindered him, and justly, when they were by him punished for what they had done, made their complaints against him; so he accused them of their attempts for innovation, and of the pleasure they took in sedition, by reason of their not having learned to submit to justice and to the laws, but still desiring to be superior in all things. This was the substance of what Nicolaus said.

4. When Cæsar had heard these pleadings, he dissolved the assembly; but a few days afterwards he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country, but etharch of one half of that which had been divided up; that he might give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed that part virtuously. But as for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to Antipas, that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now, to him it was that Perea and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted annually to 200 talents, while Batanea with Trachonitis, as well as Auranitis, with a certain part of what was called the House of Ezenodorus paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip; but Idumea, and Judea, and Samaria, and Decapolis, who were to pay tribute to Archelaus, but had now a fourth part of the tribute taken off by order of Cæsar, who decreed them that mitigation, because they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the multitude. There were also certain of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus: — Strato's Tower and Sebaste, with Joppa and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos, they were Grecian cities, which Cæsar separated from his government, and added them to the provinces.
vience of Syria. Now the tribute money that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions, amounted to six hundred talents.

5. And so much came to Herod's sons from their father's inheritances; but Salome, besides what her brother left her by his testament, which were Jannina, Ashdod, and Phasaelsis, and five hundred thousand [drachmae] of coined silver, Caesar made her a present of a royal habitation at Askelon; in all, her revenues amounted to sixty talents by the year, and her dwelling-house was within Archelaus's government. The rest also of the king's relations received what his testament allotted them. Moreover, Caesar made a present to each of Herod's two virgin daughters, besides what their father left them, of two hundred and fifty thousand [drachmae] of silver, and married them to Pherecas's sons; he also granted all that was bequeathed unto himself to the king's sons, which was one thousand five hundred talents, excepting a few of the vessels, which he reserved for himself; and they were acceptable to him, not so much for the great value they were of, as because they were memoria's of the king to him.

CHAPTER XII.

CONCERNING A SPURIOUS ALEXANDER.

§ 1. When these affairs had been thus settled by Caesar, a certain young man, by birth a Jew, but brought up by a Roman freed-man in the city of Sidon, ingrained himself into the kindness of Herod, by the resemblance of his countenance, which those saw him attested to be that of Alexander, the son of Herod, whom he had slain; and this was an incentive to him to endeavour to obtain the government; so he took to him as an assistant, a man of his own country (one that was well acquainted with the affairs of the palace but, on his account, an ill man, and one whose nature made him capable of causing great disturbances to the public, and one that became a teacher of such a mischievous contrivance to the other), and declared himself to be Alexander, and the son of Herod, but stolen away by one of those that were sent to slay him, who, in reality, slew other men, in order to deceive the spectators, but saved both him and his brother Aristobulus. Thus was this man elated, and able to impose on those that came to him; and when he was come to Crete, he made all the Jews that came to discourse with him believe him to be [Alexander]. And when he had gotten much money which had been presented to him there, he passed over to Melos, where he got much more money than he had before, out of the belief they had that he was of the royal family, and their hopes that he would recover his father's principality, and reward his benefactors; so he made haste to Rome, and was conducted thither by those strangers who entertained him. He was also so fortunate as, upon his landing at Dicearchia, to bring the Jews that were there unto the same delusion; and not only other people, but also all those who had been great with Herod, or had a kindness for him, joined themselves to this man as to their king. The cause of it was this, that men were glad of his pretences, which were seconded by the likeness of his countenance, which made those that had been acquainted with Alexander strongly to believe that he was no other but the very same person, which they also confirmed to others by oath; insomuch that when the report went about him that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of Jews that were there went out to meet him, and waited on him with so much assurance that he had so unexpectedly escaped, and bowed with joy on account of his mother's family. And when he was come, he was carried in a royal litter through the streets; and all the ornaments about him were such as kings are adorned withal; and this was at the expense of those that entertained him. The multitude also flocked about him greatly, and made mighty acclamations to him, and nothing was omitted which could be thought suitable to such as had been so unexpectedly preserved.

2. When this thing was told Caesar, he did not believe it, because Herod was not easy to be imposed upon in such affairs as were of great concern to him; yet, having some suspicion it might be so, he sent one Celadus, a freed-man of his, and one that had conversed with the young men themselves, and bade him bring Alexander into his presence; so he brought him, being no more accurate in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. Yet did he not deceive Caesar; for although there was a resemblance between him and Alexander, yet it was not so exact as to impose on such as were prudent in discerning; for this spurious Alexander had his hands rough, by the labours he had been put to; and instead of that softness of body which the other had, and this as derived from his delicate and generous education, this man, for the contrary reason, had a rugged body. When therefore, Caesar saw how the master and the scholar agreed in this lying story, and in a bold way of talking, he inquired about Aristobulus, and asked what became of him, who (it seems) was stolen away together with him, and for what reason it was that he did not come along with him, and endeavoured to recover that dominion which was due to his high birth also. And when it was left in the isle of Crete, for fear of the dangers of the sea, that, in case any accident should come to himself, the posterity of Mariamme might not utterly perish, but that Aristobulus might survive, and punish those that laid such treacherous designs against them; and when he persevered in his affirmations, and the author of the imposture agreed in supporting it, Caesar took the young man by himself, and said to him, "If thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt have this for thy reward, that thou shalt escape with thy life; tell me, then, who thou art, and who it was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat as this; for this contrivance is too considerable a piece of villany to be undertaken by one of thy age." Accordingly, because he had no other way to take, he told Caesar the contrivance, and after what manner, and by whom, it was laid together. So Caesar, upon observing the spurious Alexander to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promise to him, put him among those that were to row among the mariners, but slew him that induced him to do what he had done; for more than the inhabitants of Melos were severely punished, in having thrown away so much of their money upon this spurious Alexander. And such was the ignominious conclusion of this bold contrivance about the spurious Alexander.
CHAPTER XIII.

HOW ARCHELAUS, UPON A SECOND ACCUSATION, WAS BANISHED TO VIENNA.

§ 1. When Archelaus was entered on his ethnarchy, and was come into Judæa, he accused Joazar, the son of Boethus, of assailing the seditious, and took away the high-priesthood from him, and put Eleazar his brother in his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and he diverted half the water with which the village of Neraus used to be watered, and drew off that water into the plain, to water those palm-trees which he had there planted: he also built a village, and put his own name upon it, and called it Archealis. Moreover, he transgressed the law of our fathers, and married Galaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, which Alexander had three children by her, while it was a thing detestable among the Jews to marry the brothers' wife. Nor did this Eleazar abide long in the high-priesthood, Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while he was still living.

2. But in the tenth year of Archelaus's government, both his brethren and the principal men of Judea and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Cæsar, and that especially because they knew he had broken the commands of Cæsar, which obliged him to behave himself with moderation among them. Whereupon Cæsar, when he heard it, was very angry, and called for Archelaus's steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also, and thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaus, he bade him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to Rome; so the man made haste in his voyage, and when he came into Judæa he found Archelaus feasting his friends; so he told him what Cæsar had sent him about, and hastened him away. And when he was come [to Rome], to Cæsar, upon hearing what came from the court of his brother, he said, what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienna, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

3. Now, before Archelaus was gone up to Rome upon this message, he related this dream to his friends: That he saw ears of corn, in number ten, full of wheat, perfectly ripe; which ears, as it seemed to him, were devoted by oxen. And when he was awake and gotten up, because the vision appeared to be of great importance to him, he sent for the diviners, whose study was employed about dreams. And while some were of one opinion and some of another (for all their interpretations did not agree), Simon, a man of the sect of the Essenes, desired to speak his mind freely, and said, that the vision denoted a change in the affairs of Archelaus, and that not for the better; that oxen cannot remain in its former state; and that the ears of corn being ten, determined the like number of years, because an ear of corn grows in one year; and that the time of Archelaus's government was over. And thus did this man expound the dream. Now, on the fifth day after this dream came first to Archelaus, the other Archelaus, that was sent to Judea by Cæsar to call him away, came hither also.

4. The like accident befell Galaphyra his wife, who was the daughter of king Archelaus, who, as I said before, was married, while she was a virgin, to Alexander, the son of Herod, and brother of Archelaus; but since it fell out so that Alexander was slain by his father, she was married to Jubes, the king of Libya; and when he was dead, and she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, Archelaus divorced his former wife Marimanne, and married her, so great was his affection for her; who, during her marriage to him, saw the following dream: She thought she saw Alexander standing by her; at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection; but that he complained of her, and said, O Galaphyra! thou provest that saying to be true of which assures us that women are not to be trusted. Didst thou not pledge thy faith to me! and wast thou not married to me when thou wast a virgin! and had we not children between us! Yet hast thou forgotten the affection I bare to thee, out of a desire of a second husband. Nor hast thou been satisfied with that injury thou didst me, but thou hast been so bold as to procure thee a third husband to lie by thee, and in an indecent and improper manner hast entered into my house, and hast been married to Archelaus, thy husband and my brother. However, I will not forget thy former kind affection for me, but will say thee fair from every such reproach, acton, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast. When she had related this to her female companions, in a few days' time she departed this life.

5. Now, I did not think these histories improper for the present discourse, both because my discourse now is concerning kings, and otherwise on account of the advantage hence to be drawn, as well for the confirmation of the immortality of the soul, as of the providence of God over human affairs, I thought them fit to be set down; but if any one does not believe such relations, let him indeed enjoy his own opinion, but let him not hinder another that would thereby encourage himself in virtue.

So Archelaus's country was laid to the province of Syria; and Cyrenius, one that had been consul, was sent by Cæsar to take account of people's effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.
BOOK XVIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.

FROM THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON.

CHAPTER I.

HOW CYRENIUS WAS SENT BY CESAR TO MAKE A TAXATION OF SYRIA AND JUDEA; AND HOW COPONIUS WAS SENT TO BE PROCURATOR OF JUDEA; CONCERNING JUDAS OF GALILEE, AND CONCERNING THE SECTS THAT WERE AMONG THE JEWS.

§ 1. Now Cyrenius, a Roman senator, and one who had gone through other magistracies, and had passed through them till he had been consul, and one who had other friends and associates, was sent by Cæsar at this time into Syria, with a few others, being sent by Cæsar to be a judge of that nation, and to take an account of their substance: Coponius also, a man of the equestrian order, was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews. Moreover, Cyrenius came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus's money; but the Jews, although at the beginning they took the report of a taxation heinously, yet did they leave off any farther opposition to it, by the persuasion of Joasar, who was the son of Boethus, and high-priest. So they, being over-persuaded by Joasar's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it; yet there was one Judas, a Gaulonite, a city whose name was Gamala, who taking with him Sadduce, a Pharisee, became zealous to draw them to a revolt, who said that this taxation was no better than an introduction to slavery, and exhor- ted the nation to assert their liberty; as if they could procure them happiness and security for what they possessed, and an assured enjoyment of a still greater good, which was that of the honour and glory they would thereby acquire for magnanimity. They also said that God would not otherwise be assisting to them, than upon their joining with one another in such counsels as might be successful, and for their own advantage; and this especially, if they would set about great exploits, and not grow weary in executing the same; so men received what they said with pleasure, and this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men, and the nation was infected with this doctrine to an incredible degree; one violent war came upon us after another, and we lost our friends, who used to alleviate our pain; there were also very great robberies and murders of our principal men. This was done in pretence indeed for the public welfare, but in reality for the hopes of gain to themselves; whence arose seditions, and from them murders of men, which sometimes fell on those of their own people (by the madness of these men towards one another, while their desire was that none of the adverse party might be left), and sometimes on their enemies; a famine also coming upon us, reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and demolishing of cities; nay, the sedition at last increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by their enemy's fire. Such were the consequences of this, that the customs of our fathers were altered, and such a change was made, as added a mighty weight toward bringing all to destruction, which these men occasioned by thus conspiring together; for Judas and Sadduce, who excelled a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our civil government with tumults at present, and laid the foundation of our future miseries, by this system of philosophy, which we were before unaugmented withal; concerning which I shall discourse a little, and this the rather, because the infection which spread thence among the younger sort, who were zealous for it, brought the public to destruction.

2. The Jews had for a great while three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves; the sect of the Essens, and the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinions was that of those called Pharisees; of which sects although I have already spoken in the second book of the Jewish War, yet will I a little touch upon them now.

3. Now for the Pharisees, they live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet; and they follow the conduct of reason; and what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dicta for practice. They also pay a respect to such as are in years; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in any thing which they have introduced; and, when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from
men of acting as they think fit; since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what he wills is done, but so that the will of God shall not be act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again; on account of which doctrines, they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people; and whatsoever they do about divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; insomuch that the cities gave great atten- tion to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives and their discourses also.

4. But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this: That souls die with the bodies; nor do they regard the observation of any thing besides what the law enjoins them for; they think it an instance of virtue to dispute with those teachers of philosophy whom they frequent; but this doctrine is received but by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity; but they are able to do almost nothing of themselves; for when they become magistrates, they are easily moved and by force sometimes obliged to be they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them.

3. The doctrine of the Essenes is this: That all things are best ascribed to God. They teach the immortality of souls, and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for; and when they send what they have dedicated to God into the temple, they do not offer sacrifices, because they have more pure instructions of their own; on which account they are excluded from the common court of the temple, but offer their sacrifices themselves; yet there are some of the court of the third better than that of other men; and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness; and indeed to such a degree that as it hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor barbarians, no, not for a little time, so hath it endured a long while among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common; so that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he who hath nothing at all. There are about four thousand men that live in this way, and neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants; as thinking the latter tempts men to be unjust, and the former gives the handle to domestic quarrels; but as they live by themselves, they minister one to another. They also appoint certain stewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruits of the ground; such as are good men and priests, who are to get their corn and their food ready for them. They none of them differ from others of the Essenes in their way of living, but do the most resemble those Dassos who are called Polistes [dwellers in cities].

6. But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty; and they say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. They also do not value dying any kind of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man Lord; and since this impossible resolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I shall speak no farther about that matter; nor am I afraid that any thing I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather fear, that what I have said is not true; for the more they show when they undergo pain; and it was in Gessius Florus's time that the nation began to grow mad with this distemper, who was our procurator, and who occasioned the Jews to go wild with it by the abuse of his authority, and to make them revolt from the Romans; and these are the sects of Jewish philosophy.

CHAPTER II.

HOW HEROD AND PHILIP BUILT SEVERAL CITIES IN HONOUR OF CESAR. CONCERNING THE SUCCESSION OF PRIESTS AND PROCURATORS; AS ALSO WHAT REPHELL PHARIASES AND THE PARTHIANS.

§ 1. When Cyrenius had now disposed of Arche- laus's money, and when the taxings were come to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-seventh year of Cesar's victory over Antony at Actium, he deprived Joazar of the high-priesthood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high-priest; while Herod and Philip had each of them received their own territories, and settled the affairs thereof. Herod also built a wall about Sephoris (which is the security of all Galilee), and made it the metropolis of the country. He also built a wall round Betharamphtha, which was itself a city also, and called it Julias, from the name of the emperor's wife. When Philip, also, had built Paeas, a city, at the foot of the Jordan, he named it Cesarea. He also advanced the village Bethsaida, situate at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of Julias, the same name with Cesar's daughter.

2. As Coponius, who we told you was sent along with Cyrenius, was exercising his office of procurator, and governing Judea, the following accidents happened. As the Jews were celebrating the feast of unleavened bread, which we call the Passover, it was customary for the priests to open the temple-gates just after midnight. When, therefore, those gates were first opened, some of the Samaritans came privately into Jerusalem, and threw about dead men's bodies in the clusters; on which account the Jews afterwards excluded them out of the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals; and on other accounts also they watched
the temple more carelessly than they had formerly done. A little after which accident, Cæcilius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his successor in that government; under whom Salome, the sister of king Herod, died, and left to Julia [Cæsar’s wife], Jamnia, all its toparchy, and Tarsus in the plain, and Archelesus, where is a great plantation of palm-trees, and their fruit is excellent in its kind. — After him came Annius Rufus, under whom died Cæsar, the second emperor of the Romans, the duration of whose reign was fifty-seven years, besides six months and two days (of which time Antonius ruled together with him fourteen years; but the duration of his life was seventy-seven years); upon whose death, Tiberius Nero, his wife Julia’s son, succeeded. He was now the third emperor; and he sent Valerius Gratius to be procurator of Judea, and to succeed Annius Rufus. This man deprived Ananus of the high-priesthood, and appointed Ismael, the son of Phabi, to be high-priest. He also deprived him in a little time, and ordained Eleazar, the son of Ananus, who had been his friend in the former, to be high-priest, which office, when he had held for a year, Gratius deprived him of it, and gave the high-priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus; and, when he had possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Caiphas was made his successor. When Gratius had done those things, he went back to Rome, after he had tarried in Judea eleven years, when Pontius Pilate came as his successor.

3. And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emmaus. Strangers came and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come thither out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; some of them were persons of condition. He also admitted poor people, such as those that were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite freemen; and these he was a benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them, to the amount of the money they received, to build good houses at his own expenses, and by giving them land also; for he was sensible, that to make this place a habitation was to transgress the Jewish ancient laws, because many sepultures were to be here taken away, in order to make room for the city Tiberias; whereas our law pronounces, that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days.+

4. About this time died Pharaoh, king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraataces his son, upon the occasion following: — When Phraataes had had legitimate sons of his own, he had also an Italian maid-servant, whose name was Thracousa, who had been formerly sent to him by Julius Caesar, among other presents. He first made her his concubine; but he being a great admirer of her beauty, in process of time having a son by her, whose name was Phraataces, he made her his legitimate wife, and had a great respect for her. Now, she was able to persuade him to do any thing that she said, and was earnest in procuring the government of Parthia for her son; but still she saw that her endeavours would not succeed, unless she could contrive how to remove Phraataces’s legitimate sons (out of the kingdom); so she persuaded him to send those his sons as pledges of his fidelity to Rome; and they were sent to Rome accordingly, because it was not easy for him to contradict her commands. Now, while Phraataces was alone brought up in order to succeed in the government, he thought it very tedious to expect that government by his father’s donation, (as his successor;) he therefore formed a treacherous design against his father, by his mother’s assistance, with whom, as the report went, he had criminal conversation also. So he was hated for both these vices, while his subjects esteemed this [wicked] love of his mother to be no way inferior to his parricide; and he was by them, in a sedition, expelled out of the country before he grew too great, and died. But, as the ancient authors report, he had the impossibility they should be governed without a king, while also it was their constant practice to choose one of the family of Arsaces [for their law allow of any others]; and they thought this kingdom had been sufficiently injured already by the marriage with an Italian concubine, and by her issue, they sent ambassadors, and called Orodes [to take the crown]; for the multitude would not otherwise have borne them; and though he was accused of very great cruelty, and was of an untractable temper, and prone to wrath, yet still he was one of the family of Arsaces. However, they made a conspiracy against him, and slew him, and that, as some say, at a festival, and among their sacrifices (for it is the universal custom there to carry their swords with them); but, as the more general report is, they slew him when they had drawn him out a hunting. So they sent ambassadors to Rome, and desired they would send one of those that were there as pledges, to be their king. Accordingly, Yonones was preferred before the rest, and sent to them, (for he seemed capable of such great fortune, which two of the greatest kingdoms under the sun now offered him, his own and a foreign one). However, the barbarians soon changed their minds, being naturally of a mutable disposition, upon the supposal that this man was not worthy to be their governor; for they could not think of obeying the commands of one that had been a slave (for so they called those that had been hostages), nor could they bear the ignominy of that name; and this was the more intolerable, because then the Parthians must have such a king set over them, not by right of war, but in time of peace. So they presently invited Artabanus, king of Medias, to be their king, he being also of the race of Arsaces. Artabanus complied with the offer that was made him, and came to them with an army. So Yonones met him; and at first the multitude of the Parthians stood on his side, and he put his army in array; but Artabanus was beaten, and fled to the mountains of Media. Yet did he a little after, gather a great army together, and fought with Yonones, and beat him; whereupon Yonones fled away on horseback, with a few of his attendants about him, to Selucia, [upon Tigris]. So when Artabanus had slain a great number, and this after he had gotten the victory by reason of the very great dismay the bar-

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* We may here take notice, as well as in the parallel part of the books of the War, b. i. ch. i. sect. 1, that after the death of Iracl of Parthia, and the conversion of Archelesus, Josephus is very brief in his accounts of facts, as if he suppose the reader to be the same person, that has described the history of Nicomedes of Damascus, including the life of Herod, and probably the succession and first actions of his sons, he had but few good histories of those times before him.

† Num. xix. 11-16.
barians were in, he retired to Ctesiphon with a great number of his people; and so he now reigned over the Parthians. But Vonones fled away to Armenia; and as soon as he came thither, he had an inclination to have the government of the country given him, and sent ambassadors to Rome [for that purpose]. But because Tiberius refused it him, and because he wanted courage, and because the Parthian king threatened him, and sent ambassadors to him to denounce war against him if he proceeded, and because he had no way to take to regain any other kingdom (for the people of authority among the Armenians about Niphates joined themselves to Artabanus), he delivered up himself to Silanus, the president of Syria, who, out of regard to his education at Rome, kept him in Syria, while Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

5. At this time died Antiocbus, the king of Comagene; whereas the multitude contended with the nobility, and both sent ambassadors [to Rome]; for the men of power were desirous that their form of government should be introduced into that of a Roman province; as were the multitude desirous to be under kings, as their fathers had been. So the senate made a decree, that Germanicus should be sent to settle the affairs of the east, fortune hereby taking a proper opportunity for depriving him of his life; for when he had been in the east, and settled all affairs there, his life was taken away by the poison which Pla gave him, as hath been related elsewhere."

CHAPTER III.

SEDITION OF THE JEWS AGAINST PONTIUS PILATE; CONCERNING CHRIST, AND WHAT BEFELL PAULINA AND THE JEWS AT ROME.

§ 1. But now Pilate, the procurator of Judea, removed the army from Cesarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter-quarters there, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Caesar's effigies, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city; whereas our law forbids us the making of images; on which account the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought these images to Jerusalem, and set them up there; which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night-time; but as soon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Cesarea, and interfered with Pilate many days, that he would remove the images; and when he would not grant their requests, because it would tend to the injury of Caesar, while yet they persevered in their request, on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and sat upon his judgment-seat, which seat was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to oppress them; and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them round, and threatened that their punishment should be no less than immediate death, unless they would leave off disturbing him, and go their ways home. But they threw themselves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take their deaths very willingly, rather than the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their firm resolution to keep their laws inviolable, and presently commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cesarea.

2. But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, and did it with the sacred money, and derived the origin of the stream from the distance of two hundred furlongs. However, the Jews were not pleased with what had been done about this water; and many ten thousands of the people got together, and made a clamour against him, and insisted that he should leave off that design. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused the man, as crowds of such people usually do. So he habited a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround them. So he bade the Jews himself go away; but they boldly casting reproaches upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which they had been taught by him that they should make them much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous, and those that were not, nor did they spare them in the least; and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded; and thus an end was put to this sedition.

3. Now, there was about this time, Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works—a teacher of such as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ; and when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day; as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

4. About the same time also another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder; and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Iasis that was at Rome. I will now first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Iasis, and will then give account of the Jewish affairs. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paulina; one who, on account of the dignity of her ancestors, and by the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation: she was also very rich; and al-

* This citation is now wording.
though she was of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of her age wherein women are the most gay, yet did she lead a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus, one that was very wealthy and great, and had in the high estate of his condition. M undus fell in love with this woman, who was a very high in the equestrian order; and as she was of so great dignity to be sought by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love to her, insomuch that he promised to give her two hundred thousand Attic drachmae for one night's lodging; and when this would not prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this misfortune in his amours, he thought it the best way to furnish himself to death for want of food, on account of Paulina's sad refusal; and he determined with himself to die after such a manner, and he went on with his purpose accordingly. Now, Mundus had a freed-woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, one skilful in all sorts of mischief. This woman was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself (for he did not conceal his intentions to destroy himself from others) and came to him, and encouraged him by her discourse, and made him to hope, by some promises she gave him, that he might obtain a night's lodging with Paulina; and when he was heartened to her entreaty, she said she wanted no more than fifty thousand drachmae for the entrapment of the woman. So when she had encouraged the young man, and gotten as much money as she required, she did not take the same methods as had been taken before, because she perceived that the woman was by no means to be tempted by money; but as she knew that she was very much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem:—She went to some of Isis's priests, and upon the strongest assurances of concealment, she persuaded them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, of twenty-five thousand drachmae in hand, and as much more when the thing had taken effect; and told them the passion of the young man, and persuaded them to use all means possible, to beguile the woman. So they were drawn in to promise so to do, by that large sum of gold they were to have. Accordingly the oldest of them went immediately to Paulina; and upon his admissitnce, he desired to speak with her by herself. When that was granted him, he told her that he was sent by the god Anubis, who was fallen in love with her, and entreated her to come to him. Upon this she took the message very kindly, and valued herself greatly upon this condescension of Anubis; and told her husband that she had a message sent her, and was to sup and lie with Anubis; so he agreed to her acceptance of the offer, as fully satisfied with the chastity of his wife. Accordingly, she went to the temple; and after she had supped there, and it was the hour to go to sleep, the priest shut the doors of the temple; and, in the holy part of it, the lights were also put out. Then did Mundus lay (as is the custom therein) and did not fail of enjoying her, who was not asleep all the night long; as supposing he was the god; and when he was gone away, which was before those priests who knew nothing of this stratagem were stirring, Paulina came early to her husband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her. Among her friends also she declared how great a value she put upon this favour, who partly disbelieved the thing, when they reflected on its nature, and partly were amazed at it, as having no pretence for not believing it, when they considered the modesty and the dignity of the person. But now, on the third day after what had been done, Mundus met Paulina, and said, "Nay, Paulina, thou hast saved me two hundred thousand drachmae, which sum thou mightest have added to thy family; yet hast thou not failed to be at my service in the manner I invited thee. As for the reproaches thou hast laid upon Mundus, I value not the business of names; but I rejoice in the pleasure I reaped by what I did, while I took to myself the name of Anubis." When he had said this, he went his way; but now, she began to come to the sense of the grossness of what she had done, and rent her garments, and told her husband of the horrid nature of this wicked contrivance, and prayed him not to neglect to assist her in this case. So he discovered the fact to the emperor; whereupon Tiberius inquired into the matter thoroughly, by examining the priests about it, and ordered them to be crucified, as well as Ide, who was the occasion of their perdition, and who had contrived the whole matter, which was so injurious to the woman. He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave order that her statue should be thrown into the river Tiber; while he only banished Mundus, but did not touch him, because he supposed that what crime he had committed, was done out of the passion of love; and these were the circumstances which concerned the temple of Isis, and the injuries occasioned by her priests. I now return to the relation of what happened about this time to the Jews at Rome, as I formerly told you I would.

5. There was a man who was a Jew, but had been driven away from his own country by an accusation laid against him for transgressing their laws, and by the fear he was under of punishment for the same; but in all respects a wicked man; he then living at Rome, professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the laws of Moses. He procured also three other men, entirely of the same character with himself, to be his partners. These men persuaded Fulvia, a woman of great dignity, and one that had embraced the Jewish religion, to send purple and gold to the temple at Jerusalem; and, when they had gotten them, they employed them for their own uses, and spent the money themselves; on which account it was that they at first required it of her. Whereupon Tiberius, who had been informed of the thing by Saturinus, the husband of Fulvia, who desired inquiry might be made about it, ordered all the Jews to be banished out of Rome; at which time the consuls listed four thousand men out of them, and sent them to the island Sardinia; but punished a greater number of them, who were unwilling to become soldiers on account of keeping the laws of their forefathers. Thus were these Jews banished out of the city by the wickedness of four men.

* Of the banishment of these four thousand Jews into Sardinia by Tiberius, see Fulvia in Tiberius, Pomp., 1, 9. This is the same here, which supposes the Jews could not, consistently with their laws, return to the temple, it being inconsistent to them contrary to innumerable instances of their lighting, and proving efficient soldiers in war; and indeed many of the best of them, and even those banished as such, are now in the army. It happened that they met their rest on the Sabbath-day, and other solemn festivals, and led their lives according to their own laws, as they were under the direction of the priests of Egypt did. It is true, they could not always observe these privileges, and then they got excommunicated as well as they could, or sometimes publicly refused to fight, which seems to have been the case here, as to the unique part of the Jews now banished, but nothing more. See general of the Roman decree in their favour as to such matters, l. c., ch. 63.
CHAPTER IV.

HOW THE SAMARITANS MADE A TUMULT, AND PILATE DESTROYED MANY OF THEM; AND HOW PILATE WAS ACCUSED, AND WHAT THINGS WERE DONE BY VITIELLIUS RELATING TO THE JEWS AND THE PARTHIAE.

§ 1. But the nation of the Samaritans did not escape without tumults. The man who excided them to it, was one who thought lying a thing of little consequence, and who contrived every thing so, that the multitude might be pleased; so he bade them get together upon Mount Gerizim, which is by them looked upon as the most holy of all mountains, and assured them that, when they were come thither, he would show them those sacred vessels which were laid under that place, because Moses put them there. So they came thither armed, and thought the discourse of the man probable; and as they abode at a certain village, which was called Tirathaba, they got the rest together to them, and desired to go up the mountain in a great multitude together. But Pilate prevented their going up, by seizing upon the roads with a great band of horsemen and footmen, who fell upon those that were gotten together in the village; and when they came to an action, some of them they slew, and others of them they put to flight, and took a great many alive, the principal of whom, and also the most potent of those that fled away, Pilate ordered to be slain.

2. But when this tumult was appeased, the Samarian senate sent an embassy to Vitellius, a man that had been consul, and who was now president of Syria, and accused Pilate of the murder of those that were killed; for that they did not go to Tirathaba in order to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate. So Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to take care of the affairs of Judea, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to answer before the emperor to the accusation of the Jews. So Pilate, when he had tarried ten years in Judea, said farewell to his family, and this in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict; but before he could get to Rome, Tiberius was dead.

3. But Vitellius came into Judea, and went up to Jerusalem; it was at the time of that festival which is called the Passover. Vitellius was there magnificently received, and released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the fruits that were bought and sold, and gave them leave to have the care of the high-priest's vestments, with all their ornaments, and to have them under the custody of the priests in the temple; which power they used to have formerly, although at this time they were laid up in the tower of Antonia, the citadel so called, and that on the occasion following:—There was one of the high-priests named Hyrcanus, and as there were many of that name, he was the first of them; this man built a tower near the temple, and when he had so done, he generally dwelt in it, and had these vestments with him; because it was lawful for him alone to put them on, and he had them there preserved when he went down into the city, and took his ordinary garments; the same things were continued to be done by his sons and their sons after them; but when Hyrcanus came to be king, he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner; and because he was a friend to Antipus, he called it by the name of Antonia; and as he found these vestments lying there, he retained them in the same place, as believing that, while he had them in his custody, the people would make no innovations against him. The like to what Herod did was done by his son Archelaus, who was made king after him; after whom the Romans, when they entered on the government, took possession of these vestments of the high-priest, and had them reposited in a stone chamber, under the seal of the priests, and of the keepers of the temple, the captain of the guard lighting a lamp there every day; and seven days before a festival they were delivered to them by the captain of the guard, when the high-priest having purified them, and made use of them, laid them up again in the same chamber where they had been laid up before, and this the very next day after the feast was over. This was the practice at the three yearly festivals, and on the fast day; but Vitellius put those garments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers, and ordered the captain of the guard not to trouble himself to inquire where they were laid, or when they were to be used; and this he did as an act of kindness, to oblige the nation to him. Besides which he also deprived Joseph, who was called Caiaphas, of the high-priesthood, and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananus, the former high-priest, to succeed him. After which he took his journey back to Antioch.

4. Moreover, Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius, and commanded him to make a league of friendship with Artabanus, the king of Parthia; for while he was his enemy, he terrified him, because he had taken Armenia away from him, and he would have increased farther, and told him he should no otherwise trust him than upon his giving him hostages, and especially his son Artabanus. Upon Tiberius's writing thus to Vitellius, by the offer of great presents of money, he persuaded both the king of Iberia, and the king of Albania to make no delay, but to fight against Artabanus; and although they would not do it themselves, yet did they give the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthia was filled with war, and the prosperity of the men were slain, and all things were in disorder among them; the king's son also himself fell in these wars, together with many ten thousands of his army. Vitellius had also sent such great sums of money to Artabanus's father's kinsmen and friends, that he had almost procured him to be slain by the means of those bribes which they had taken. And when Artabanus perceived that the plot laid against him was not to be avoided, because

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* Since Moses never came himself beyond Jordan, nor particularly to Mount Gerizim, and since those Samaritans have a tradition among them that Mount Gerizim is made by Dr. Hudson, from Rehoboth, who was very skilful in Jewish and Samaritan antiquities, that in the day of Unat or Un, the high-priest (1 Chron. vi. 4), the art and other sacred vessels were, by God's command, laid up or hidden in Mount Gerizim. It is highly probable that this was the solemn foundation the present Samaritans went upon, as the nation here described, and that we should read here Quesc, instead of Messiauci, in the text of Josephus.

† The mention of the high-priest's sacred garments received seven days before a festival, and put in those days against a festival, as having been polluted by being in custody of heathens, in Josephus agrees with the traditions of the Talmudists, as Rashi here observes. But is there any question but the three facts here mentioned, were Tabor, Pentecost, and Feast of Tabernacles; and the Fast, so called by way of distinction (as Acts xxiv. 13), was the great day of expiation?
it was laid by the principal men, and those a great many in number, and that it would certainly take effect,—when he had estimated the number of those that were truly faithful to him, as also of those who were already corrupted, but were deceitful in the kindness they professed to him, and were likely, upon trial, to go over to his enemies, he made his escape to the upper provinces, where he afterwards raised a great army out of the Daune and Saces, and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.

5. When Tiberius had heard of these things, he desired to have a league of friendship made between him and Artabanus; and when, upon this invitation, he received the proposal kindly, Artabanus and Vitellius went to Euphrates, and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them came with their guards about them, and met one another on the midst of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace, Herod the tetrarch erected a rich tent on the midst of the passage, and made a feast there. Artabanus also, a little afterwards, sent his son Darius as an hostage, with many presents, among which there was a man seven cubits tall, a Jew he was by birth, and his name was Eleazar, who, for his tallness, was called a giant. After which Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon; but Herod [the tetrarch], being desirous to give Caesar the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent posts with letters, wherein he had accurately described all the particulars, and had left nothing for the consular Vitellius to inform him of. But when Vitellius’s letters were sent, and Caesar had let him know that he was angry with him on account of the affairs already, because Herod had given him an account of them before, Vitellius was very much troubled at it; and supposing that he had been thereby a greater sufferer than he really was, he kept up a secret anger upon this occasion, till he could be revenged upon him; which he was after Caius had taken the government.

6. About this time it was that Philip, Herod’s brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius; after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis, and of the Bataneans also, thirty-seven years. He had shown himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government; he constantly lived in that country which was subject to him; he used to make his progress with a few chosen friends; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress; and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, whereassoever he happened to be, and sat down upon it; and heard his complaint; he there ordered the guilty that were convicted to be punished, and absolved those that had been accused unjustly. He died at Julius; and when he was carried to that monument which he had already erected for himself beforehand, he was buried with great pomp. His principality Tiberius took (for he left no sons behind him) and added it to the province of Syria, but gave order that the tributes which arose from it should be collected, and laid up in his tetrarchy.

CHAPTER V.

HEROD THE TETRARCH MAKES WAR WITH ARETAS, THE KING OF ARABIA, AND IS BEATEN BY HIM; AS ALSO CONCERNING THE DEATH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST. HOW VITELLIUS WENT UP TO JERUSALEM; TOGETHER WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF AGRIPPA, AND OF THE FOSTERNESS OF HEROD THE GREAT.

§ 1. About this time Aretas (the king of Arabia Petra) and Herod had a quarrel, on the account following: Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while; but when he was once at Rome, he lodged with Herod, who was his brother indeed, but not by the same mother; for the mother of the high-priest Simon’s daughter. However, he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod’s wife, who was the daughter of Aristobulus their brother, and the sister of Agrippa the Great. This man ventured to talk to her about a marriage between them; which address when she admitted, an agreement was made for her to change her habitation, and come to him as soon as he should return from Rome; one article of this marriage also was this, that he should divorce Aretas’s daughter. So Antipas, when he had made this agreement, sailed to Rome; but when he had done there the business he went about, and was returned again, this Herod having discovered the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned it before he had notice of her knowledge of the whole design, she desired him to send her to Macherus, which is a place on the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of any of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her thither, as thinking his wife had not perceived any thing; now she had sent a good while before to Macherus, which was subject to her father; and so all things necessary for her journey were made ready for her by the general of Aretas’s army, and by that means she soon came to Arabia, under the conduct of the several generals, who carried her from one to another successively; and she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod’s intentions. So Aretas made this the first occasion of his enmity between him and Herod, who had also some quarrel with him about their limits at the country of Gamalits. So they raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, and sent their generals to fight instead of themselves; and when they had joined battle, all Herod’s army was destroyed by the treachery of some fugitives, though they were of the tetrarchy of Philip, joined with Aretas’s army. So Herod wrote about these affairs to Tiberius; who, being very angry at the attempt made by Aretas, wrote

1 This Herod seems to have had the additional name of Philip, as Antipas was named Herod-Antipas; and as Antipas and Antipater seem to be in a manner the very same name, yet were the names of two sons of Herod the Great; so might Philip the tetrarch and this Herod-Philip be two different sons of the same father; all which treatises observe on Matt, xiv. 3. Nor was it, as I agree with Græcia and others of the learned, Philip the tetrarch, but this Herod-Philip, whose wife Herod the tetrarch had married, and this was her first husband’s life-time; and when her first husband had iue her, for which adulteries and horrible murders, John the Baptist justly reproved Herod the tetrarch; and for which reason Simonne, the daughter of Herodias by her first husband Philip, who was still alive, accused him to be unjustly seduced.
to Vitellius, to make war upon him, and either to take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria.

2. Now, some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for that the washing [with water] would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [for the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body: supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now, when [many] others came to crowd about him, for they were greatly moved [or pleased] by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion (for they seemed ready to do any thing he should advise), thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machera, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure against him.

3. So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men; he also took with him all those of light arms, and of the horsemen which belonged to them, and were drawn out of the kingdoms which were under the Romans, and made haste for Petra, and came to Ptolemais. But as he was marching very busily, and leading his army through Judaea, the principal men met him, and desired that he would not thus march through their land; for that the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook those images which were brought into it, of which there were a great many in their ensigns; so he was persuaded by what they said, and changed that manner of marching, like a man observing the laws of the state in that matter. Whereupon he ordered the army to march along the great plain, while he himself, with Herod he tetrarch, and his friends, went up to Jerusalem o offer sacrifices to God, an ancient festival of the Jews being then just approaching; and when he had been there, and been honourably entertained by his multitude of Jews, he made a stay there for three days, within which time he deprived Jonathan of the high-priesthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus; but when on the fourth day letters came to him, which informed him of the death of Tiberius, he obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caius; he also recalled his army, and made them every one go home, and take their winter-quarters there, since, upon the devolution of the empire upon Caius, he had not the like authority of making this war which he had before. It was also reported, that when Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, he said, upon his consulting with the diviners, that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius's could enter Petra; for that one of the rulers would die, either he that gave orders for the war, or he that was marching at the other's desire, in order to be subservient to his will, or else he against whom this army is prepared. So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch; but Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, went up to Rome, a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted so to do. I have now a mind to describe Herod and his family, how it fared with them, partly because it is suitable to this history to speak of that matter, and partly because this thing is a demonstration of the interposition of Providence; for how a multitude of children is of no advantage to a prince more than any other strength, that mankind set their hearts upon, besides those acts of piety which are done towards God; for it happened, that within the revolution of a hundred years, that the posterity of Herod, who were a great many in number, were, excepting a few, utterly destroyed. One may well apply this for the instruction of mankind, and learn thence how unhappy they were: it will also show us the history of Agrippa, who, as he was a person most worthy of admiration, so was he from a private man, beyond all the expectation of those that knew him, advanced to great power and authority. I have said something of them formerly; but I shall now also speak accurately about them.

4. Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne, the [grand] daughter of Hyrcanus; the one was Salamispos, who was married to Phasselus, her first cousin, who was himself the son of Phasselus, Herod's brother, her father making the match: the other was Cypros, who was herself married also to her first cousin Antipater, the son of Salome, Herod's sister. Phasselus had five children by Salamispos; Antipater, Herod, and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros; which last, Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, married; and Titinius of Cyprus married Alexandra; he was a man of note, but had by her no children. Agrippa had by Cypros two sons and three daughters, which daughters were named Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; but the names of the sons were Agrippa and Drusus, of which Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty; but their father, Agrippa, was brought up with his other brethren, Herod and Aristobulus, for these were also the sons of the son of Herod the Great by Bernice; but Bernice was the daughter of Cestus, who was a proselyte to God, and Herod's sister. Aristobulus left those infants when he was slain by his father, together with his brother Alexander, as we have already related; but when they were arrived at the years of puberty, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias, who was the daughter of Herod the king, and of Joseph, the son of Joseph, who was brother to Herod the king, and had by her a son, Aristobulus; but Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Euesa; they had a daughter who was dead, whose name also was Jotape; and these hitherto were the children of the male line; but Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [Philip], the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest, who had a daughter Salome; after whose birth, Herodias took upon her to confound

* Whether this sudden extinction of almost the entire lineage of Herod the Great, which was very numerous, as we have shown in the next section of this book, was caused by the influence of innumerable inquests they were frequently guilty of, in marrying their own nephews and nieces, will deserve to be considered. See Levit. xlviii. 6, 7; Matt. xix. 10; and Stubbs, De Herod. 214, 209, 270.

† There are some still existent of the Euesae, as Sphonheim informs us.
the laws of our country, and divorce herself from her husband, while he was alive, and was married to Herod [Antipas], her husband's brother by the father's side; he was tetrarch of Galilee; but her daughter Salome, was married to Philip, the son of Herod, and tetrarch of Trachonitis; and, as he died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; and this was the posterity of Phasaelus and Salampon; but the daughter of Antipater by Cypros, was Cypros, whom Alexander Selcias, the son of Alexas, married; they had a daughter, Cypros; but Herod and Alexander, who, as we told you, were the brothers of Antipater, died childless. As to Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, he had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless; Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes, and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero; he had a son, Alexander, who married Jotape,* the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagena; Vespasian made him king of an island in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks; but for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless; and as these descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa the Great took the kingdom, and I have now given an account of them, it now remains that I relate the several hard fortunes which befell Agrippa, and how he got clear of them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and honour.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE NAVIGATION OF KING AGRIPP A TO ROME, TO TIBERIUS CAESAR; AND HOW, UPON HIS BEING ACCUSED BY HIS OWN FREE-MAN, HE WAS SENT TO ROME; HOW ALSO HE WAS SET AT LIBERTY BY CAIUS, AFTER TIBERIUS'S DEATH, AND WAS MADE KING OF THE TETRARCHY OF PHILIP.

§ 1. A little before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa lived at Rome, and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius's son, and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the Great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now, as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and generous in the presence he made while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such an extravagance; but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly among Caesar's freed-men, in order to gain their assistance, insomuch that he was in a little time reduced to poverty, and was forced to live at Rome any longer. If advancing the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would thereby be revived.

2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea, but in evil circumstances, being dejected with the loss of that money which he once had, and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave no room for expecting them. Whereupon he knew not what to do; so for shame of his present condition, he retired to a certain tower at Malatha, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself; but his wife Cypros perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from his taking such a course: so she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her, as a kinswoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband to do the same, since she saw how she alleviated these her husband's troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent for him and allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and appointed him some income of money for his maintenance, and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honour to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for, as once they were at a feast at Tyre, and in their cups, and reproaches were cast upon one another, Agrippa thought that was not to be borne, while Herod hit him in the teeth with his poverty, and with his owing his necessary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, one that had been consul, and had been a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.

3. Hereupon Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus had also with him there, Aristobulus, who was indeed Agrippa's brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both; but still they were honourably treated by him. However, Aristobulus did not abate of his ill-will to Agrippa, till at length he brought him into ill terms with Flaccus; the occasion of bringing on which estrangement was this: —The Damascenses were at difference with the Sidonians about their limits, and when Flaccus was about to hear the cause between them, they understood that Agrippa had a mighty influence upon him; so they desired that he would be of their side, and for that favour promised him a great deal of money; so he was zealous in assisting the Damascenses as far as he was able. Now Aristobulus had gotten to a great degree of this promise of money to him, and accused him to Flaccus of the same; and when, upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly so to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends. So he was reduced to the utmost necessity, and came to Poitomais; because he knew not where else to get a livelihood, he thought to sail to Italy; but as he was restrained from so doing by want of money, he desired Maysias, who was his freed-man, to find some method for procuring him so much as he wanted for that purpose, by borrowing such a sum of some person or other. So Maysias desired Flaccus, who was the freed-man of Bernice, Agrippa's mother, and by the right of her testament was bequeathed to Antonia, to lend so much upon Agrippa's own...

* Spanthalius also informs us of a coin still extant of this Jotape, daughter of the king of Commagena.
bond and security: but he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money, and so obliged Marysas, when he made the bond of twenty thousand Attic drachmæ, to accept of twenty-five hundred drachmæ* less than what he desired; which the other allowed of, because he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa came to Antion, and took shipping, and was going to set sail; but Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jannia, sent a band of soldiers to demand of him three hundred thousand drachmæ of silver, which were by Tiberius in Caesar's treasury while he was at Rome, and so forced him to stay. He then pretended that he would do as he bade him; but when night came on, he cut his cables, and went off, and sailed to Alexandria, where he desired Alexander the alabarch* to lend him two hundred thousand drachmæ; but he said he would not refuse it to Cypros, as greatly astonished at her affection to her husband, and at the other instances of her virtue; so she undertook to repay it. Accordingly, Alexander paid them five talents at Alexandria, and promised to pay them the remainder of that sum at Diosceri; [Putecoll]; and this he did out of the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. So this Cypros set her husband free, and dismissed him to go on with his navigation to Italy, while she and her children departed for Judea.

4. And now Agrippa was come to Putecoll, whence he wrote a letter to Tiberius Caesar, who then lived at Caprese, and told him that he was come so far, in order to wait on him, and to pay him a visit; and desired that he would give him leave to come over to Caprese: so Tiberius made no difficulty, but wrote to his friend, advising him to go in other respects; and within told him he was good, and of his safe return, and desired him to come to Caprese: and, when he was come, he did not fail to treat him as kindly as he had promised him in his letter to do. But the next day came a letter to Caesar from Herennius Capito, to inform him that Agrippa had borrowed three hundred thousand drachmæ, and not paid it at the time appointed; but, when it was demanded of him, he ran away like a fugitive, out of the places under his government, and put it out of his power to get the money of him. When Caesar had read this letter, he was much troubled at it, and gave orders that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence until he had paid that debt: upon which he was no way daunted at Caesar's anger, but entreated Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and Claudius, who was afterwards Caesar himself, to lend him those three hundred thousand drachmæ, that he might not be deprived of Tiberius's friendship; so, out of regard to the memory of Bernice his mother (for those two women were very familiar with one another), and out of regard of his and Claudius's education together, she lent him the money; and, upon the payment of this debt, there was nothing to hinder Tiberius's friendship to him. After this, Tiberius Caesar recommended to him his grandson; and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. But, upon Agrippa's kind reception by Antonia, he betook him to pay his respects to Caius, who was her grandson, and in very high reputation by reason of the good-will they bare his father. § Now there was one Timillus, a freed-man of Caesar's, of whom he borrowed a million of drachmæ, and thence repaid Antonia the debt he owed her; and by sending the overplus in paying his court to Caius, became a person of great authority with him.

5. Now, as the friendship which Agrippa had for Caius, was come to a great height, there happened some words to pass between them, as they were once in a chariot together, concerning Tiberius; Agrippa praying [to God] (for they two sat by themselves in one chariot) Tiberius might soon be off the stage, and leave the government to Caius, who was in every respect more worthy of it. Now, Eutychus, who was Agrippa's freed-man, and drove his chariot, heard these words, and at that time said nothing of them; but when Agrippa accused him of stealing some garments of his (which was certainly true), he ran away from him; but when he was caught, and brought before Piso, who was governor of the city, and the man was asked why he ran away, he replied, that he had somewhat to say to Caesar, that tended to his security and preservation: so Piso bound him, and sent him to Cypros. But Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him still in bonds, being a delay of affairs, if ever there was any other king or tyrant that was so; for he did not admit ambassadors quickly, and no successors were dispatched away as governors or procurators of the provinces that had been formerly sent, unless they were dead; whence it was that he was so negligent in hearing the causes of prisoners; inasmuch that when he was asked by his friends what was the reason of his delay in such cases, he said that he delayed to hear ambassadors that were sent, because of the object of their mission, and that the ambassadors should be appointed, and return upon him; and so he should bring trouble upon himself in their public reception and commission: that he permitted those governors who had been sent once to their governments [to stay there a great while], out of regard to the subjects that were under them; for that all governors are naturally disposed to get as much as they can; and that those who are not to fix there, but to stay a short time, and that at an uncertainty when they shall be turned out, do the more severely hurry themselves on to fleece the people; but that, if their government be long continued to them, they are at last satisfied, with whom they spoil, as having gotten a vast deal, and so become at length less sharp in their pillaging; but that, if successors are sent quickly, the poor subjects, who are exposed to them as a prey, will not be able to bear the new ones, while they shall not have the same time allowed them wherein their predecessors had filled themselves, and so grow more unconcerned about getting more; and this because they are removed before they have had time [for their oppressions]. He gave them an example to show his meaning—A great number of flies came about the sore places of a man that had been wounded, upon which, one of the standers-by pitied them, and his misfortune, and thinking he was not able to drive away those flies himself, was going to drive them away for him; but he prayed him to let them alone; the other, by way of reply, asked him the reason of such a preposterous proceeding, in preventing relief from his present misery; to which he answered, "If thou drivest these flies away, thou wilt hurt me worse; for as these are already full of my blood, § Germanicus.
they do not crowd about me, nor pain me so much as before, but are sometimes more rotten, while the fresh ones that come, almost famished, and find me quite tired down already, will be my destruction. For this cause, therefore, it is that I am myself careful not to send such new governors perpetually to those my subjects, who are already sufficiently harassed by many oppressions, as may, like these flies, farther distress them; and so, besides their natural desire of gain, may have this additional inciteme to it, that they expect to be suddenly deprived of that pleasure which they take in it. I have therefore this further attestation to what I have said of the dilatory means of Tiberius. I appeal to this his practice itself; for although he was emperor twenty-two years, he sent in all but two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews,—Gratus, and his successor in the government, Pilate. Nor was he in no way of acting with respect to the Jews, and in another with respect to the rest of his subjects. He further informed them, that even in the hearing of the causes of prisoners, he made such delays, because immediate death to those that must be condemned to die, would be an alleviation of their present miseries, while those wicked wretches have not desired it. I say, by the law, that by being harassed with the present calamity, they may undergo greater misery.

6. On this account it was that Eutychus could not obtain a hearing, but was kept still in prison. However, some time afterward, Tiberius came from Capreae to Tuscullum, which is about a hundred furlongs from Rome. Agrippa then desired of Antonia that she would then procure a hearing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he accused him prove what it would. Now, Antonia was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts, from the dignity of her relation to him, that he had been his brother Drusus's wife, and from her eminent chastity; for though she was still a young woman, she continued in her widowhood, and refused all other matches, although Augustus had enjoined her to be married to somebody else; yet did she still all along preserve her reputation free from reproach. She had also been the greatest benefactress to Tiberius, when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been his husband's friend, and who had the greatest authority, because he was general of the army, and when many members of the senate, and many of the freed-men, joined with him, and the soldiery was corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Sejanus's malice; for, when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallas, the most faithful of her servants, and sent him to Capreae to Tiberius, who, when he understood it, slew Sejanus and his confederates; so that Tiberius, who had her in great esteem before, now looked upon her with still greater respect, and depended upon her in all things. So, when Tiberius was desired by this Antonia to examine Eutychus, he answered, "If indeed Eutychus hath falsely accused Agrippa in what he hath said of him, he hath had sufficient punishment by what I have done to him already; but if, upon examination, the accusation appears to be true, let Agrippa have a case lest, out of desire of punishing his freed-man, he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself." Now, when Antonia told Agrippa of this, he was still much more pressing that the matter might be examined into; so Antonia, upon Agrippa's lying hard at her continually to beg this favour, took the following opportunity:—As Tiberius lay once at his ease upon his sedan, and was carried about, and Caius, her grandson, and Agrippa, were before him after dinner, she walked by the sedan, and desired him to call Eutychus, and have him examined; to which he replied, "O Antonia, the gods are my witnesses that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because I am forced to it by thy prayers." When he had said this, he ordered Macro, who succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him; accordingly, without any delay, he was brought. Then Tiberius asked him what he had to say against a man who had given him his liberty. Upon which he said, "O my lord! this Caius, and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a chariot, when I sat at their feet, and, among other discourses that passed, Agrippa said to Caius, O that the day would once come when this old fellow will die, and name thee for the governor of the habitable earth! for then this Tiberius, his grandson, would be no hinderance, but would be taken off by thee, and that earth would be happy, and I happy also." Now, Tiberius took these to be truly Agrippa's words, and bearing a grudge withal at Agrippa, because, when he had commanded him to pay his respects to Tiberius, his grandson, and the son of Drusus, Agrippa had not paid him that respect, but had disobeyed his commands, and transferred all his regards to Caius; he said to Macro, "Bind this man." But Macro, not distinctly knowing which of them it was whom he bade him bind, and not expecting that he would have any such thing done to Agrippa, he forbore, and came to ask more distinctly what it was that he said. But when Caesar had gone round the hippodrome, he found Agrippa standing:—"For certain," said he, "Macro, this is the man I meant to have bound!" and when he still asked, which of these is to be bound he said, Agrippa. Upon which Agrippa besought himself to make supplication for himself, putting him in mind of his son, with whom he was brought up, and of his kindred of the grandest whom he had educated, but all to no purpose, for they dreaded him above all even in his purple garments. It was also very weather, and they had but little wine to their mss that he was very thirsty; he was also in a of agony, and took this treatment of him him:— as he therefore saw one of whose name was Thaumastus, carry in a vessel, that he desired that you wou
so the servant gave him some water to drink; and he drank heartily, and said, "O thou boy! this service of thine to me will be for thy advantage; for, if I once get clear of these my bonds, I will soon procure thee thy freedom from Caius, who has not been wanting to minister to me now I am in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in my former state and dignity." Nor did he deceive him in what he promised him, but made him amends for what he had now done; for, when afterwards Agrippa was come to the kingdom, he took particular care of the Ismaelites, and gave him his liberty from Caius, and made him the steward over him own estate; and when he died, he left him to Agrippa his son, and to Bernice his daughter, to minister to them in the same capacity. The man also grew old in that honourable post, and therein died. But all this happened a good while later.

7. Now Agrippa stood in his bonds before the royal palace, and leaned on a certain tree for grief, with many others, who were in bonds also; and as a certain bird sat upon the tree on which Agrippa leaned (the Romans called this bird bubo), I saw one of those that were bound over Agrippa, a German, saw him, and asked a soldier that was man in purple was; and when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, and that he was by nation a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation, he asked leave of the soldier to whom he was bound, to let him come near to him, to speak with him; for that he had a mind to inquire of him about some things relating to his country; which liberty, when he had obtained, as he stood near him, he said thus to him by an interpreter,—"This sudden change of thy country is of young men of great worth and graven face, as bringing on a deed a manifold and very great adversity; nor wilt thou believe me, when I foretell how thou wilt get clear of this misery which thou art now under, and how divine Providence will provide for thee. Know therefore (and I appeal to my own country gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded these bonds to us,) that all I am going to say about thy concerns, shall neither be said for favour nor bribery, nor out of an endeavour to make thee cheerful without cause; for such predictions, when they come to fall, make the grief at last, and in earnest, more bitter than if it were no prediction at all of such things. However, though I run the hazard of my own self, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou shouldst long continue in these bonds; but thou wilt soon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the highest dignity and power, and thou wilt be envied by all those who now pity thy hard fortune; and thou wilt be happy till thy death, and leave thine happiness to the children whom thou shalt have. But, do thou remember, when thou seest this bird again, that thou wilt then live but five days longer. This event will be brought to pass by that God who hath sent this bird hither to be a sign unto thee. And I cannot but think it unjust to conceal from thee what I foreknow concerning thee, that, by thy knowing beforehand what happiness is coming upon thee, thou mayest not regard thy present misfortunes. But, when this happiness shall actually befall thee, do not forget what misery I am in myself, but endeavour to deliver me." So when the German man had said this, he made Agrippa laugh at him as much as he afterwards appeared worthy of admiration. But now Antonia took Agrippa's misfortune to heart: however to speak to Tiberius on his behalf, she took to be a very difficult thing, and indeed quite impracticable, as to any hope of success; yet did she procure of Macro, that the soldiers that kept him should be of a gentle nature, and that the centurion who was over them, and was to diet with him, should be of the same disposition, and that he might have leave to bathe himself every day, and that his freed-men and friends might come to him, and that other things that tended to ease him might be indulged him. So his friend Silas came in to him, and two of his freedmen, Marsyas and Stechus, who brought him such sorts of food as he was fond of, and indeed took great care of him; they also brought him garments under pretence of selling them, and, when night came on, they laid them under him; and the soldiers assisted them, as Macro had given them order to do beforehand. And this was Agrippa's condition for six months' time; and in this case were his affairs.

8. But as for Tiberius, upon his return to Caprea, he fell sick. At first his distemper was but gentle; but, as that distemper increased upon him, he had small or no hopes of recovery. Hereupon he bade Euodus, who was the freed-man whom he most of all respected, to bring the children to him, for that he wanted to talk to them before he died. Now he had at present no sons of his own alive; for Drusus' son Tiberius was still living, whose additional name was Gemellus: there was also living Callas, the son of Gemellus, and grandson to the son of his brother [Drusus]. He was now grown up, and had had a liberal education, and was well improved by it, and was in esteem and favour with the people, on account of the excellent character of his father Germanicus, who had attained the highest honour among the multitude, by the firmness of his virtuous behaviour, by the easiness and agreeableness of his conversing with the multitude, and because the dignity he was in did not hinder his familiarity with them all, as if they were his equals; by which behaviour he was not only greatly esteemed by the people and the senate, but by every one of those nations of the Romans; some of whom were affected when they came to him, with the gracefulness of their reception by him; and others were affected in the same manner by the report of the others that had been with him: and, upon his death, there was a lamentation made by all men; not such a one as was to be made in way of flattery to their rulers, while they did but counterfeit sorrow, but such as was real; while every body grieved at his death, as if they had lost one that was near to them. And truly such had been his easy conversation with men, that it turned greatly to the advantage of his son among all; and, among others, the soldiers were so peculiarly affected to him, that they reckoned it an eligible thing, if need were, to die themselves, if he might but attain to the government.

9. But when Tiberius had given order to Euodus to bring the children to him the next day in the morning, he prayed to his country gods to show him a manifest signal, which of those children

* Dr. Hudson here takes notice, out of Genes. Epistle v. that this was the custom of Tiberius, to couple the prisoner and the soldier that guarded him together in the same chain.

† Tiberius his own grandson, and Callas his brother Drusus' grandson.

‡ So I correct Josephus' copy, which calls Germanicus his brother, who was his brother's son.
should come to the government; being very desirous to leave it to his son's son, but still depending upon what God would foresee concerning them, more than upon his own opinion and inclination; so he made this to be the omen, that the government should be left to him who should come to him first the next day. When he had thus resolved within himself, he sent to his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, as supposing that God would permit him to be made emperor. But God proved opposed to his designation; for, while Tiberius was thus contriving matters, and as soon as it was as it was at all day, he bid Eudoxus to call in that child which should be there ready. So he went out, and found Caius before the door, for Tiberius was not yet come, but staid waiting for his breakfast; for Eudoxus knew nothing of what his lord intended; so he said to Caius, "Thy father calls thee," and then brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, and not before, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ability of bestowing the government on whom he would was entirely taken from him; and thence he was not able to establish what he had intended. So he greatly lamented that his power of establishing what he had before contrived was taken from him, and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by his fatality, but his own safety also; because his preservation would now depend upon such as would be more potent than himself, who would think it a thing not to be borne, that a kinman should live with them, and so his relation would not be able to protect him: but he would be feared and hated by him who had the supreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the empire, and partly on account of his perpetually contriving to get the government, both in order to preserve himself, and to be at the head of affairs also. Now Tiberius had been very much given to astrology, and the calculation of mativities; and had spent his life in the estem of what predictions had proved true, more than those whose profession it was. Accordingly, when he once saw Galba coming in to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that there came in a man that would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire. So that this Tiberius was more addicted to all such sorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to have told the truth in his own affairs; and indeed he was now in great distress upon this accident that had befallen him, and was very much grieved at the destruction of his son's son, which he foresaw, and complained of himself, that he should have made use of his method of divination beforehand, while it was in his power to have spoiled it without grief by his knowledge of futurity; whereas he was now tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortune of such as were dearest to him, and must die under that torment. Now, although he was disordered at this unexpected revolution of the government to those for whom he did not intend it, he spake thus to Caius, though unwillingly, and against his own inclination:—"O child, although Tiberius be nearer related to me than thou art, I have my own determination, and the conspiring suffraged a thing else, and put into thy hand, the Roman empire; and I desire thou shouldest ever to be mindful when thou comest to it, either of my kindness to thee, who set thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relation to Tiberius: but as thou knowest that I am, together with and after the gods, the procurer of so great happiness to thee, so I desire that thou wilt make me a return for my readiness to assist thee, and wilt take care of Tiberius because of thy new son. Besides, thou art to know, that, while Tiberius is alive, he will be a security to thee, both as to empire and as to thy own preservation; but, if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes; for to be alone under the weight of such vast affairs, is very dangerous; nor will the gods suffer those actions which are unjustly done, contrary to that law which directs men to do otherwise, to go off unpunished." This was the speech which Tiberius made; which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promised so to do; but, when he was settled in the government, he took off this Tiberius, as was predicted by the other Tiberius; as he was also himself, in no long time afterwards, slain by a secret plot laid against him.

10. So when Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he outlived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years five months and three days. Now Caius was the fourth emperor: but when the Romans understood that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it; not because they were unwilling it should be true, for they would have given large sums of money that it might be so, but because they were afraid that, if they had shown their joy, when the news proved false, their joy should be openly known, and they should be accused for it, and to be thereby undone; for this Tiberius had brought a vast number of miseries on the best families of the Romans, since he was easily inflamed with passion in all cases, and was of such a temper as rendered his anger irrevocable, till he had executed the same, although he had taken a hatred against men without reason; for he was by nature fierce in all the enterprises that he had for this death, the penalty for the slightest offences; insomuch that when the Romans heard the rumour about his death gladly, they were restrained from the enjoyment of that pleasure by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill-grounded. Now Marystas, Agrippa's freed-man, as soon as he heard of Tiberius's death, came running to tell Agrippa the news; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said, in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion is dead!" who, understanding his meaning, and being overjoyed at the news, "Nay," said he, "but all sorts of thanks and breasts of joy, but for this news, then; only I wish that what thou sayest may prove true." Now the centurion who was set to keep Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marystas came, and what joy Agrippa had from what he said, he had a suspicion that his words implied some great innovation of affairs, and he asked them about what was said. They at first diverted the discourse; but upon his further pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him, for he had already become his friend; so he joined with him in that pleasure which this news occasioned, because it

*This is a known thing among the Romans historians and poets, that Tiberius was greatly given to astrology and divination.

1 [The name of a Lion is often given to tyrants, especially by the Jews, such as Agrippa, and probably his father-in-law Marystas, in effect, which see Ezech. xiv. 7; Isai. xv. 10; 2 Tim. iv. 13. They are also sometimes compared to, or represented by, wild beasts, of whom the lion is the principal.]
would be fortunate for Agrippa, and made him a supper; but, as they were feasting, and the cups went about, there came one who said, that Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city in a few days. At which news the centurion was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might cost him his life, to have treated so joyfully a prisoner, and this upon the news of the death of Caesar; so he thrust Agrippa from the couch whereon he lay, and said, "Dost thou think to cheat me by a lie about the emperor without punishment? and shalt thou not pay for this thy malicious report at the price of thine head?" When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be bound again (for he had loosened him before), and kept a severer guard over him than formerly, and in that evil condition was Agrippa that night; but the next day the rumour increased in the city, and confirmed the news that Tiberius was certainly dead; insomuch that men durst now openly and freely talk about it; nay, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters also came from Caius; one of them to the senate, which informed them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own entrance on the government; another to Piso, the governor of the city, which told him the same thing. He also gave order that Agrippa should be removed out of the camp, and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison; so that he was now out of fear as to his own affairs; for, although he was still in custody, yet it was now with ease to his own affairs. Now, as soon as Caius was come to Rome, and had brought Tiberius's dead body with him, and had made a sumptuous funeral for him, according to the laws of his country, he was much disposed to set Agrippa at liberty that very day; but Antonia hindered him, not out of any ill-will to the prisoner, but out of regard to decency in Caius, lest that should make men believe that he received the death of Tiberius with pleasure, when he loosed one whom he had bound, immediately. However, there did not many days pass, ere he sent for him to his house, and had him shaved, and made him change his raiment; after which he put a diadem upon his head, and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and changed his iron chain for a golden one of equal weight. He also sent Marullus to be procurator of Judea.

Now, in the second year of the reign of Caius Caesar, Agrippa desired leave to be given him to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government; and he promised to return again when he had put the rest in order, as it ought to be put. So, upon the emperor's permission, he came into his own country, and appeared to them all unexpectedly as a king, and thereby demonstrated to the men that saw him, the power of fortune, when they compared his former poverty with his present happy affluence; so some called him a happy man; and others could not well believe that things were so much changed with him for the better.

Although Caius now promised to give Agrippa the tetrarchy of Lysanias, yet was it not actually cast off him till the reign of Claudius, as we learn, Antiq. b. xii. chap. v. sect. 1.

§ 1. But Herod, the Tetrarch was banished.

Now Herod the Tetrarch was banished.

CHAPTER VII.

1. But Herodias, Agrippa's sister, who now lived as wife to that Herod who was tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, took this authority of her brother in an envious manner, particularly when she saw that he had a greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had; since, when he ran away, he was not able to pay his debts; and now he was come back, it was because he was in a way of dignity and of great fortune. She was therefore grieved, and much displeased at so great a mutation of his affairs; and chiefly when she saw him marching among the multitude with the usual ensigns of royal authority, she was not able to conceal how miserable she was, by reason of the envy she had towards him; but she excused her husband, and desired him that he would sail to Rome, to court honours equal to his; for she said, that she could not bear to live any longer, while Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus, who was condemned to die by his father, one that came to her husband in such extreme poverty, that the necessaries of life were forced to be entirely supplied him day by day; and when he fled away from his creditors by sea, he now returned a king; while he was himself the son of a king, and while the near relation he bare to royal authority, called upon him to gain the like dignity, he sat still, and was contented with a private life. "But then, Herod, although thou wast formerly not concerned to be in a lower condition than thy father, from whom thou wast derived, had been, yet do thou now seek after the dignity which thy kinsman hath attained to; and do not thou bear this contempt, that a man who admired thy riches should be in greater honour than thyself, nor suffer his poverty to show itself able to purchase greater things than our abundance; nor do thou esteem it other than a shameful thing to be inferior to one who, the other day, lived upon thy charity. But let us go to Rome, and let us spare no pains nor expenses, either of silver or gold, since they cannot be kept for any better use than for the obtaining of a kingdom." 2. But for Herod, he opposed her request at this time, out of the love of ease, and having a suspicion of the trouble he should have at Rome; so he tried to instruct her better. But the more she saw him draw back, the more she pressed him to it, and desired him to leave no stone unturned in order to be king; and at last she left not off till she engaged him, whether he would or not, to be of her sentiments, because he could no otherwise avoid her importunity. So he got all things ready, after as sumptuous a manner as he was able, and spared for nothing, and went up to Rome, and took Herodias along with him. But Agrippa, when he was made sensible of their intentions and preparations, he also prepared to go thither; and as soon as he heard they sent sail, he sent Fortunatus, one of his freed-men, to Rome, to carry presents to the emperor, and letters against Herod, and to give Caius a particular account of those matters, if he should have any opportunity. This man followed Herod so quick, and had so prosperous a voyage, and came so little after Herod, that while Herod was with Caius, he came himself, and delivered his letters; for they both sailed to die with Philip, and
CHAPTER VIII.

ANTIOCHU'S OF THE JEWS.

found Caius at Baiae, which is itself a little city of Campania, at the distance of about five furlongs from Dicearchia. There are in that place royal palaces, with sumptuous apartments, every emperor still endeavouring to outdo his predecessor's magnificence: the place also affords warm baths, that spring out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them; and besides, they minister to men's luxury also. Now Caius salute Herod, for he first met with him, and then looked upon the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in order to accuse Herod; wherein he accused him, that he had been in confederacy with Sejanus, against Tiberius's government, and that he was now confederate with Artemabbas, the king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius; as a demonstration of which, he alleged, that he had armour sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armoury. Caius was moved at this information, and asked Herod, whether what was said about him was true; and when he confessed there was such armour there, for he could not deny the same, the truth of it being too notorious, Caius took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; he also gave Herod's money to Agrippa, and, by way of punishment, awarded him a perpetual banishment, and appointed Lyons, a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of what money was her own, and told her that it was her brother who prevented her being put under the same calamity with her husband. But she made this reply:—"Thou, indeed, O emperor, actest after a magnificent manner, and as becometh thyself, in what thou offerest me; but the kindness which I have for my husband, hinders me from partaking of the favour of thy gift; for it is not just that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." Hereupon Caius was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her error at her brother, and Herod also for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now, Caius managed public affairs with great magnanimity during the first and second year of his reign, and behaved himself with such moderation, that he gained the good-will of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But, in process of time, he went beyond the bounds of human nature in his conceit of himself, and, by reason of the vastness of his dominions, made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things to the reproach of the Deity itself.

and three ambassadors were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Caius. Now, one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and, among other things that he said, he charged them with neglecting the honours that belonged to Caesar; for that while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, and in other regards universally received him as they received the gods, those Jews alone thought it a dishonourable thing for them to erect statues in honour of him, as well to swear by his name. Many of these severe things were said by Apion, by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger at the Jews, as he was likely to be. But Philo, the principal of the Jewish embassage, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander the alabarch, and one not unskilful in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to make his defence against those accusations; but Caius prohibited him, and bade him be gone; he was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great wrong. So the Jews, being much affronted, went out, and said to those Jews that were about him, that they should be of good courage, since Caius's words indeed showed anger at them, but in reality had already set God against himself.

2. Hereupon Caius, taking it very heinously that he should be thus despaired by the Jews alone, sent Petroninus to be president of Syria, and successor in the government to Vitellius, and gave him order to make an invasion into Judea, with a great body of troops, and, if they would admit of his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but, if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly Petroninus took the government of Syria, and made haste to obey Caesar's epistle. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and came to Ptolemais, and there wintered, as intending to set about the war in the spring. He also wrote word to Caius what he had resolved to do; who commanded him for his alacrity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey his commandment. But those Jews of the Jews to Petroninus, to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him, that he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law of their forefathers; "but if," said they, "thou art entirely resolved to bring this statute, and erect it, do thou first kill us, and then do what thou hast resolved on, for, while we are alive, we cannot permit such things as are forbidden us to be done by the authority of our legislator, and by our forefathers' determination that such prohibitions are instances of virtue." But Petroninus was angry at them, and said, "If indeed of Abraham, the worshippers of the true God; nor do these seem much inferior to those in the Old Testament, which are the more remarkable, because, among all their other folies and vices, the Jews were not at this time idolaters; and the deliverances here mentioned were done, in order to preserve their religion intact, as the principal ambassador from the Jews, as Josephus here confesses (he was Apion for the Gentiles), says, the Jews acknowledged by themselves no fewer than five, towards the end of his legislation to Caius; which, if there be no mistake in the copies, must be supposed the truth; nor, in that case, would Josephus have contradicted so authentic a witness, had he seen that account of Philo's; which, that he ever did, does not appear.

1 This Alexander, the alabarch, or governor of the Jews, at Alexandria, and brother to Philo, 1: suppos'd, by Bishop Pearson, to be the same with that Alexander who is mentioned by St. Luke, as of the hundred of the high priests. Acts 18: 24.
to Vitellius, to make war upon him, and either to take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria.

2. Now, some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for that the washing (with water) would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body: supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now, when [many] others came to crowd about him, for they were greatly moved [or pleased] by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion (for they seemed ready to do anything he should advise), threatened that he would put him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure against him.

3. So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretas, and had two legions of armed men; he also took with him all those of light armour, and of the horsemen which belonged to them, and were drawn out of the kingdoms which were under the Romans, and made haste for Petra, and came to Ptolemais. But as he was marching very busily, and leading his army through Judea, the principal men met him, and desired that he would not thus march through their land; for that the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook those images which were brought into it, of which there were a great many in their ensigns; so he was persuaded by what they said, and changed that resolution of his, which he had before taken in that matter. Whereupon he ordered the army to march along the great plain, while he himself, with Herod he tetrarch, and his friends, went up to Jerusalem o offer sacrifice to God, an ancient festival of the Jews being then just approaching; and when he had been there, and been honourably entertained by the multitude of Jews, he made a stay there for three days, within which time he deprived Jonathan of the high-priesthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus; but when on the fourth day letters came to him, which informed him of the death of Tiberius, he obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caesar; he also recalled his army, and made them every one go home, and take their winter-quarters there, since, upon the devolution of the empire upon Caesar, he had not the like authority of making this war which he had before. It was also reported, that when Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, he said, upon his consulting with the diviners, that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius's could enter Petra; for that one of the rulers would die, either he that gave orders for the war, or he that was marching at the other's desire, in order to be subservient to his will, or else he against whom this army is prepared. So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch; but Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, went up to Rome, a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted so to do. I have now a mind to describe Herod and his family, how it fared with them, partly because it is suitable to this history to speak of that matter, and partly because this thing is a Sammaritae's interpolation of Providence; how a multitude of children is of no advantage, no more than any other strength, that mankind set their hearts upon, besides those acts of piety which are done towards God; for it happened, that within the revolution of a hundred years, that the posterity of Herod, who were a great many in number, were, excepting a few, utterly destroyed. * One may well apply this for the instruction of mankind, and learn hence how unhappy they were: it will also show us the history of Agrippa, who, as he was a person most worthy of admiration, so he was from Jerusalem beyond the Euphrates to those that knew him, advanced to great power and authority. I have said something of them formerly; but I shall now also speak accurately about them.

4. Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne, the [grand] daughter of Hircanus; the one was Salamis, who was married to Phasaelus, her first cousin, who was himself the son of Phasaelus, Herod's brother, her father making the match: the other was Cyprus, who was herself married also to her first cousin Antipater, the son of Salome, Herod's sister. Phasaelus had five children by Salamis; the greatest, Herod the Great, had two daughters, Alexandra and Cyprus; which last, Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, married; and Timias of Cyprus married Alexandra; he was a man of note, but had by her no children. Agrippa had by Cyprus two sons and three daughters, which daughters were named Berenice, Mariamme, and Drusilla; but the names of the sons were Agrippa and Drusus, of which Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty; but their father, Agrippa, was brought up with his other brethren, Herod and Aristobulus, for these were also the sons of the son of Herod the Great by Berenice. But Berenice was the daughter of Costobaris, and of Salome, Herod's sister. Aristobulus left these infants when he was slain by his father, together with his brother Alexander, as we have already related; but when they were arrived at the years of puberty, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias, who was the daughter of Herod the king, and of Joseph, the son of Joseph, who was brother to Herod the king, and had by her a son, Aristobulus; but Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsonagaramus, king of Eues; they had a daughter who was dead, whose name also was Jotape; and these hitherto were the children of the male line; but Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [Philip], the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest, who had a daughter Salome; after whose birth, Herodias took upon her to confound

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* Whether this sudden extinction of almost the entire lineage of Herod, the Great, which was very numerous, as we are both here and in Philo sects informed, was one in the reign of Vitellius, since they were frequently guilty of, in marrying their own nieces and sisters, would deserve to be considered. See Lev. viii. 6, 7; Ex. ii. 10; and Nothius, De Herod. 320, 321.

† There are coins still extant of this Emaus, as Saphneus informs.
the laws of our country, and divorces herself from her husband, while he was alive, and was married to Herod [Antipas], her husband’s brother by the father’s side; he was tetrarch of Galilee; but her daughter Salome, was married to Philip, the son of Herod, and tetrarch of Trachonitis; and, as he died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; and this was the posterity of Phasaelus and Salompo; but the daughter of Antipater by Cypros, was Cypros, whom Alexas Seleca, the son of Alexas, married; they had a daughter, Cypros; but Herod and Alexander, who, as we told you, were the brothers of Antipater, died childless. As to Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, he had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archeians, king of Cappadocia. Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless; Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes, and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero; he had a son, Alexander, who married Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagena; Vespasian made him king of an island in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks; but for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless; and as these descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa the Great took the kingdom, and I have now given an account of them, it now remains that I relate the several hard fortunes which befell Agrippa, and how he got clear of them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and honour.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE NAVIGATION OF KING AGRIPPA TO ROME, TO TIBERIUS Cæsar; AND HOW, UPON HIS BEING ACCUSED BY HIS OWN FREED-MAN, HE WAS DRAWDOWN; HOW ALSO HE WAS SET AT LIBERTY BY CAIUS, AFTER TIBERIUS’S DEATH, AND WAS MADE KING OF THE TETRARCHY OF PHILIP.

§ 1. A little before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa lived at Rome, and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius’s son, and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the Great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now, as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and generous in the presents he made while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such his extravagance; but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the immo- dial, in preserving his sons, and the Caesar’s freed-men, in order to gain their assistance, insomuch that he was in a little time reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would thereby be revived.

2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea, but in evil circumstances, being dejected, in the least company, and not once had, and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave no room for escaping them. Whereupon he knew not what to do; so for shame of his present condition, he retired to a certain tower at Malatha, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself; but his wife Cypros perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from his taking such a course: so she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa’s present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her, as a kinwoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband to do the same, since she saw how she alleviated these her husband’s troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent for him and allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and appointed him some income of money for his maintenance, and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honour to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that their report was not sufficient for him, for once they were at a feast at Tyre, and in their cups, and reproaches were cast upon one another, Agrippa thought that was not to be borne, while Herod hit him in the teeth with his poverty, and with his owing his necessary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, one that had been consul, and had been a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.

3. Hereupon Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus also had with him there, Aristobulus, who was indeed Agrippa’s brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both; but still they were honourably treated by him. However, Aristobulus did not abate of his ill-will to Agrippa, till at length he brought him into ill terms with Flaccus; the occasion of bringing on which estrangement was this:—The Damascus were at difference with the Sidonians about their limits, and when Flaccus was about to hear the cause between them, they understood that Agrippa had a mighty influence upon him; so they desired that he would be of their side, and for that favour promised him a great deal of money; so he was zealous in assisting the Damascus as far as he was able. Now Aristobulus had gotten intelligence of this promise of money to him, and accused him to Flaccus of the same; and when, upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly so to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends. So he was reduced to the utmost necessity, and came to Ptolemais; because he knew not where else to get a livelihood, he thought to sail to Italy; but as he was a man of curiosity, and had money, he desired Marryas, who was his freed-man, to find some method for procuring him so much as he wanted for that purpose, by borrowing such a sum of some person or other. So Marryas desired of Peter, who was the freed-man of Bernice, Agrippa’s mother, and by the right of her testament was bequeathed to Antonia, to lend so much upon Agrippa’s own
bond and security: but he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money, and so obliged Marseyas, when he made the bond of twenty thousand Attic drachmas, to accept of twenty five hundred drachmas* less than what he desired; which the other allowed of, because he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa came to Antheon, and took shipping, and was going to set sail; but Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jannia, sent a band of soldiers to demand of him three hundred thousand drachmas of silver, which were by him owing to Caesar's treasury, while he was at Rome, and so forced him to stay. He then pretended that he would do as he bade him; but when night came on, he cut his cables, and went off, and sailed to Alex- andria, where he desired Alexander the alabarchi to lend him two hundred thousand drachmas; but he said he would not refuse it to Cyprus, as greatly astonished at her affection to her husband, and at the other instances of her virtue; so she undertook to repay it. Accordingly, Alexander paid them five talents at Alexandria, and promised to pay them the rest of that sum at Dicearchia to Puteoli; and thus he did out of the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. So this Cyprus set her husband free, and dismissed him to go on with his navigation to Italy, while she and her children departed for Judea.

4. And now Agrippa was come to Puteoli, whence he wrote a letter to Tiberius Cæsar, who then lived at Caprea, and told him that he was come so far, in order to wait on him, and to pay him a visit; and desired that he would give him leave to come over to Caprea: so Tiberius made no difficulty, but wrote to him in an obliging way. In other requests; and told him he was glad of his safe return, and desired him to come to Caprea; and, when he was come, he did not fail to treat him as kindly as he had promised him in his letter to do. But the next day came a letter to Cæsar from Herennius Capito, to inform him that Agrippa had borrowed three hundred thousand drachmas, and not paid it at the time appointed; but, when it was demanded of him, he ran away like a fugitive, out of the places under his government, and put it out of his power to get the money of him. When Cæsar had read this letter, he was much troubled at it, and gave orders that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence until he had paid that debt: upon which he was no way daunted at Cæsar’s anger, but entreated Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and Claudius, who was afterwards Cæsar himself, to lend him these three hundred thousand drachmas, that he might not be deprived of Tiberius’s friendship; so, out of regard to the memory of Bernice his mother (for those two women were very familiar with one another), and out of regard of his and Claudius’s education together, she lent him the money; and, upon the payment of this debt, there was nothing to hinder Tiberius’s friendship to him. After this, Tiberius Cæsar recommended to him his grandson, and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. But, upon Agrippa’s kind reception by Antonia, he betook him to pay his respects to Cæsus, who was her grandson, and in very high reputation by reason of the good-will

* Speakerin observes, that we have here no instance of the Attic quantity of one-money, which was the eighth part of the original sum, or about 200. He adds that it was worth 24,000, two drachmas less in the proportion of 2000 to 20,000.

† The governor of the Jews there.

‡ Tiberius, Junior.

§ Germanicus.
they do not crowd about me, nor pain me so much as before, but are sometimes more remiss, while the fresh ones that come, almost famished, and find me quite tired down already, will be my destruction. For this cause, therefore, it is that I am myself careful not to send such new governors per- petually to the same men, objects, who are already suf- ficiently harassed by many oppressions, as may, like these flies, farther distress them; and so, be- sides their natural desire of gain, may have this additional incitement to it, that they expect to be suddenly deprived of that pleasure which they take in it. And as a farther attestation to what I say of the dilatory nature of Tiberius, I appeal to this his practice itself; for although he was emperor twenty-two years, he sent in all but two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews—Gratus, and his successor in the government, Pilate. Nor was he in one way of acting with respect to the Jews, and in another with respect to the rest of his subjects. He further informed them, that even in the hear- ing of the causes of prisoners, he made such delays, because immediate death to those that must be con- demned to die, would be an alleviation of their present miseries, while those wicked wretches have not deserved any favour; “but I do it, that by being harassed with the present calamity, they may un- dergo greater misery.”

6. On this account it was that Eutychus could not obtain a hearing, but was kept still in prison. However, some time afterward, Tiberius came from Caprea to Tuscumus, which is about a hundred furlongs from Rome. Agrippa then desired of Antonia that she would then procure a hearing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he accused him prove what it would. Now, Antonia was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts, from the dignity of her relation to him, who had been his brother Drusus’s wife, and from her emi- nent chastity; for though she was still a young woman, she continued in her widowhood, and re- fused all other matches, although Augustus had enjoined her to be married to somebody else; yet did she all along preserve her reputation free from reproach. She had also been the greatest benefi- ctiess to Tiberius, when there was a very danger- ous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been her husband’s friend, and who had the greatest authority, because he was general of the army, and when many members of the senate, and many of the freed-men, joined with him, and the soldiery was corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia’s boldness been more widely conducted than Sejanus’s malice; for, when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallas, the most faithful of her servants, and sent him to Caprea to Tiberius, who, when he understood it, slew Sejanus and his confederates; so that Tiberius, who had her in great esteem before, now held her in the same esteem with still greater respect, and depended upon her in all things. So, when Tiberius was desired by this Antonia to examine Eutychus, he answered, “If indeed Eutychus hath falsely accused Agrippa in what he hath said of him, he hath had sufficient punishment by what I have done to him already; but if, upon examination, the accusation appears to be true, let Agrippa have a care, lest, out of de- sire of punishing his freed-man, he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself.” Now, when Antonia told Agrippa of this, he was still much more pressing that the matter might be examined into; so Antonia, upon Agrippa’s lying before her continually to beg this favour, took the following opportunity:—As Tiberius lay once at his ease upon his sedan, and was carried about, and Caius, his grandson, and Agrippa, were before him after dinner, she walked by the sedan, and de- sired him to call Eutychus, and have him examined; to which he replied, “O Antonia! the gods are my witnesses that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because I am forced to it by thy prayers.” When he had said this, he ordered Macro, who succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him; accordingly, without any delay, he was brought. Then Tiberius asked him what he had to say against a man who had given him his liberty. Upon which he said, “O my lord! this Caius, and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a chariot, when I sat at their feet, and, among other discourses that passed, Agrippa said to Caius, O that the day would once come when this old fellow will die, and name thee for the governor of the habitable earth! For then this Tiberius, his grandson, would be no hinder- ance, but would be taken off by thee, and that earth would be happy, and I happy also.” Now, Tiberius told Macro to be truly AGAINST him, bearing a grudge withal at Agrippa, because, when he had commanded him to pay his respects to Ti- berius, his grandson, and the son of Drusus, Agrippa had not paid him that respect, but had disobeyed his commands, and transferred all his regards to Caius; he said to Macro, “Bind this man.” But Macro, not distinctly knowing which of them it was whom he bade him bind, and not expecting that he would have any such thing done to Agrippa, he forbore, and came to ask more distinctly what it was that he said. But when Censor had gone round his hippodrome, he found Agrippa standing:—“For certain, my lord,” he said, “this is the man I meant to have bound;” and when he still asked, which of these is to be bound I he said, Agrippa. Upon which Agrippa betook himself to make supplication for himself, putting him in mind of his son, with whom he was brought up, and of Tiberius [his grandson] whom he had educated, but all to no purpose, for they led him about bound even in his purple garments. It was also very hot weather, and they had but little wine to their meal, so that he was very thirsty; he was also in a sort of agony, and took this treatment of him humil- iously, as he therefore saw one of Caius’s slaves, whose name was Thaumastus, carrying some water in a vessel, he desired that he would let him drink;
so the servant gave him some water to drink; and he drank heartily, and said, "O thou boy! this service of thine to me will be for thy advantage; for, if I once get clear of these my bonds, I will soon procure thee thy freedom from Calus, who has not been wanting to minister to me now I am in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in my former state and dignity." Nor did he deceive him in what he promised him, but made him amends for what he had now done; for, when afterwards Agrippa was come to the kingdom, he took particular care of Thaumastus, and got him his liberty from Calus, and made him the steward over his own estate; and when he died, he left him to Agrippa his son, and to Bernice his daughter, to minister to them in the same capacity. The man also grew old in that honourable post, and therein died. But all this happened a good while later.

7. Now Agrippa stood in his bonds before the royal palace, and leaned on a certain tree for grief, with many others, who were in bonds also; and as a certain bird sat upon the tree on which Agrippa leaned the Romans called this bird bullua, [an owl], one of those that were bound, a Germanic nation, saw him, and asked a soldier who that man in purple was; and when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, and that he was by nation a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation, he asked leave of the soldier to whom he was bound,* to let him come near to him, to speak with him; for that he had a mind to inquire of him about some things relating to his country; which liberty, when he had obtained, as he stood near him, he said thus to him by an interpreter,—"This sudden change of thy condition O young man of any such thing, as bringing on thee a manifold and very great adversity; nor wilt thou believe me, when I foretell how thou wilt get clear of this misery which thou art now under, and how divine Providence will provide for thee. Know therefore (and I appeal to my own country gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded these bonds to us,) that all I am going to say about thy concerns, shall neither be said for favour nor bribery, nor out of an endeavour to make thee cheerful without cause; for such predictions, when they come to fall, make them great last, and in earnest, more bitter than if the party had not heard of any such thing. However, though I run the hazard of my own self, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou shouldest long continue in these bonds; but thou wilt soon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the highest dignity and power, and thou wilt be envied by all those who now pity thy hard fortune; and thou wilt be happy till thy death, and leave thine happiness to the children whom thou shalt have. But, do thou remember, when thou seest this bird again, that thou wilt then live but five days longer. This event will be brought to pass by that God who hath sent this bird hither to be a sign unto thee. And I cannot but think it unjust to conceal from thee what I foreknow concerning thee, that, by thy knowing beforehand what happiness is coming upon thee, thou mayest not regard thy present misfortunes. But, when this happiness shall actually befall thee, do not forget what misery I am in myself, but endeavour to deliver me." So when the Ger-

* Dr. Hudson here takes notice, out of Seneca, Epistle r., that this was the custom of Tiberius, to couple the prisoner and the soldier that guarded him together in the same chain.

man had said this, he made Agrippa laugh at him as much as he afterwards appeared worthy of admiration. But now Antonia took Agrippa's misfortune to heart; however to speak to Tiberius on his behalf, she took to be a very difficult thing, and indeed quite impracticable, as to any hope of success; yet did she procure of Macro, that the soldiers that kept him should be of a gentle nature, and that the centurion who was over them, and was to diet with him, should be of the same disposition, and that he might have leave to bathe himself every day, and that his freed-men and friends might come to him, and that other things that tended to ease him might be indulged him. So his friend Silas came in to him, and two of his freed-men, Marsyas and Stecius, who brought him such sorts of food as he was fond of, and indeed took great care of him; they also brought him garments under pretence of selling them, and, when night came on, they laid them under him; and the soldiers assisted them, as Macro had given them order to do beforehand. And this was Agrippa's condition for six months' time; and in this case was his affairs.
CHAPTER VI.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

should come to the government; being very desirous to leave it to his son's son, but still depending upon what God would foreshow concerning them, more than upon his own opinion and inclination; so he made this to be the omen, that the government should be left to him who should return to him first the next day. When he had thus resolved within himself, he sent to his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, as supposing that God would permit him to be made emperor. But God proved opposite to his designation; for, while Tiberius was thus contriving matters, and as soon as it was at all day, he bid Eudos to call in that child which should be there ready. So he went out, and found Caius before the door, for Tiberius was not yet come, but said waiting for his breakfast; for Eudos knew nothing of what his lord intended; so he said to Caius, " Thy father calls thee," and then brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, and not before, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ability of bestowing the government on whom he would was entirely taken from him; and thence he was not able to establish what he had intended. So he greatly lamented that his power of establishing what he had before contrived was taken from him, and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by his fatality, but his own safety also; because his preservation would now depend upon such as would be more potent than himself, would think nothing to be borne, that a kinsman should live with them, and his relation would not be able to protect him; but he would be feared and hated by him who had the supreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the empire, and partly on account of his perpetually contriving to get the government, both in order to preserve himself, and to be at the head of affairs also. Now Tiberius had been very much given to astrology,* and the calculation of nativities; and had spent his life in the study of these, what predictions had proved true, more than those whose foreboding it was. Accordingly, when he once saw Galba coming in to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that there came in a man that would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire. So that this Tiberius was more addicted to all such sorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to have told the truth in his own affairs; and indeed he was now in great distress upon this accident that had befalled him, and was very much grieved at the destruction of his son's son, which he foresaw, and complained of himself, that he should have made use of such a method of divination beforehand, while it was in his power to have died without grief by his knowledge of futurity; whereas he was now tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortune of such as were dearest to him, and must die under that torment. Now, although he was disordered at this unexpected revolution of the government to those for whom he did not intend it, he spake thus to Caius, though unwillingly, and against his own inclination:—"O child, although Tiberius be nearer related to me than thou art, I love thee, and would give thy name to the Roman empire; and I desire thee never to be unmindful when thou comest to it, either of my kindness to thee, who set thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relation to Tiberius: but as thou knowest that I am, together with and after the gods, the procurer of so great happiness to thee, so I desire thou wilt make my return for readiness to assist thee, and will take care of Tiberius because of his near relation to thee. Besides which, thou art to know, that, while Tiberius is alive, he will be a security to thee, both as to empire and as to thy own preservation; but, if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes; for to be alone under the weight of such vast affairs, is very dangerous; nor will the gods suffer those actions which are unjustly done, contrary to that law which directs men to do otherwise, to go unpunished."

This was the speech which Tiberius made; which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promised so to do; but, when he was settled in the government, he took off this Tiberius, as was predicted by the other Tiberius; as he was also himself, in no long time afterwards, slain by a secret plot laid against him.

10. So when Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he outlived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years five months and three days. Now Caius was the fourth emperor: but when the Romans understood that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it; but because they were unwilling it should be true, for they would have given large sums of money that it might be so, but because they were afraid that, if they had shown their joy, when the news proved false, their joy should be openly known, and they should be accused for it, and be thereby undone; for this Tiberius had brought a vast number of miseries on the best families of the Romans, since he was easily inflamed with passion in all cases, and was of such a temper as rendered his anger irrevocable, till he had executed the same, although he had taken a hatred against most men with so little reason; for he was by nature fierce in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the slightest offences; insomuch that when the Romans heard the rumour about his death gladly, they were restrained from the enjoyment of that pleasure by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill-founded. Now Marasias, Agrippa's freed-man, as soon as he heard of Tiberius's death, came running to tell Agrippa the news; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said, in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion is dead," who, understanding his meaning, and being overjoyed at the news, "Nay," said he, "but all sorts of thanks and happiness attend thee for this news of thine; only I wish that what thou sayest may prove true." Now the centurion who was set to keep Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marasias came, and what joy Agrippa had from what he said, he had a suspicion that his words implied some great innovation of affairs, and he asked them about what was said. They at first diverted the discourse; but upon his farther pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him, for he had already become his friend; so he joined with him in that pleasure which this news occasioned, because it

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* The name of a Lion is often given to tyrants, especially by the Jews, such Agrippa, and Herod, and probably the Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

† Acts xix. 1, 2; Ephes. iv. 17; Titus i. 17. They are also sometimes compared to, or represented by, wild beasts, of which the Lion is the principal. Dan. vii. 2, 5; 1. Macc. xii. 1, 2. 
would be fortunate for Agrippa, and made him a supper: but, as they were feasting, and the cups went about, there came one who said, that Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city in a few days. The country was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might cost him his life, to have treated so joyfully a prisoner, and this upon the news of the death of Caesar; so he thrust Agrippa from the couch whereon he lay, and said, "Dost thou think to cheat me by a lie about the emperor without punishment? and shalt thou not pay for this thy malicious report at the price of thine head?" When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be bound again (for he had loosed him before), and kept a severer guard over him than formerly, and in that evil condition was Agrippa that night; but the next day the rumour increased in the city, and confirmed the news that Tiberius was certainly dead: insomuch that men durst now openly and freely talk about it; nay, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters also came from Caius; one of them to the senate, which informed them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own entrance on the government; another to Piso, the governor of the city, which told him the same thing. He also gave order that Agrippa should be removed out of the camp, and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison; so that he was now out of fear as to his own affairs; for, although he was still in custody, yet it was now with ease to his own affairs. Now, as soon as Caius was come to Rome, and had brought Tiberius's dead body with him, and had made a sumptuous funeral for him, according to the laws of his country, he was much disposed to set Agrippa at liberty that very day; but Antonia hindered him, not out of any ill-will to the prisoner, but out of regard to decency in Caius, lest that should make men believe that he received the death of Tiberius with pleasure, when he loosed one whom he had bound, immediately. However, there did not many days pass, ere he sent for him to his house, and had him shaved, and made him change his raiment; after which he put a diadem upon his head, and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and changed his iron chain for a golden one of equal weight. He also sent Marnillus to be procurator of Judea. 

11. In the second year of the reign of Caius Caesar, Agrippa desired leave to be given him to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government; and he promised to return again when he had put the rest in order, as it ought to be put. So, upon the emperor's permission, he came into his own country, and appeared to them all unexpectedly as a king, and thereby demonstrated to the men that saw him, the power of fortune, when they compared his former poverty with his present happy attainment; so some called him a happy man; and others could not well believe that things were so much changed with him for the better. 

* Although Caius now promised to give Agrippa the tetrarchy of Lysanias, yet was it not actually conferred upon him till the reign of Claudius, as we learn, Ann. b. xix. chap. v. sect. 1.
found Caius at Baiae, which is itself a little city of Campania, at the distance of about five furlongs from Dicearchia. There are in that place royal palaces, with sumptuous apartments, every emperor still endeavouring to outdo his predecessor's magnificence: the place also affords warm baths, that spring out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them; and, besides, they minister to men's luxury also. Now Caius saluted Herod, for he had first met with him, and then he looked upon the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in order to accuse Herod; wherein he accused him, that he had been in confederacy with Sejanus, against Tiberius's government; and that he was now confederate with Artabanus, the king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius; as a demonstration of which, he alleged, that he had armature sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armoury. Caius was moved at this information, and asked Herod, whether what was said above the ambassadour was true; and when he confessed there was such armature there, for he could not deny the same, the truth of it being too notorious, Caius took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; he also gave Herod's money to Agrippa, and, by way of punishment, awarded him a perpetual banishment, and appointed Lyons, a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of what money was her own, and declared that it was her brother who wanted her being put under the same calumny with her husband. But she made this reply:—"Thou, indeed, O emperor! after a magnificent manner, and as becomest thyself, in what thou offerest me; but the kindness which I have for my husband, hinders me from partaking of the favour of thy gift; for it is not just that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." Hereupon Caius was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estates to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her envy at her brother, and Herod also for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now, Caius managed public affairs with great magnanimity during the first and second year of his reign, and behaved himself with such moderation, that he gained the good-will of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But, in process of time, he went beyond the bounds of human nature in his conceit of himself, and, by reason of the vastness of his dominions, made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things to the reproach of the Deity itself.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING THE EMBASSY OF THE JEWS TO CAIUS; AND HOW CAIUS SENT PETRONIUS INTO SYRIA, TO MAKE WAR AGAINST THE JEWS, UNLESS THEY WOULD RECEIVE HIS STATUTE.

§ 1. There was now a tumult arisen at Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks; and three ambassadors were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Caius. Now, one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and, among other things that he said, he charged them with neglecting the honours that belonged to Cæsar; for that while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, and in other regards universally received him as they received the gods, these Jews alone thought it a dishonourable thing for them to erect statues in honour of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of these severe things were said by Apion, by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger at the Jews, as he was likely to be. But Philo, the principal of the Jewish embassage, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander the alabarch, and one not unskilful in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to make his defence against those accusations; but Caius prohibited him, and bade him begone: he was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief, if he were not there upon the first instant met with; but because he was affronted, went out, and said to those Jews that were about him, that they should be of good courage, since Caius's words indeed showed anger at them, but in reality had already set God against himself.

2. Hereupon Caius, taking it very heinously that he should be thus despised by the Jews alone, sent Petronius to be president of Syria, and successor in the government to Vitellius, and gave him order to make an invasion into Judæa, with a great body of troops, and, if they would admit of his statute willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but, if they were obstinate, to conquer them by way of war, and then to do it. Accordingly Petronius took the government of Syria, and made haste to obey Cæsar's epistle. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and came to Ptolemais, and there wintered, as intending to set about the war in the spring. He also wrote word to Caius what he had resolved to do; who commanded him for his alacrity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey his commandance. But the information of the Jews to Petronius, to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him, that he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law of their forefathers; but if, said they, thou art entirely resolved to bring this statute, and erect it, do thou first kill us, and then do what thou hast resolved on, for, while we are alive, we cannot permit such things as are forbidden us to be done by the authority of our legislator, and by our forefathers' determination that such prohibitions are instances of virtue." But Petronius was angry at them, and said, if indeed of Abraham, the worshipper of the true God; nor do these seem much inferior to those in the Old Testament, which are the more remarkable, because, among all their other failures and sins, the Jews were not at this time idolaters; and the deliverances here mentioned were done, in order to prevent their relapses into idolatry; and Josephus here intends us, that the ambassadors from Alexandria to Caius were on each part more than three in number, for the Jews, who sent for the Gentiles, which are but a part of them; if the principal ambassador from the Jews, as Josephus here confesses (as was Apion for the Gentiles), says, the Jews whom they themselves served no fewer than five, towards the end of his legation to Caius; which, if there be no mistake in the copies, must be supposed the truth; nor, in that case, would Josephus have contradicted so an authentic witness, and let us see that account of Philo's; which, that he ever did, not appear.

‡ This Alexander, the alabarch, or governor of the Jews, at Alexandria, and brother to Phæbe, t. supposed, by Phæbus Pearson, in Act Apol. p. 41, 42, to be the same with that Alexander who is mentioned by St. Luke, as of the hundred of the high-priests.

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I was myself emperor, and were at liberty to follow my own inclination, and then had designed to act thus; these words would be justly spoken to me; but now Caesar hath sent me, I am under the command of his officers, and have been driven to this, because a disobedience to them will bring upon me inevitable destruction.

Then the Jews replied, "Since, therefore, thou art so disposed, O Petronius! that thou wilt not disobey Caius's epistles, neither will we transgress the commands of our law; and as we depend upon the excellency of our laws, and, by the labours of our ancestors, have continued hitherto, without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous as to transgress those laws out of the fear of death, which God hath determined for our advantage; and, if we fall into misfortunes we will bear them, in order to preserve our laws, as knowing that those who expose themselves to dangers, have good hope of escaping them; because God will stand on our side when, out of regard to him, we undergo afflictions, and sustain the uncertain turns of fortune. But, if we should submit to thee, we should be greatly reproached for our cowardice, as thereby showing ourselves ready to transgress our law; and we should incur the great anger of God also, who, even thou my being judge, is superior to all.

3. When Petronius saw by their words, that their determination was hard to be removed, and that, without a war, he should not be able to be subservient to Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there must be a great deal of bloodshed, he took his friends, and the servants that were about him, and hastened to Tiberias, as wanting to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were; and many ten thousands of the Jews met Petronius again, when he came to Tiberias. These thought they must run a mighty hazard if they should have a war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of the law was of much greater consequence, and made supplication to him, that he would by no means reduce them to such distresses, nor defile their city with the dedication of the statue. Then Petronius said to them, "Will you then make war with Caius, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness?" They replied, "We will not by any means make war with him; but still we will die before we will see our laws transgressed." So they threw themselves down upon their faces, and stretched out their throats, and said they were ready to be slain; and this they did for forty days together, and in the meantime left off the tilling of their ground, and that while the season of the year required them to sow it.

Thus they continued firm in their resolution, and proposed to themselves to die willingly, rather than to see the dedication of the statue.

4. When matters were in this state, Aristobulus, king Agrippa's brother, and Helcias the Great, and the men of that state similarly with the rest, went in unto Petronius, and besought him, that since he saw the resolution of the multitude, he would not make any alteration, and thereby drive them to despair; but would write to Caius, that the Jews had an insuperable aversion to the reception of the statue, and how they continued with him, and left off the tilling of their ground; that they were not willing to go to war with him, but preferred a death by consuming themselves in order to live with pleasure, rather than suffer their laws to be transgressed; and how, upon the land's continuing unsown, robberies would grow up, on the inability they would be under of paying their tributes; and that perhaps Caius might be thereby moved to pity, and not order any barbarous action to be done to them, nor think of destroying the nation: that if he continues inflexible in his former opinion, he is to bring a war upon them, he may then set about it himself. And thus did Aristobulus, and the rest also, represent unto Petronius, partly on account of the pressing instances which Aristobulus and the rest with him made, and because of the great consequence of what they desired, and the earnestness wherewith they made their supplication, partly on account of the firmness of the opposition made by the Jews, which he saw, while he thought it a horrible thing for him to be such a slave to the madness of Caius, as to slay so many ten thousand men, only because of their religious disposition towards God, and after that to pass his life in expectation of punishment; Petronius, I think, thought it much better to let him know how intolerable it was for him to bear the anger he might have against him for not serving him sooner, in obedience to his epistle, for that perhaps he might persuade him; and, that, if this mad resolution continued, he might then begin the war against them; na, that in case he should turn his hatred against himself, it was fit for virtuous persons even to die for the sake of such vast multitudes of men. Accordingly he determined to hearken to the petitions in this matter.

5. He then called the Jews together to Tiberias, who came many ten thousands in number; he also placed that army he now had with him opposite to them; but did not discover his own meaning, but the commands of the emperor, and told them that his wrath would, without delay, be executed on such as had the courage to disobey what he had commanded, and this immediately; and that it was fit for him who had received so great a dignity by his grant, not to contradict him in any thing:—yet (said he) I do not think it just to have such a regard to my own safety and honour, as to refuse to sacrifice them for your preservation, who are so many in number, and endeaour to preserve the regard that is due to your law; which, as it hath come down to you from your forefathers, so you esteem it worthy of your utmost contention to preserve it; nor, with the supreme assistance and power of God, will I be so hardy as to suffer your temple to fall into contempt by the means of the imperial authority. I will, therefore, send to Caius, and let him know what your resolutions are, and will assist your suit as far as I am able, that you may not be exposed to suffer on account of the honest designs you have proposed to yourselves; and may God be your assistant, for his assistance is beyond contrivances and power of men; and may he procure you the preservation of your ancient laws, and the...

I think Petronius was after this still president of Syria, under Claudius; and, as the desire of Agrippa was speedily accomplished, he put the inhabitants of Jews, who, in a spirit of imitation of Caius, had set up a statue of Claudius in a Jewish synagogue there. This does not agree with the other accounts of Claudius, relating to the other Jewish affairs, in Strab., ch. iv, sect. 1, 2, to which I refer the inquisitive reader.
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may not he be deprived, though without your consent, of his accustomed honours. But if Caius be irritated, and turn the violence of his rage upon me, I will rather undergo all that danger and that affliction which may come either on my body or my soul; though I know many of you, while you are assuredly in an excusable danger, will consider, every one of you, go your way about your own occupations, and fall to the cultivation of your ground; I will myself send to Rome, and will not refuse to serve you in all things, both by myself and by my friends."

6. When Petronius had said this, and had dismissed the assembly of the Jews, he desired the principal of them to take care of their husbandry, and to speak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have good hope of their affairs. Thus did he readily bring the multitude to be cheerful again.

And now did God show his presence* to Petronius, and signify to him, that he would afford him his assistance in his whole design; for he had no sooner finished the speech that he made to the Jews, but God sent down great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation; for that day was a clear day, and gave no sign, by the appearance of the sky, of any rain; nay, the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men despair of any water from above, even when at any time they saw the heavens overspread with clouds; insomuch, that when such a great quantity of rain came, and that in an unusual manner and without any other expectation of it, the Jews hoped that Petronius would by no means fail in his petition for them. But as to Petronius, he was mightily surprised when he perceived that God evidently took care of the Jews, and gave very plain signs of his appearance, and this to such a degree, that those that were in earnest much inclined to the contrary, had no power left to contradict it. This was also among those other particulars which he wrote to Caius, which all tended to disquiet him, and by all means to get him not to make him any kindness to them, of which these men go distracted; whom if he should slay (for without war they would by no means suffer the laws of their worship to be set aside) he would lose the revenue they paid him, and would be publicly cursed by them for all future ages. Moreover, that God who was their governor, had shown his power most evidently on their account, and that such a power of his as left no room for doubt about it;—and this was the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

7. And Agrippa, who now lived at Rome, was more and more in the favour of Caius; and when he had once made him a supper, and was careful to exceed all others, both in expenses and in such preparations as might contribute most to his pleasure; nay, it was so far from the ability of others, that Caius himself could never equal, much less exceed it (such care had he taken beforehand to exceed all men, and particularly to make all agreeable to Caesar);—whereupon Caius admired his understanding and magnificence, that he should force himself to do all to please him, even beyond such expenses as he could bear, and was desirous not to be behind Agrippa in that generosity which he exerted, in order to please him. So Caius, when he had drank wine plentifully, and was merrier than ordinary, and said thus during the feast, when Agrippa had drank to his health—"How great a respect thou hast had for me, and how great kindness thou hast shown me, though with those hazards to thyself, which thou undertookest under Tiberius on that account; nor hast thou omitted any thing to show thy good-will towards us, even beyond thy ability; whence it would be a base thing for me to be conquered by thy affection. I am therefore desirous to make thee amends for every thing in which I have been formerly deficient; for all that I have bestowed on thee, that may be called my gifts, is but little. Every thing that may contribute to thy happiness shall be at thy service, and that cheerfully, and so far as my ability will reach;"—and this was what Caius said to Agrippa, thinking he would ask for some large country, or the revenues of certain cities; but, although he had prepared beforehand what he would ask; yet had he not discovered his intentions, but made this answer to Caius immediately, that it was not out of any expectation of gain that he formerly paid his respects to him, contrary to the commands of Tiberius, nor did he now do any thing relating to him out of regard to his own advantage, and in order to receive any thing from him: that the gifts he had already bestowed upon him were great, and beyond the hopes of even a craving man; for although they may be beneath thy power [who art the donor] yet are they greater than my inclination and dignity, who am the receiver;—and, as Caius was astonished at Agrippa's inclinations, and still the more pressed him to make his request for somewhat which he might gratify him with, Agrippa replied, "Since thou, O my Lord, declarrest such thy readiness to grant, that I am worthy of thy gifts, I will ask nothing relating to my own felicity; but I know how this kindness made me excel therein; but I desire somewhat which may make thee glorious for piety, and render the Divinity assistant to thy designs, and may be for an honour to me among those that inquire about it, as showing that I never once fail of obtaining what I desire of thee; for my petition is this, that thou wilt no longer think of the dedication of that statute which thou hast ordered to be set up in the Jewish temple by Petronius." 1

8. And thus did Agrippa venture to cast the die upon this occasion, so great was the affair in his opinion, and in reality, though he knew how dangerous a thing it was so to speak; for, had not Caius approved it, it had tended to no less than the loss of his life. So Caius, who was mightily taken with Agrippa's obliging behaviour, and on other accounts thinking it a dishonourable thing to be guilty of falsehood before so many witnesses, in points wherein he had with such alacrity forced Agrippa to become a petitioner, so that it would look as if he had already repented of what he had said, and because he greatly admired Agrippa's virtue, in no way desiring him to give up his own dominions, either with larger revenues, or other authority, but took care of the public tranquillity, of the laws, and of the Divinity itself, he granted

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* Josephus here uses the solenn Testament words, Περαιονια and επιφανεια, the presence and appearance of God, for the extraordinary manifestation of his power and providence to Petronius, by sending a heavy shower of rain, immediately after the resolution which he had taken to preserve the temple unspoiled, at the hazard of his own life, without any other miraculous appearance at all in that case; which will deserve to be taken notice of here, and greatly illustrates several texts, both in the Old and New Testament.

† See the preceding ed. 611.

‡ This behaviour of Caius to Agrippa, is very like that of Herod Antipas, his uncle, to Herodias, Agrippa's sister, about John the Baptist, Matt. xiv. 6.
him what he requested. He also wrote thus to Petronius, commending him for his assembling his army, and then consulting him about these affairs. "*If therefore,*" said he, "*thou hast already erected my statue, let it stand;* but if thou hast not yet dedicated it, do not trouble thyself further about it, but dismiss thy army, go back, and take care of those affairs which I sent thee about at first, for I have now no occasion for the erection of that statue. This I have granted as a favour to Agrippa, a man whom I honour so very greatly, that I am not able to contradict what he would have, or what he desired me to do for him." And this was what Caius wrote to Petronius, which was before he received his letter, informing him that the Jews were very ready to revolt about this statue, and that they seemed resolved to threaten war against the Romans, and nothing else. When therefore Caius was much displeased that any attempt should be made against his government, as he was a slave to base and vile actions on all occasions, and had no regard to what was virtuous and honourable, and against whomsoever he resolved to show his anger, and that for any cause whatsoever, he suffered not himself to be restrained by any admonition, but thought the indulging his anger to be a real pleasure, he wrote thus to Petronius: "*Seeing thou esteemest the presents made thee by the Jews to be of greater value than my commands, and art grown insolent enough to be subservient to their pleasures, I charge thee to become thy own judge, and to consider what thou art to do, now thou art under my displeasure; for I will make thee an example to the present and to all future ages, that they may not dare to contradict the commands of their emperor.*"

9. This was the epistle which Caius wrote to Petronius; but Petronius did not receive it while Caius was alive, that ship which carried it sailed so slow, the other letters came to Petronius before this, by which he understood that Caius was dead; for God would not forget the dangers Petronius had undertaken on account of the Jews, and of his own house. But when he had taken Caius's letters, out of his indignation of what he had so insidiously attempted, in assuming to himself divine worship, both Rome and all that dominion conspired with Petronius, especially those that were of the senatorian order, to give Caius his due reward, because he had been unmercifully severe to them; for he died not long after he had written to Petronius that epistle which threatened him with death. But as for the occasion of his death, and the nature of the plot against him, I shall relate them in the progress of this narration. Note that epistle which informed Petronius of Caius's death came first; and a little afterward came that which commanded him to kill himself with his own hands. Whereupon he rejoiced at this coincidence as to the death of Caius, and admired God's providence, who, without the least delay, and immediately, gave him a reward for the regard he had to the temple, and the assistance he afforded the Jews for avoiding the dangers they were in. And by this means Petronius escaped that danger of death which he could not foresee.

CHAPTER IX.

WHAT BEFELL THE JEWS THAT WERE IN BABYLON ON OCCASION OF ASINEUS AND ANILEUS, TWO BROTHERS.

§ 1. A very sad calamity now befell the Jews that were in Mesopotamia, and especially those that dwelt in Babylonia. Inferior it was to none of the calamities which had gone before, and came together with a great slaughter of them, and that greater than any upon record before; concerning all which I shall speak more accurately, and shall explain the occasions whence these miseries came upon them. There was a city of Babylonia called Neerda; not only a very populous one, but one that had a good and large territory about it; and, besides its other advantages, full of men also. It was, besides, not easily to be assaulted by enemies, from the river Euphrates encompassing it all round, and from the walls that were built about it. There was also the city Nisibis, situate on the same current of the river. For which reason the Jews, depending on the natural strength of these places, deposited in them that half shield which every one, by the custom of our country, offers unto God, as well as they did other things devoted to him; for they made use of these cities as a treasury, whence at a proper time, they were transmitted to Jerusalem; and many ten thousand men undertook the carriage of those donations, out of fear of the ravages of the Parthians, to whom the Babylonians were then subject. Now, there were two men, Asineus and Anileus, of the city Neerda by birth, and brethren to one another. They were destitute of a father; and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving curtains, it not being esteemed a disgrace among them for men to be weavers of cloth. Now, he that taught them that art, and was set over them, complained that they came too late to their work, and punished them with stripes; but they took this just punishment as an affront, and carried off all the weapons which were kept at that house, which were not a few, and went into a certain place where was a partition of the rivers, and was a place naturally very fit for the feeding of cattle, and for preserving such fruits as were usually laid up against winter. The poorest sort of the young men also resorted to them, whom they armed with the weapons they had gotten, and became their captains; and nothing hindered them from being their leaders into mischief; for, as soon as they were become invincible, and had built them a citadel, they sent to such as fed cattle, and ordered them to pay them so much tribute out of them as might be sufficient for their maintenance, proposing also that they would be their friends, if they would submit to them, and that they would defend them from all their other enemies on every side; but that they would kill the cattle of those that refused to obey them. So they heartened to their proposals (for they could do nothing else) and sent them as many sleep as were required of them; whereby their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased, because they marched suddenly and did them mischief, insomuch that every body who had to do with them chose to pay them respect; and they became formidable to such as came to assault them, till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himself.

2. But when the governor of Babylonia under-
stood this, and had a mind to put a stop to them before they grew greater, and before greater mischief should arise out of them. He got together a great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and marched against them, thinking to attack them and destroy them before any one should carry them the news that he had got an army together. He then encamped at a lake, and lay still; but on the next day (it was the Sabbath, which is among the Jews a day of rest from all sorts of work) he supposed that the enemy would not dare to fight him thereon, but that he would take them and carry them away prisoners, without fighting. He therefore proceeded gradually, and thought to do this; and so Asineus was sitting with the rest, and their weapons lay by them; upon which he said, "Sirs, I hear a neighing of horses; not of such as are feeding, but such as have men on their backs; I also hear such a noise of their bridles, that I am afraid that some enemies are coming upon us to encompass us round. However, let somebody go to look about, and make* report of what reality there is in the present state of things: and may what I have said prove a false alarm!" And when he had said this, some of them went out to spy out what was the matter; and they came again immediately, and said to him, that "neither last thou been mistaken in telling us what our enemies were doing, nor will those enemies permit us to be injurious to people any longer. We are caught by their intrigues like brute beasts, and there is a large body of cavalry marching upon us, while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves withal, because we are restrained from doing it by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to rest [on this day]." But Asineus did not by any means agree with the opinion of his spy as to what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this necessity they were fallen into, and break their law by avenging themselves, although they should die in the action, than by doing nothing to please their enemies in submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly he took up his weapons, and infused courage into those that were with him, to act as courageously as himself. So they fell upon their enemies, and slew a great many of them, because they despised them, and came to a certain victory, and put the rest to flight.

8. But when the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brethren, and was desirous to see them and speak with them: He therefore sent the most trusty of all his guards to say thus to them: —

"That king Artabanus, although he had been unjustly treated by you, who have made an attempt against his government, yet hath he more regard to your courageous behaviour than to the anger he bears to you, and hath sent me to give you his right hand and security; and he permits you to come to him safely, and without any violence upon the road, and he wants to have you address yourselves to him as friends, without meaning any guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents, and to pay you those respects which will make an account of your courage found thereby of advantage to you." Yet did Asineus himself put off his journey thither, but sent his brother Anileus with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king's presence; and when Artabanus saw Anileus coming alone, he inquired into the reason why Asineus avoided to come along with him; and when he understood that he was afraid, and said by the lake, he took an oath, by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him upon the assurance he gave them, and gave them his right hand. This is of the greatest force there with all these barbarians, and affords a firm security to those who converse with them; for none of them will deceive you when once they have given you your right hands, nor will any one doubt their fidelity, when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of injustice. When Artabanus had done this, he sent away Anileus to persuade his brother to come to him. Now this the king did, because he wanted to curb his own governors of provinces by the courage of these Jewish brethren, lest they should make a league with them; for they were ready for a revolt, and were disposed to rebel, had they been sent on an expedition against them. He was also afraid, lest when he was engaged in a war, in order to subdue those governors of provinces that had revolted, the party of Asineus and those in Babylonia should be augmented, and either make war upon him when they should hear of that revolt, or, if they should be disappointed in that case, they would not fail of doing farther mischief to him.

4. When the king had these intentions, he sent away Anileus; and Anileus prevailed on his brother [to come to the king], when he had related to him the king's good-will, and the oath that he had taken. Accordingly they made haste to go to Artabanus, who received them, when they were come with pleasure, and admired Asineus's courage in the actions he had done, and this because he was a little man to see to, and at first appeared contemptible also, and such as one might deem a person of no value at all. He also said to his friends, how, upon the comparison, he showed his soul to be, in all respects, superior to his body; and when, as they were drinking together, he once showed Asineus to Abdagases, one of the generals of his army, and told him his name, and described the great courage he was of in war, and Abdagases had desired leave to kill him, and thereby to inflict upon him a punishment for those injuries he had done to the Parthian government, the king replied, "I will never give thee leave to kill a man who hath depended on my faith, especially not after I have sent him my right hand, and endeavoured to gain his belief by oaths made by the gods. But, if thou beest a truly warlike man, thou standest not in need of my protection. Go thou then, and avenge the Parthian government; I will back, and conquer him by the forces that are under thy command, without my privy." Hereupon the king called for Asineus, and said to him, "It is time for thee, O thou young man I to return home, and not provoke the indignation of my generals in this place any further, lest they attempt to murder thee, and that without my approbation. I commit to thee

* ENWYTHRHOV is here, and in very many other places of Josephus, "immediately at hand," and is to be so expounded. ἄκροβτος, II. 2, when some thing is about to happen, "the day of Christ was immediately at hand," still 2 Thess. Paul here means, not that he was either mouth or by an eclipse, or by both, the day of Christ was immediately at hand." for still 2 Thess. Paul did then plainly think that day of Christ was immediately at hand; but many years fully elapsed. In the joining of the right hands was esteemed among the Persians and Parthians in particular, a most inviolable obligation (see Dr. Huxley before observes, and refers to the commentary on Ju-tiin, b. 2, ch. xx. for its confirmation. We often meet with the like use of it in Josephus.
he might lose his principality, on account of the beauty of a wife, and that high authority which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But when they prevailed not at all upon him, he slew one of them for whom he had the greatest respect, because of the liberty he took with him; who, when he was dying, out of regard to the laws, imprecated a punishment upon his murderer Aniœus, and upon Aniœus also, and that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies; upon the two first as the principal actors of this wickedness, and upon the rest as those that would not assist him when he needed it in the defense of their laws. Now these latter were sorely grieved, yet did they tolerate these doings, because they remembered that they had arrived at their present happy state by no other means than their fortitude. But when they also heard of the worship of those gods whom the Parthians adore, they thought the injury that Aniœus offered to their laws was to be borne no longer; and a greater number of them came to Aniœus, and loudly complained of Aniœus, and told him, that it had been well that he had of himself seen what was advantageous to them; but that however, it was now high time to correct what had been done amiss, before the crime that had been committed proved the ruin of himself and all the rest of them. They added, that the marriage of this woman was made without their consent, and without a regard to their old laws; and that the worship which this woman paid [to her gods was a reproach to the God whom they worshipped. Now Aniœus was sensible of his brother's offense, that it had been already the cause of great mischiefs, and would be so for the time to come; yet did he tolerate the same from the god will he had to come near a relation, and forgetting it to him, on account that his brother was quite overborne by his wicked inclinations. But as more and more still came about him every day, and the clamours about it became greater, he at length spake to Aniœus about these clamours, reproving him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproofs; for, as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Aniœus, lest he should suffer the same from the god that had given her to her, she infused poison into Aniœus's food, and thereby took him off, and was now secure of prevailing, when her lover was to be judge of what should be done about her.

5. But as their affairs were in so flourishing a state, there sprang up a calumny among them on the following occasion. When once they had deviated from that course of virtue whereby they had gained such great power, they affected the laws of their forefathers, and fell under the dominion of their lusts and pleasures. A certain Parthian, who came as general of an army into these parts, had a wife following him, who had a vast reputation for other accomplishments, and particularly was admired above all other women for her beauty. Aniœus, the brother of Aniœus, either heard of that her beauty from others, or perhaps saw her himself also, and so became at once her lover and her enemy; partly because he could not bear to see this woman but by obtaining power over her as a captive, and partly because he thought he could not conquer his inclinations for her. As soon, therefore, as her husband had been declared an enemy to them, and was fallen in the battle, the widow of the deceased was married to this her lover. However, this woman did not come into their house, without producing great misfortunes, both to Aniœus himself, and to Aniœus also; but brought great mischiefs on them on the occasion following. Since she was led away captive, on the death of her husband, she concealed the names of the gods which she worshipped, common to her husband and to herself: now it is the custom of that country for all to have the idols they worship in their own houses, and to carry them along with them when they go into a foreign land; agreeably to which custom of theirs she carried her idols with her. Now, at first, she performed her worship to them privately, but when she became Aniœus's married wife, she worshipped them in her accustomed manner, and with the same appointed ceremonies which she used in her former husband's days; upon which their most esteemed friends blamed him at first, that he did not act after the manner of the Hebrews, nor perform what was agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife, and one that transgressed the accurate appointments of their sacrifices and religious ceremonies; that he ought to consider, lest by allowing himself in many pleasures of the body, he might lose his principality, on account of the beauty of a wife, and that high authority which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But when they prevailed not at all upon him, he slew one of them for whom he had the greatest respect, because of the liberty he took with him; who, when he was dying, out of regard to the laws, imprecated a punishment upon his murderer Aniœus, and upon Aniœus also, and that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies; upon the two first as the principal actors of this wickedness, and upon the rest as those that would not assist him when he needed it in the defense of their laws. Now these latter were sorely grieved, yet did they tolerate these doings, because they remembered that they had arrived at their present happy state by no other means than their fortitude. But when they also heard of the worship of those gods whom the Parthians adore, they thought the injury that Aniœus offered to their laws was to be borne no longer; and a greater number of them came to Aniœus, and loudly complained of Aniœus, and told him, that it had been well that he had of himself seen what was advantageous to them; but that however, it was now high time to correct what had been done amiss, before the crime that had been committed proved the ruin of himself and all the rest of them. They added, that the marriage of this woman was made without their consent, and without a regard to their old laws; and that the worship which this woman paid [to her gods was a reproach to the God whom they worshipped. Now Aniœus was sensible of his brother's offense, that it had been already the cause of great mischiefs, and would be so for the time to come; yet did he tolerate the same from the god will he had to come near a relation, and forgetting it to him, on account that his brother was quite overborne by his wicked inclinations. But as more and more still came about him every day, and the clamours about it became greater, he at length spake to Aniœus about these clamours, reproving him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproofs; for, as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Aniœus, lest he should suffer the same from the god that had given her to her, she infused poison into Aniœus's food, and thereby took him off, and was now secure of prevailing, when her lover was to be judge of what should be done about her.

6. So Aniœus took the government upon himself alone, and led his army against the villages of Mithridates, who was a man of principal authority in Parthia, and had married king Artabanes's daughter; he also plundered them, and among that prey was found much money, and many slaves, as also a great number of sheep, and many other things, which, when gained, made men's condition happy. Now, when Mithridates, who was there at this time, heard that his villages were taken, he was very much displeased to find that Aniœus had first begun to injure him, and to affront him in his present dignity, when he had not offered any injury to him beforehand: and he got together the greatest body of horsemen he was able, and those out of that number which were of an age fit for war, and came to fight Aniœus; and when he was arrived at a certain village of his own, he lay still there, as intending to fight him on the day following, because
it was the Sabbath, the day on which the Jews rest. And when Aniulus was informed of this, by a Syrian who came, and who not only gave him an exact account of other circumstances, but told him where Mithridates would have a feast, he took his supper at a proper time, and marched by night, with an intent of falling upon the Parthians while they were unapprised what they should do; so he fell upon them about the fourth watch of the night; and some of them he slew while they were asleep, and others he put to flight, and took Mithridates alive, and set him naked upon an ass, which, among the Parthians, is esteemed the greatest mark of contempt, and wrote a letter, and carried him into a wood with such a resolution, and his friends desired him to kill Mithridates, he soon told them his own mind to the contrary, and said, that it was not right to kill a man who was of one of the principal families among the Parthians, and greatly honoured with matching into the royal family; that so far as they had hitherto gone was tolerable, for though they had injured Mithridates, yet, if they preserved his life, this benefit would be remembered by him to the advantage of those that gave it him; but that if he were once put to death, the kinsmen would not be at rest; but Mithridates, not the great slaughter of the Jews that dwelt at Babylon; to whose safety we ought to have a regard, both on account of our relation to them, and because, if any misfortune befell us, we have no place to retire to, since he hath gotten the flower of their youth under him.” By this thought, and this speech of his made in council, he persuaded them to act accordingly; so Mithridates was let go. But, when he was got away, his wife reproached him, that although he was son-in-law to the king, he neglected to preserve himself on those that had injured him, while he took no care about it, but was contented to have been made a captive by the Jews, and to have escaped them; and she bade him either to go back like a man of courage, or else she swears by the gods of their royal family, that she would certainly dissolve her marriage with him. Upon which, partly because he could not bear the daily trouble of her taunts, and partly because he was afraid of her insolence, lest she should in earnest dissolve their marriage, he unwillingly, and against his inclinations, got together again as great an army as he could, and marched along with them, as himself thinking it a thing not to be borne any longer, that he, a Parthian, should owe his preservation to the Jews, when they had been too hard for him in the war.

7. But as soon as Aniulus understood that Mithridates was marching with a great army against him, he thought it too ignominious a thing to tarry about the lakes, and not to take the first opportunity of meeting his enemies, and he hoped to have the same success, and to beat their enemies as they did before; as also he ventured boldly upon the like attempts. Accordingly he led out his army; and a great many more joined themselves to that army, in order to betake themselves to plunder the people, and in order to terrify the enemy again, by their numbers. But when they had marched ninety furlongs, while the road had been through dry [and sandy] places, and about the midst of the day, they were become very thirsty; and Mithridates appeared, and fell upon them as they were in distress for want of water, on which account, and on account of the time of the day, they were not able to bear their weapons. So Aniulus and his men were put to an ignominious rout, while men in despair were to attack those that were fresh, and in good plight; so a great slaughter was made, and many ten thousand men fell. Now Aniulus, and all that stood firm about him, ran away, as fast as they were able, into a wood, and afforded Mithridates the pleasure of having gained a great victory over them. But there now came in to Aniulus, a continuance of bad news, and wrote a letter to the Jews, very little, if they might but gain some present intelligence, insomuch that they, by thus coming to him, compensated the multitude of those that perished in the fight. Yet were not these men like those that fell, because they were rash, and unexercised in war; however, with these he came upon the villages of the Babylonians, and a mighty devastation of all things was made there by the injuries that Aniulus did them. So the Babylonians, and those that had already been in the war, sent to Neeradus to demand the Jews there, and demanded Aniulus. But, although they did not agree to their demands (for if they had been willing to deliver him up, it was not in their power so to do); yet did they desire to make peace with them. To which the other replied, that they also wanted to settle conditions of peace with them, and sent men, together with the Babylonians, who discoursed with Aniulus about them. But the Babylonians, upon taking a view of his situation, and having learned where Aniulus and his men lay, fell secretly upon them as they were drunk and fallen asleep, and slew all that they caught of them, without any fear, and killed Aniulus himself also.

8. The Babylonians were now freed from Aniulus’s heavy incursions, which had been a great restraint to the effects of that hatred they bore to the Jews: for they were almost always at variance, by reason of the contrariety of their laws; and which party soever grew boldest before the other, they assaulted the other: and at this time in particular it was, that upon the ruin of Aniulus’s party, the Babylonians attacked the Jews, which made those Jews so vehemently to resent the injuries they received from the Babylonians, that, being neither able to fight them, nor bearing to live with them, they went to Seleucia, the principal city of those parts, which was built by Seleucus Nicator. It was inhabited by many of the Macedonians, but by more of the Grecians; not a few of the Syrians also dwelt there; and thither did the Jews fly, and lived there five years, without any misfortunes. But, on the sixth year, a pestilence came upon these at Babylon, which occasioned new removals of men’s habitations out of that city; and because they came to Seleucia, it happened that a still heavier calamity came upon them on that account,—which I am going to relate immediately.

9. Now the way of living of the people of Seleucia, who were Greeks and Syrians, was commonly quarrelsome, and full of discord, though the Greeks were too hard for the Syrians. When, therefore, the Jews were come thither, and dwelt among them, there arose a sedition; and the Syrians were too hard for the other, by the assistance of the Jews, who are men that despise dangers, and very ready to fight upon any occasion. Now, when the Greeks

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* This custom in Syria and Mesopotamia, of settling men upon an sea, by way of disguise, is still kept up at Dascana in Syria; where, in order to show their despotism against the Christians, the Turks will not suffer them to live horses, but shoot them when they go abroad to see the country, as Mr. Mannrell assures us, p. 189.
had the worst in this sedition, and saw that they had but one way of recovering their former authority, and that was, if they could prevent the agreement between the Jews and Syrians, they every one disagreed with such of the Syrians as were formerly their cgugnance, and promised they would be at peace and friendship with them. Accordingly, they gladly agreed so to do; and when this was done by the principal men of both nations, they soon agreed to a reconciliation; and when they were so agreed, they both knew that the great design of such their union, would be their common hatred to the Jews. Accordingly they fell upon them, and slew about fifty thousand of them; nay, the Jews were all destroyed, excepting a few who escaped, either by the compassion which their friends or neighbours afforded them in order to let them fly away.

These retired to Ctesiphon, a Grecian city, and situated near to Seleucia, where the king of Parthia lives in winter every year, and where the greatest part of his riches are deposited; but the Jews had here no certain settlement, those of Seleucia having little concern for the king’s honour.

Now the whole nation of the Jews were in fear both of the Babylonians and of the Seleucians, because all the Syrians that live in those places agreed with the Seleucians in the war against the Jews; so the most of them gathered themselves together, and went to Neerda and Nisibis, and obtained security there by the strength of those cities; besides which, their inhabitants, who were a great many, were all warlike men. And this was the state of the Jews at this time in Babylonia.

**BOOK XIX.**

**CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE YEARS AND A HALF.**

**FROM THE JEWS’ DEPARTURE OUT OF BABYLON TO FADUS THE ROMAN PROCURATOR.**

**CHAPTER I.**

**HOW CAIUS * WAS SLAIN BY CHEREA.**

§ 1. Now this Caius † did not demonstrate his madness in offering injuries only to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in the neighbourhood, but suffered it to extend itself through all the earth and sea, so far as was in subjection to the Romans, and filled it with ten thousand mischiefs; so many indeed in number as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dismal effects of what he did, while he deemed that not to be any way more honourable than the rest of the cities; but he pulled and hauled its other citizens, but especially the senate, and particularly the nobility, and such as had been dignified by illustrious ancestors; he had also ten thousand devices against such of the equestrian order, as it was styled, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth with the senators, because out of them the senators were themselves chosen; these he treated after an ignominious manner, and removed them out of his way while they were at once slain, and their wealth plundered; because he slew men generally, in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honours to be paid him by his subjects than are due to mankind. He also frequented that temple of Jupiter which they style the Capitol, which is with them the most holy of all temples, and had boldness enough to call himself the brother of Jupiter. And other pranks he did like a madman; as when he laid a bridge from the city Diocareia, which belongs to Campania, to Misenum, another city upon the sea-side, from one promontory to another, of the length of thirty furlongs, as measured over the sea. And this was done, because he esteemed it to be a most tedious thing to row over in a small ship, and thought withal that it became him to make that bridge, as he was lord of the sea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth; so he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it; and thought, that as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over such roads as this was. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Grecian temples, and gave order that all the engravings and sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues and donations therein dedicated, should be brought to him, saying, that the best things ought to be set nowhere but in the best place, and that the city of Rome was the best place. He also adorned his own house and his gardens with the curiosities brought from those temples, together with the horses he lay at when he travelled all over Italy; whence he did not scruple to give a command, that the statue of Jupiter Olympus, so called because he was honoured at the Olympian games by the Greeks, which was the work of Phidias the Athenian, should be brought to Rome. Yet did not he compass his end, because the architect told Memmius Regulus, who was commanded to remove the statue of Jupiter, that the workmanship was such as would be spoiled, and would not bear the removal. It was also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of some such mighty prodigies as are of an incredible nature, put off the taking it down, and
wrote to Caius those accounts, as his apology for not having done what his epistle required of him; and that when he was thence in danger of perishing, he was saved by Caius being dead himself, before he had put him to death.

Nor Caius's madness came to this height, that when he had a daughter born, he carried her into the aprtito, and put her upon the knees of the statue, and said that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and determined that she had two fathers,—but which of these fathers were the greatest, he left undetermined; and yet mankind bore him in such his pranks. He also gave leave to slaves to accuse their masters of any crimes whatsoever they pleased; for all such accusations were terrible, because they were in great part made to please him, and at his suggestion, insomuch that Pollux, Claudius's slave, had the boldness to lay an accusation against Claudius himself; and Caius was not ashamed to be present at his trial of life and death, to hear the trial of his own uncle, in hopes of being able to take him off, although he did not succeed to his mind: but when he had filled the whole habitable world which he governed, with false accusations and miseries, and had occasioned the greatest insults of slaves against their masters, who indeed, in a great measure, ruled them, there were many secret plots now laid against him; some in anger, and in order for men to revenge themselves, on account of the miseries they had already undergone from him; and others made attempts upon him, in order to take him off before they should fall into such great miseries, while his death came very fortunately for the preservation of the laws of all men, and had a great influence upon the public welfare; and this happened most happily for our nation in particular, which had almost utterly perished if he had not been suddenly slain; and I confess I have a mind to give a full account of this matter particularly, because it will afford great assurance of the power of God, and great comfort to those that are under affliction, and wise caution to those who think their happiness will never end, nor bring them at length to the most lasting miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

3. Now there were three several conspiracies made, in order to take off Caius, and each of these three were conducted by excellent persons. Emilius Regulus, born at Corduba in Spain, got some men together, and was desirous to take Caius off, either by them or by himself. Another conspiracy was laid by them, under the conduct of Cherea Cassius, the tribune [of the praetorian band]; Minucius Annius was also one of the most instrument among those that were prepared to oppose his tyranny. Now the several occasions of these men's several hatred and conspiracy against Caius were these:—Regulus had indignation and hatred against all injustice, for he had a mind naturally angry, and bold, and free, which made him not conceal his counsels; so he communicated them to many of his friends, and to others who seemed to him persons of activity and vigour; Minucius entered into this conspiracy, because of the injustice done to Lepidus his particular friend, and one of the friends of the greatest of all the citizens, whom Caius had slain, as also because he was afraid of himself, since Caius's wrath tended to the slaughter of all alike; and for Cherea, he came in, because he thought it a deed worthy of a free ingenious man
to kill Caius, and was ashamed of the reproached he lay under from Caius, as though he were a coward; as also because he was himself in danger very day from his friendship with him, and the observance he paid him. These men proposed to make this attempt to all the rest that were concerned, who saw the injuries that were offered them, and were desirous that Caius's slaughter might succeed by their mutual assistance of one another, that they might themselves escape being killed by the taking off Caius; that perhaps they should gain their point, and that it would be a happy thing if they should gain it, to approve themselves to so many excellent persons as earnestly wished to be partakers with them in their design, for the delivery of the city and of the government, even at the hazard of their own lives; but still Cherea was the most zealous of them all, both out of a desire of getting himself the greatest name, and also by reason of his access to Caius's presence with less danger, because he was tribune, and could therefore the more easily kill him.

4. Now, at this time came on the horse-races [Circensian games]; the view of which games was eagerly desired by the people of Rome, for they come with great alacrity into the hippodrome [circus] at such times, and petition their emperors, in great multitudes, for what they stand in need of; and usually they do not think fit to deny them their requests, but readily and readily granted them. Accordingly they most importantly desired that Caius would now ease them in their tributes, and abate somewhat of the rigour of the taxes imposed upon them; but he would not hear their petition; and, when their clamours increased, he sent soldiers, some one way and some another, and gave order that they should lay hold on those that made the clamours, and without any more ado, bring them out and put them to death. These were Caius's commands, and those who were commanded executed them, and the number of those who were slain on this occasion was very great. Now the people saw this, and bore it so far that they left off clamouring, because they saw with their own eyes, that this petition to be relieved, as to the payment of their money, brought immediate death upon them. These things made Cherea more resolute to go on with his plot, in order to put an end to this barbarity of Caius against men. He then, at several times, thought to fall upon Caius as he was feasting, yet did he restrain himself by some considerations; not that he had any doubt on him about killing him, but as watching for a proper season, that the attempt might not be frustrated, but that he might give the blow so as might certainly gain his purpose.

5. Cherea had been in the army a long time time, yet was he not pleased with conversing so much with Caius: but Caius had set him to require the tributes, and other dues, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to Caesar's treasury; and he had made some delays in requiring them, because those burdens had been doubled; and had rather indulged his own mild disposition than performed Caius's command; nay, indeed, he provoked Caius to anger by his sparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes of those from whom he commanded the taxes; and Caius upbraided him with his sloth and effeminacy in being so long about collecting the taxes; and indeed he did not only affront him in other respects, but when he gave him...
watch-word of the day, to whom it was to be given by his place, he gave him feminine words, and those of a nature very reproachful; and these watch-words he gave out, as having been initiates in the secrets of certain mysteries, and which he had himself the author of. Now, although he sometimes put on woman's clothes, and had been wrapt in some embroidered garments to them belonging, and done a great many other things in order to make the company mistake him for a woman; yet did he, by way of reproach, object the like womanish behaviour to Cherea. But when Cherea received the watch-word from him, he had indignation at it, but had greater indignation at the delivery of it to others, as being laughed at by those that received it; insomuch that his fellow-fans made him the subject of their derision; for they would foretell that he would bring them some of his usual watch-words when he was about to take the watch-word from Caesar, and would thereby make him ridiculous; on which account he took the courage of assuming certain partners to him, as having just reasons for his indignation against Caesar. Now there was one Pompeius, a senator, and one who had gone through almost all posts in the government, but otherwise an Epicurean, and for that reason loved to lead an inactive life. Now Titidius, an enemy of his, had informed Caesar that he had used indecent reproaches against him, and he made use of Quintilia for a witness to them; a woman she was much beloved by many that frequented the theatre, and particularly by Pompeius, on account of her great beauty. Now this woman thought it a horrible thing to attest to an accusation that touched the life of her lover, which was also a lie. Titidius, however, wanted to have brought to the torture. Caesar was irritated at this reproach upon him, and commanded Cherea, without any delay, to torture Quintilia, as he used to employ Cherea in such bloody matters, and those that required the torture; because he thought he would do it the more barbarously, in order to avoid that imputation of effeminacy which he had laid upon him. But Quintilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of the consequence of her tortures, for that she would bear them with magnanimity. Cherea tortured this woman after a cruel manner; unwillingly indeed, but because he could not help it. He then brought her, without being the least moved at what she had suffered, into the presence of Caesar, and that in such a state as was sad to behold; and Caesar, being somewhat affected with the sight of Quintilia, who had her body miserably disordered by the pains she had undergone, freed both her and Pompeius of the crime laid to their charge. He also gave her money to make her an honourable amends, and comfort her for that maiming of her body which she had suffered, and for her glorious patience under such unsufferable torments.

6. This matter sorely grieved Cherea, as having been the cause, as far as he could, or the instrument in the death of her, who was esteemed as worthy of consolation to Caesar himself; on which account he said to Clement and to Papinius (of whom Clement was general of the army, and Papinius was a tribune): “To be sure, O Clement, we have no way failed in our guarding the emperor; for as to those that have made conspiracies against his government, some have been slain by our care and pains, and some have been by us tortured, and this to such a degree, that he hath himself pitted them. How great then is our virtue in submitting to conduct his armies!” Clement held his peace, but showed the shame he was under in obeying Caesar's orders, both by his eyes and his blushing countenance, while he thought it by no means right to accuse the emperor in express words, lest their own safety should be endangered thereby. Upon which Cherea took courage, and spake to him without fear of the dangers that were before him, and discoursed largely of the sore calamities under which the city and the government then laboured, and said, We may indeed pretend in words, that Caesar is the person unto whom the cause of such miseries ought to be imputed; but, in the opinion of such as are able to judge uprightly, it is I, O Clement; and this Papinius, and before us thou thyself, who bring these tortures upon the Romans, and upon all mankind. It is not done by our being subservient to the commands of Caesar, but it is done by our own consent; for whereas it is in our power to put an end to the life of this man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens and his subjects, we are his guard in mischief and his executioners, instead of his soldiers, and are the instruments of his cruelty. We bear these weapons, not for our liberty, not for the Roman government, but for his preservation, who hath enslaved both their bodies and their minds; and we are every day polluted with the blood that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon others; and this we do, till somebody becomes Caesar's instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor doth he thus employ us, because he hath a kindness for us, but rather because he hath a suspicion of us, as also because, when abundance more have been killed (for Caesar will set no bounds to his wrath, since he seems to do all not out of regard to justice, but to his own private pleasure), we shall come to their sacrifice exposed to his cruelty; whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of all, and at the same time to resolve to free ourselves from dangers.”

7. Hereupon Clement openly commended Cherea's intentions, but bade him hold his tongue; for that in case his words should get out among many, and such things should be spread abroad as were fit to be concealed, the plot would come to be discovered before it was executed, and they should be brought to punishment; but that they should leave all to futurity, and the hope which thence arose, that some fortunate event would come to their assistance; that, as for himself, his age would not permit him to make any attempt in that case. “However, although perhaps I could not suggest what may be safer than what thou, Cherea, hast contrived and said, yet how is it possible for anyone to suggest what is more for thy reputation!” So Clement went his way home, with deep reflections on what he had heard, and what he had himself said. Cherea also was under a concern, and went quickly to Cornelius Sabinus, who was himself one of the tribunes, and whom he otherwise knew to be a worthy man, and a lover of liberty, and on that account very uneasy at the present management of public affairs, he being desirous to come immediately to the execution of what had been determined, and thinking it right for him to propose it to the other, and afraid lest Clement should discover them,
and besides looking upon delays and postponements to be the next to desisting from the enterprise. He therefore called to Simias, who had himself, equally with Cherea, the same design, but had had silent for want of a person to whom he could safely communicate that design; so having now met with one, who not only promised to conceal what he heard, but who had already opened his mind to him, he was much more encouraged, and desired of Cherea that no delay might be made therein. Accordingly they went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man, and as zealous to do glorious actions as themselves, and suspected by Caius on occasion of the slaughter of Lepidus; for Minucianus and Lepidus were intimate friends, and both in fear of the dangers that they were under; for Caius was terrible to all the great men, as appearing ready to act a mad part towards each of them in particular, and towards all of them in general; and these men were afraid of one another, while they were yet uneasy at the posture of affairs, but avoided to declare their mind and their hatred against Caius to one another, out of fear of the dangers they might be in thereby, although they perceived by other means their mutual hatred against Caius. On that account they were not averse to a mutual kindness one towards another.

9. When Minucianus and Cherea had met together, and saluted one another (as they had been used in former conversations to give the upper hand to Minucianus, both on account of his eminent dignity, for he was the noblest of all the citizens, and highly commended by all men, especially when he made speeches to them), Minucianus began first, and asked Cherea, What was the watch-word he had received that day from Caius for the affront which was offered Cherea in giving the watch-word was famous over the city. But Cherea made no delay so long as to reply to that question, out of the joy he had that Minucianus would have such confidence in him as to discourse with him. "But do thou," said he, "give me the watch-word of liberty. And I return thee my thanks, that thou hast so greatly encouraged me to exert myself after an extraordinary manner; nor do I stand in need of many words to encourage me, since both thou and I are of the same mind, and partakers of the same resolutions, and this before we have conferred together. I have indeed but one sword girt on, but this one will serve us both. Come on, therefore, let us set about the work. Do thou go first, if thou hast a mind, and bid me follow thee; or else I will go first, and thou shalt assist me, and we will assist one another and trust one another. Nor is there a necessity for even one sword to such as have a mind disposed to such works, by which mind the sword uses to be successful. I am zealous about this action, nor am I solicitous what I may myself undergo; for I am not at leisure to consider the danger that may come upon myself, so deeply am I troubled at the slavery our once free country is now under, and at the contempt cast upon our excellent way, which hangs over all men, by the means of Caius. I wish that I may be judged by thee, and that thou mayest esteem me worthy of credit in these matters, seeing we are both of the same opinion, and there is herein no difference between us."

10. When Minucianus saw the vehemency with which Cherea delivered himself, he gladly embraced him, and encouraged him in his bold attempt, commending him, and embracing him; so he let him go with his good wishes; and some affirm, that he thereby confirmed Minucianus in the prosecution of what had been agreed among them; for, as Cherea entered into the court, the report runs, that a voice came from among the multitude to encourage him, which bid him finish what he was about, and take the opportunity that Providence offered; and that Cherea at first suspected that some one of the conspirators had betrayed him, and he was caught; but at length perceived that it was by way of exhortation. Whether somebody, that was conscious of what was about, gave the signal for his encouragement, or whether it was God himself, who looks upon the actions of men, that encouraged him to go on boldly in his design, is uncertain. The plot was now communicated to a great many, and they were all in their armour; some of the conspirators being senators, and some of the equestrian order, and as many of the soldiery as were made acquainted with it; for there was not one of them who would not reckon it a part of his happiness to kill Caius; and on that account they were all very zealous in the affair, by what means soever any one could come at it, that he might not be behindhand in these virtuous designs, but might be ready with all his alacrity or power, both by words and actions, to complete this slaughter of a tyrant. And besides these, Callistus also, who was a freed-man of Caius, and was the only man that had arrived at the greatest degree of power under him—such a power, indeed, as was in a manner equal to the power of the tyrant himself; by the dread that all men had of him, and by the great riches he had acquired; for he took bribes most piteously, and committed injuries without bounds; and was more extravagant in the use of his power in unjust proceedings, than any other. He also knew the disposition of Caius to be implacable, and never to be turned from what he had resolved on. He had withal many other reasons why he thought himself in danger, and the vastness of his wealth was not one of the least of them: on which account he privately ingratiated himself with Claudius, and transferred his courtship to him, out of this hope, that in case, upon the removal of Caius, the government should come to him, his interest in such changes should lay a foundation for his preserving his dignity under him, since he laid in beforehand a stock of merit, and did Claudius good offices in his promotion. He also had the boldness to pretend, that he had been persuaded to make away with Claudius, by poisoning him; but had still invented ten thousand excuses for delaying to do it. But it seems probable to me, that Callistus only counterfeited this, in order to ingratiate himself with Claudius; for if Caius had been earnestly resolved to take off Claudius, he would not have admitted of Callistus's excuses, nor would Callistus, if he had been enjoined to do such an act as was desired by Caius, have put it off, nor, if he had disobeyed those injunctions of his master, had he escaped immediately. I understand that his name was preserved from the madness of Caius by a certain divine providence, and Callistus pretended to such a piece of merit as he no way deserved.

11. However, the execution of Cherea's designs was put off from day to day, by the sloth of many...
contradiction, and yet did not quite relish what they were doing, but stood silent and astonished, he said further, "O, my brave commanders! why do we make such delays! Do not you see that this is the last day of the month, and Caesar is about to go to sea! for he is preparing to sail to Cæ-ndria, in order to see Egypt. Is it therefore for your honour to let a man go out of your hands who is a reproach to mankind, and to permit him to go after a pompous manner, triumphing both at land and sea? shall we not be justly ashamed of ourselves if we give leave to some Egyptian or other, who shall think his injuries insufferable to bear, to kill him? as for myself, I will no longer bear your slow proceedings, but will expose myself to the dangers of the enterprise this very day, and bear cheerfully whatever shall be the consequence of the attempt; now, let them be ever so great, will I put them off any longer? for, to a wise and courageous man, what can be more miserable than that, while I am alive, any one else should kill Caesar, and deprive me of the honour of so virtuous an action?"

13. When Cherea had spoken thus, he zealously set about the work, and inspired courage into the rest to go on with it; and they were all eager to fall to it without farther delay. So he was at the palace in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on him; for it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the watch-word with their swords on, and this was the day on which Cherea was by custom to receive the watch-word; and the multitude were already come to the palace, to be seen enough for seeing the shows, and that in great crowds, and one tumultuously crushing another, while Caesar was delighted with this eagerness of the multitude; for which reason there was no order observed in the seating men, nor was any peculiar place appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order; but they sat at random, men and women together, and freemen were mixed with the slaves. So Caesar came out in a solemn manner, and offered sacrifice to Augustus Caesar, in whose honour indeed these shows were celebrated. Now it happened, upon the fall of a certain priest, that the garment of Asprenas, a senator, was filled with blood, which made Caesars laugh, although this was an evident omen to Asprenas, for he was slain at the same time with Caesar. It is also related, that Caesar was that day, contrary to his usual custom, so very affable and good-natured in his conversation, that every one of those that were present were astonished at it. After the sacrifice was over, Caesar besought himself to see the shows, and sat down for that purpose, as did also the principal of his friends sit near him. Now the parts of the theatre were so fastened together, as it used to be every year, in the manner following:—It had two doors; the one door led to the open air, the other was for going into, or going out of, the cloisters, that those within the theatre might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there went an inward passage, parted into partitions also, which led into another gallery, to give room to the combatants, and to the musicians, to go out as occasion served. Then the wings were set down, and Cherea, with the other tribunes were set down also, and the right corner of the theatre was allotted to Caesar, one Vatinus, a senator, commander of the Pretorian band, asked of Claudia, one that sat by him, and was of consular dignity also.—Whether

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* Here Josephus supposes that it was Augustus, and not Julius Caesar, who first changed the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy; for these shows were in honour of Augustus, as we shall learn in the next section but one.
he had heard any thing of the news or not—but took care that nobody should hear what he said; and when Cluvius replied, that he had heard no news,—"Know then (said Vatinius) that the game of the slaughter of tyrants is to be played this day." But Cluvius replied, "O brave comrade! hold thy peace, lest some one of the Achrians hear thy tale." And as there was abundance of autumnal fruit thrown among the spectators, and a great number of birds, that were of great value to such as possessed them, on account of their rareness, Caius was pleased with the birds fighting for the fruits, and with the violence wherewith the spectators seized upon them: and here he perceived two prodigies that happened there; for an actor was introduced, by whom a leader of robbers was crucified, and the pantomime brought in a play called Cynara, wherein he himself was to be slain, as well as his daughter Myrrha, and wherein a great deal of fictitious blood was shed, both about him that was crucified, and also about Cynara. It is also confessed, that this was the same day wherein Pausanias, a friend of Philip, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, already acclaimed him as being entering into the theatre. And now Caius was in doubt whether he should tarry to the end of the shows, because it was the last day, or whether he should not go first to the bath, and to dinner, and then return and sit down as before. Hereupon Minucius, who sat over Caius, and was afraid that the opportunity should fail them, got up, because he saw Ceresa was already gone out, and made haste out, to confirm him in his resolution; but Caius took hold of his garment in an obliging way, and said to him, "O brave man! whither are you going?" Whereupon, out of reverence to Caesar, as it seemed, he sat down again; but his fear prevailed over him, and in a little time he got up again, and then Caius did no way oppose his going out, as thinking that he went out to perform some necessities of nature. And Asprenas, who was one of the confederates, persuaded Caius to go out to the bath, and to dinner, and then to come in again; as desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

A. So Ceresa's associates placed themselves in order, as the time would permit thereunder; they were obliged to labour hard, that the place which was appointed them should not be left by them; they had an indignation at the tediousness of the delays, and that what they were about should be put off any longer, for it was already about the ninth hour of the day; and Ceresa, upon Caius's tarrying so long, had a great mind to go in, and fall upon him in his seat, although he foresaw that this could not be done without much bloodshed, both of the senators and of those of the equestrian order that were present; and although he knew this must happen, yet had he a great mind to do so, as thinking it a right thing to procure security and freedom to all, at the expense of such as might perish at the same time. And as they were just going back into the entrance to the theatre, word was brought them that Caius was arisen, whereby a tumult was made; hereupon the conspirators thrust away the crowd, under pretence as if Caius was angry at them, but in reality as desirous to have a quiet place, that should have none in it to defend him, while they set about Caius's slaughter.

Now Claudius, his uncle, was gone out before, and Marcus Vinicius, his sister's husband, as also Valerius of Asia; whom, though they had had such a mind to put out of their places, the reverence to their dignity hindered them so to do; then followed Caius, with Paulus Arruntius: and because Caius was now gotten within the palace, he left the direct road, along which those his servants stood that were in waiting, and by which road Claudius had gone out before, Caius turned aside into a private and narrow passage, in order to go to the place for bathing, as also in order to take a view of the boys that came out of Asia, who were sent thence partly to sing hymns in these mysteries which were now celebrated, and partly to dance in the Pyrrhic way of dancing upon the theatres. So Ceresa met him, and asked him for the watch-word: upon Caius's giving him one of his ridiculous words, he immediately reproached him, and drew his sword and gave him a terrible stroke with it, yet was not this stroke mortal. And although there be those that say it was not contrived in purpose by Ceresa that Caius should not be killed at once, yet it should be punished more severely by a multitude, yet does this story appear to be incredible; because the fear men are under in such actions does not allow them to use their reason. And if Ceresa was of that mind, I esteem him the greatest of all fools, in pleasing himself in his spite against Caius, rather than immediately procuring safety to himself and to his confederates from the dangers they were in; because there might many things still happen for helping Caius's escape, if he had not already given up the ghost; for certainly Ceresa might have done much to the punishment of Caius, as to the affliction himself and his friends were in, while it was in his power, after such success, to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of Caius's defenders, and not leave it to uncertainty whether he should gain the end he aimed at or not; and after an unreasonnable manner to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity that lay before him. But every body may guess as he pleases about this matter. However, Caius was staggered with the pain that the blow gave him; for the stroke of the sword falling in the middle, between the shoulder and neck, was hindered by the first bone of the breast, so proceeding any farther. Nor did he either cry out (in such astonishment was he), nor did he call out for any of his friends; whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwise disordered, but he groaned under the pain he endured, and presently went forward and fled,—when Cornelius Sabinus, who was already prepared in mind so to do, thrust him down upon his knee, where many of them stood round about him, and struck him with their swords, and they cried out, and encouraged one another all at once to strike him again; but all agree that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, which directly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this act to Ceresa; for although many concurred in the act itself, yet was he the first contriver of it, and began long before all the rest to prepare for it; and was the first man that boldly spoke of it to the rest; and upon their admission of what he said about it, he got the dispersed conspirators together: he prepared every thing after a prudent manner, and by suggesting good advice, showed himself far superior to the rest, and made obliging speeches to them, insomuch that

* Scutellius says Caius was slain about the seventh hour of the day, Josephus about the ninth. The series of the narration favours Josephus.
he even compelled them to go on, who otherwise had not courage enough for that purpose; and when opportunity served to use his sword in hand, he appeared first of all ready so to do, and gave the first blow in this virtuous slaughter; he also brought into the rest, and almost killed him himself, insomuch that it is but just to ascribe all that the rest did to the advice, and bravery, and labours of the hands of Chereas.

15. Thus did Caius come to his end, and lay dead, by the many wounds which had been given him. Now Chereas and his associates, upon Caius's slaughter, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves, if they should all go the same way, partly on account of the astonishment they were under; for it was no small danger they had incurred by killing an emperor, who was honoured and loved by the madness of the people, especially when the soldiers were likely to make a bloody inquiry after his murderers. The passages also were narrow wherein the work was done, which were also crowded with a great multitude of Caius's attendants, and of such of the soldiers as were of the emperor's guard that day; whence it was that they went by other ways, and came to the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had now killed (which house adjoined to the palace; for while the edifice was one, it was built in its several parts by those particular persons who had been emperors, and those parts bare the names of those that built them, or the name of him who had begun to build any of its parts). So they got away from the insults of the multitude, and then were for the present out of danger, that is so long as the misfortune which had overtaken the emperor was not known. The Germans were the first who perceived that Caius was slain. These Germans were Caius's guard, and carried the name of the country whence they were chosen, and composed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally passionate, which is commonly the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, as being not used to consider much about what they do; they are overcredulous, and fall upon their enemies as soon as ever they are attacked by them; and which way sooner they go, they perform great exploits. When therefore, these German guards understood that Caius was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not use their reason in judging about public affairs, but measured all by the advantages they received, Caius being beloved by them, because of the money he gave them, by which he had purchased their kindness to him: so they drew their swords, and Sabinius led on. He was one of the tribunes, not by the means of the virtuous actions of his progenitors, for he had been a gladiator, but he had obtained that post in the army by his having a robust body. So these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Caesar's murderers, and cut Asprenas to pieces, because he was the first man they fell upon, and whose garment it was that the blood of the sacrifices stained, as I have said already, and which foretold that this his meeting the soldiers would not be for his good. Then did Norbanus meet them, who was one of the principal nobility of the city, and could show many garrisons of arms among his relations; but he was paid no regard to his dignity: yet was he of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first of those that assaulted him out of his hands, and appeared plainly not to be wil-

ling to die without a struggle for his life, until he was surrounded by a great number of assailants, and died by the multitude of the wounds which they gave him. The third man was Anteius, a senator, and a few others with him. He did not meet with the Germans by chance, as the rest did, but came to show his hatred to Caius, and because he loved to see Caius lie dead with his own eyes, and took a pleasure in that sight; for Caius had banished Anteius's father, who was of the same name with himself, and, being not satisfied with that, he sent out his soldiers, and slew him; so he was come to rejoice at the sight of him, now he was dead. But as the house was now all in a tumult, when he was aiming to hide himself, he could not escape that accurate search which the Germans made, while they barbarously slow those that were guilty and those that were not guilty, and this equally also. And thus were these [three] persons slain.

16. But when the rumour that Caius was slain reached the theatre, they were astonished at it, and could not believe it: even some that entertained his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of it happening than almost any other satisfaction that could come to them, were under such a fear that they could not believe it. There were also those who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling that any such thing should come to Caius, nor could believe it, though it were ever so true, because they thought that no man could possibly have so much power as to kill Caius. There were the women, and the children, and the slaves, and some of the soldiers. This last sort had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannized with him, and had abused the best of the citizens, in being subservient to his unjust commands, in order to gain honours and advantages to themselves; but for the women and the youth, they had been inveigled with shows, and the fighting of the gladiators, and certain distributions of flesh-meat among them, which things in preface were designed for the pleasing of the multitude, but in reality to satiate the barbarous cruelty and madness of the crowd. The women also were sorry, because they were by Caius allowed to accuse and to despise their masters, and they could have recourse to his assistance when they had unjustly affronted them; for he was easy in believing them against their masters, even when they accused them falsely; and, if they would discover what money their masters had, they might soon obtain both riches and liberty, as the rewards of their accusation, because the reward of these informers was the eighth part of the criminal's substance. As to the nobles, although the report appeared credible, yet also they were sorry, because they knew of the plot beforehand, or because they wished it might be true; however, they concealed not only the joy they had at the relation of it, but that they had heard anything at all about it. These last acted so, out of the fear they had that if the report proved false, they should be punished, for having so soon let men know their minds. But those that knew Caius was dead, because they were partners with the conspirators, they concealed all still more cautiously, as not knowing one another's minds; and fearing lest they should speak of it to some of those to whom the continuance of ly-
ranny was advantageous; and, if Caius should prove to be alive, they might be informed against and punished. And another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded indeed, yet he was not dead, but alive still, and under the physician's hands. Nor was any one looked upon by another as faithful enough to be trusted, and to whom any one would open his mind; for he was either a friend to Caius, and therefore suspected to favour his tyranny, or he was one that hated him, who therefore might be suspected to desire the less credit, because of his ill-will towards Caius. Not this was said (and this indeed it was that deprived the nobility of their hopes, and made them sad) that Caius was in a condition to despise the dangers he had been in, and took no care of healing his wounds, but was gotten away into the marketplace, and bloody as he was, was making an arrangement to the people. And these were the conjectured reports of those that were so unreasonable as to endeavour to raise tumults, which they turned different ways, according to the opinions of the hearers. Yet did they not leave their seats, for fear of being seen, if they should go out before the rest; for they should not be sentenced according to the real intention with which they went out, but according to the suppositions of the accuser and of the judges.

17. But now a multitude of Germans had surrounded the theatre with their swords drawn: all the spectators looked for nothing but death; and at every one's coming in, a fear seized upon them, as if they were to be cut in pieces immediately; and in great distress they were, as neither having courage enough to go out of the theatre, nor believing themselves safe from dangers if they tarried there. And when the Germans came upon them, the cry was so great, that the theatre rang again with the entreaties of the spectators to the soldiers, pleading that they were entirely ignorant of everything that related to such seditious contrivances, and if there were any sedition raised, they knew nothing of it; they therefore begged that they would spare them, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes as belonged to other persons, while they neglected to search after such as had really done whatever it be that has been done. And the people appealed to God, and deplored their infidelity with shedding of tears and beating their faces, and said every thing that the most imminent danger, and the utmost concern for their lives, could dictate to them. This brake the fury of the soldiers, and made them repent of what they minded to do to the spectators, which would have been the greatest instance of cruelty. And so it appeared to even these savages, when they had once fixed the heads of those that were slain with Asprenas upon the altar; at which sight the spectators were sorely afflicted, both upon the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and out of a commiseration of their sufferings; may, indeed, they were almost in as great disorder at the prospect of the danger themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. Whence it was that such as thorougly and justly hated Caius, could yet no way enjoy the pleasure of his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing together with him; nor had they hitherto any firm assurance of surviving.

18. There was at this time, one Euristius Aruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a strong and audible voice, who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to do what he pleased in the city, both then and afterward. This man put himself into the most mornful habit he could, although he had a greater hatred against Caius than any one else; his fear and his wise contrivance to gain his safety, taught him so to do, and prevailed over his present pleasure; so he put on such a mournful dress as he would have done had he lost his dearest friends in the world; and when he came into the theatre, and in company with the rest, he spoke of the death of Caius, and by this means put an end to that state of ignorance that men had been in. Arruntius also went round about the pillars, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their swords, and telling them that Caius was dead; and this proclamation it was plainly which saved those that were collected together in the theatre, and all the rest who any way met the Germans; for while they had hopes that Caius had still any breath in him, they abstained from no sort of mischief; and such abundant kindness they still had for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and procured his escape from so sad a misfortune, at the expense of their own lives; but they now left off the warm zeal they had to punish his enemies, now they were fully satisfied that Caius was dead, because it was now in vain for them to show their zeal and kindness to him, when he who should reward them was perished. They were also afraid that they should be punished by the senate, if they should go on in doing such injuries, that is, in the case of the posterity of the supreme governor should revert to them; and thus at length, she was put, though not without difficulty, to that rage which possessed the Germans on account of Caius's death.

19. But Chereas was so much afraid for Minucianus, lest he should light upon the Germans, now they were in their fury, that he went and spoke to every one of the soldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preservation, and made himself great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain; and for Clement, he let Minucianus go, when he was brought to him; and, with many other of the senators, affirmed in the senate, and commended the virtue of those that continued to have courage enough to execute it; and said, that "tyrants do indeed please themselves and look big for a while, upon having the power to act unjustly; but do not, however, go happily out of the world, because they are hated by the virtuous; and that Caius, together with all his unhappiness, was become a conspirator against himself, before these other men who attacked him, did so; and, by becoming intolerable, in setting aside the wise provision the laws had made, taught his dearest friends to treat him as an enemy; insomuch, that although in common discourse these conspirators were those that slew Caius, yet that, in reality, he lies now dead as perishing by his own self."
were necessary for the healing of those wounded persons, but in reality to get them clear of the present dangers they were in. In the senate, during this interval, had met, and the people had assembled together in the accustomed form, and were both employed in searching after the murderers of Caius. The people did it very zealously; but the senate in appearance only; for there was present Valerius of Asia, one that had been consul; this man went to the people, as they were in disorder, and very uneasy that they could not yet discover who they were that had murdered the emperor; he was then earnestly asked by them all, who it was that had done it? He replied, "I wish I had been the man!" The consul also published an edict, wherein they accused Caius, and gave order to the people then got together, and to the soldiers, to go home, and gave the people hopes of the abatement of the oppressions they lay under; and promised the soldiers, if they lay quiet as they used to do, and would not go abroad to do mischief unjustly, that they would bestow rewards upon them; for there was reason to fear lest the city might suffer harm by their wild and ungovernable behaviour, if they should once betake themselves to spoil the citizens, or plunder the temples. And now the whole multitude of the senators were assembled together, and especially those that had conspired to take away the life of Caius, who put on at this time an air of great assurance, and appeared with great magnanimity, as if the administration of public affairs were already devolved upon them.

CHAPTER II.

HOW THE SENATORS DETERMINED TO RESTORE THE DEMOCRACY; BUT THE SOLDIERS WERE FOR SERVING THE MONARCHY. CONCERNING THE SLAUGHTER OF CAIUS'S WIFE AND DAUGHTER. A CHARACTER OF CAIUS'S MORALES.

§ 1. When the public affairs were in this posture, Claudius was on the sudden hurried away out of his house; for the soldiers had a meeting together; and when they had debated about what was to be done, they saw that a democracy was incapable of managing such a vast weight of public affairs; and that if it should be set up, it would not be for their advantage; and in case any one of those already in the government should obtain the supreme power, it would in all respects be to their grief, if they were not assisting to him in this advancement: that it would therefore be right for them, while the public affairs were unsettled, to choose Claudius emperor, who was uncle to the deceased Caius, and of a superior dignity and worth to every one of those who were assembled together in the senate, both on account of the virtues of his ancestors, and of the learning he had acquired in his education; and who, if once settled in the empire, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. These were their consultations, and they executed the same immediately. Claudius was therefore seized upon suddenly by the soldiery. But Cneus Scenius Saturninus, although he understood that Claudius was seized, and that he intended to claim the government, unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality by his own free consent, stood up in the senate, and, without being dismayed, made an exordiate oration to them, and such a one indeed as was fit for men of freedom and generosity, and spoke thus:—

2. "Although it be a thing incredible, O Romans! because of the great length of time, that so unexpected an event hath happened, yet are we now in possession of liberty. How long indeed this will last is uncertain, and lies at the disposal of the gods, whose grant it is; yet such it is as is sufficient to make us rejoice, and be happy for the present, although we may soon be deprived of it; for one hour is sufficient to those that are exercised in virtue, wherein we may live with a mind accounting only to ourselves, in our own country, now free, and governed by such laws as this country once flourished under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former time of liberty, as being born after it was gone; but I am beyond measure filled with joy at the thoughts of our present freedom. I also esteem those that were born and brought up in that our former liberty happy men, and that those men are worthy of no less esteem than the gods themselves, who have given us a taste of it in this age; and I heartily wish that this quiet enjoyment of it, which we have at present, might continue for ever. However, this singular and happy office for our youth, as well as for us that are in years. It will seem an age to our old men, if they might die during its happy duration: it may also be for the instruction of the younger sort, what kind of virtues those men, from whose loins we are derived, were exercised in. As for ourselves, our business is, during the space of time, to live virtuously,—thus which nothing can be more to our advantage; which course of virtue it is alone that can preserve our liberty; for, as to our ancient state, I have heard of it by the relations of others; but as to our late state, during my life-time, I have known it, by experience, and learned thereby what mischievous tyrannies have brought upon this commonwealth, discouraging all virtue, and depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and proving the teachers of flattery and slavish fear, because it leaves the public administration not to be governed by wise laws, but by the humour of those that govern. For, since Julius Caesar took it into his head to dissolve our democracy, and, by overbearing the regular system of our laws, to bring disorders into our administration, and to get above right and justice, and to be a slave to his own inclinations, there is no kind of misery; but what hath tended to the subversion of this city; while all those that have succeeded him, have striven one with another to overthrow the ancient laws of their country, and have left it destitute of such citizens as were of generous principles; because they thought it tended to their safety to have vicious men to converse withal, and not only to break the spirits of those that were best esteemed for their virtue, but to resolve upon their utter destruction. Of all which emperors, who have been many in number, and who lay upon us insufferable burdens during the times of their government, this Caius, who had been slain to-day, hath brought more terrible calamities upon us than did all the rest, not only by exercising his ungoverned rage upon his fellow-citizens, but also upon his kindred and friends, and alike upon all others, and by inflicting still greater
miseries upon them, as punishments, which they never deserved; he being equally furious against men and against the gods; for tyrants are not content to gain their sweet pleasure, and this by acting injuriously, and in the vexation they bring both upon men’s estates and their wives,—but they look upon them to be their principal advantage, when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of their enemies; while all lovers of liberty are the enemies of tyranny. Nor can those who patiently endure what miseries they bring on them gain their friendship; for as they are conscious of the abundant mischiefs they have brought on these men, and how many have suffered from their hastiness, they cannot but be sensible what evils they have done, and thence only depend on security from what they are suspicious of, if it may be in their power to take them quite out of the world. Since, then, we are now gotten clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another (which form of government affords us the best assurance of our present concord, and promises us the best security from all evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in settling the city in good order), you ought, every one of you in particular, to lose the passion for his own private interest, for the public utility: or, on the contrary, they may declare their dissent to such things as have been proposed, and this without any hazard of danger to come upon them,—because they have now no lord set over them, who, without fear of punishment, could do mischief to the city, and had an uncontrollable power to take off those freely that declared their opinions. Nor has any thing so much contributed to this increase of tyranny of late, as sloth, and a timorous forbearance of contradicting the emperor’s will; while men had an over-great inclination to the sweetness of peace, and had learned to live like slaves, and as many of us as either heard of intolerable calamities that happened at a distance from us, or saw the miseries that were near us, out of the dread of dying virtuously, endured a death joined with the utmost infamy. We ought, then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honours we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Cheres Cassius; for, this one man, with the assistance of the gods, hath, by his counsel and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we have restored our liberty, who, under the foregoing tyrannick, took counsel beforehand, and beforehand hazarded himself for our liberties; but ought to declare him proper honours, and thereby freely declare, that he from the beginning acted with our approbation. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and what becomes freemen, to require their benefactors, as this man hath been a benefactor to us all, though not at all like Cassius and Brutus, who slew Caius Julius [Cesar]; for these men laid the foundations of sedition and civil wars in our city—but this man, together with his slaughter of the tyrant, hath set our city free from all those sad miseries which arose from the tyranny.  

3. And this was the purport of Sentius’s oration, which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took from Sentius’s finger a ring, which had a stone, with the image of Caius engraven upon it, and which, in his zeal in speaking, and his earnestness in doing what he was about, as it was supposed, he had forgotten to take off himself. This sculpture was broken immediately. But as it was now far in the night, Cheres demanded of the consule the watch-word, who gave him this word, Liberty. These facts were the subjects of admiration to themselves, and almost incredible; for it was a hundred years+ since the democracy had been laid aside, when this giving the watch-word returned. They were therefore subject to tyrants, for they were the commanders of the soldiers. But when Cheres had received the watch-word, he delivered it to those who were on the senate’s side, which were four regiments, who esteemed the government without emperors, to be preferable to tyranny. So these went away with their tribunes. The people also now departed very joyful, and full of hope and courage, as having recovered their former democracy, and no longer under an emperor: and Cheres was in very great esteem with them.  

4. And now Cassius was very uneasy that Caius’s daughter and wife were still alive, and that all his family did not perish with him, since whosoever was left of them must be left for the ruin of the city and of the laws. Moreover, in order to finish this matter with the utmost zeal, and in order to satisfy his hatred of Caius, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius’s wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lupus, as to a kinsman of Clement, that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of having assisted his fellow-citizens, and that he might appear to have been a partaker with those that were first in their designs against him; yet did this action appear to some of the conspirators to be too cruel, as to this using such severity to a woman, because Caius did more indulge his own ill-nature than use her advice in all that he did; from which ill-nature it was that the city was in so desperate a condition with the miseries that were brought on it, and the flower of the city was destroyed; but others accused her of giving her consent to these things; nay, they ascribed all that Caius had done, to her as the cause of it, and said she had given a potion to Caius, which had made him insensible to her, and had tied him down to love her by such evil methods; insomuch that she, having rendered him distracted, was become the author of all the mischiefs that had befallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was subject to them. So that at length it was determined that she must die; nor could those of the contrary opinion at all prevail to have her saved; and Lupus was sent accordingly. Nor was there any delay made in executing what he went about, but he was subservient to those that sent him on the first opportunity, as desirous to be no way blameable in what might be done for the advantage of the people. So, when he was come into the palace, he found Cesonia, who was Caius’s wife, lying by her husband’s dead body, which also lay down on the ground, and desist at all such

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* In this version of Sentius Saturninus, we may see the great value of virtue when put upon public liberty, and the bad miseries they underwent while they were tyrannized over by such emperors as Caius. See Joseph’s own short but pithy reflection at the end of the chapter.

+ So difficult, he says, is it for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary to those who have the absolute power to do what they please without control.

1 Hence we learn that, in the opinion of Saturninus, the sovereignty of the consule and senator had been taken away just one hundred and forty years before the death of Caius, a. d. 11; or in the fourteenth year before the Christian era, when the first triumvirate began under Cesar Pompsey, and Cnemius.
things as the law allows to the dead, and all over herself bereaved with the blood of her husband’s children, and all the afflication she bore under, her daughter lying by her also; and nothing else was heard in these her circumstances, but her complaint of Caius, as if he had not regarded what she had often told him of beforehand; which words of hers were taken in a different sense even at that time, and are now esteemed equally ambiguous, by those that hear of them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. Now some said that the words denoted, that she had advised him to leave off his mad behaviour, and his barbarous cruelty to the citizens, and to govern the commonwealth with reason and virtue; and he should perish by the same way, upon their using him as he had used them. But some said, that as certain words had passed concerning the conspirators, she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately to put them all to death; and this whether they were guilty or not, and that thereby he would be out of the fear of any danger; and that this was what she reproached him for when she advised him so to do, but he was too slow and tender in the matter. And this was what Cesonias did; and that the opinions of men were about this. But when then, when Lupus first approached, she showed him Caius’s dead body, and persuaded him to come nearer, with lamentation and tears; and as she perceived that Lupus was in disorder, and approached her in order to execute some design disagreeable to himself, she was well aware for what purpose he came, and stretched out her naked throat, and that very cheerfully to him, bewailing her case, like one utterly despairing of her life, and bidding him not to boggle at finishing the tragedy they had resolved upon relating to her. So she boldly received her death’s wound at the hand of Lupus, as did the daughter after her. So Lupus made haste to inform Ceres of what he had done.

5. This was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four years, within four months. He was, even before he came to be emperor, ill-natured, and one that had arrived at the utmost pitch of wickedness; a slave to his pleasures, and a lover of calumny; greatly affected by every terrible accident, and on that account of a very murderous disposition where he durst show it. He enjoyed his exorbitant power to this only purpose, to injure those who least deserved it, with unreasonable insolence, and got his wealth by murder and injustice. He laboured to appear above regarding either what was divine or agreeable to the laws, but was a slave to the commendations of the populace; and whatsoever the laws determined to be shameful, and punished, that he esteemed more honourable than what was virtuous. He was unmindful of his friends, how intimate soever, and though they were persons of the highest character; and, if he was once angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them on the smallest occasions; and esteemed every evil that could befall him a virtue in his enemy. And whatsoever he commanded, he would not admit of any contradiction to his inclinations; whence it was that he had criminal conversation with his own sister; from which occasion chiefly it was also that a bitter hatred first sprang up against him among the citizens, that sort of insanity had become in him, and by this provoked men to distrust him, and to hate him that was guilty of it. And for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the present and future ages, nobody can name any such, but only the heaven that he made about Rhegium and Sicily, for the reception of the ships that brought corn from Egypt; which was indeed a work without dispute very great in itself, and of very great advantage to the navigation. Yet was not this work brought to perfection by him, but was the one half of it left imperfect, by reason of his own want of application to it; the cause of which was that, he employed his studies about useless matters, and that by spending his money upon such pleasures as concerned no one’s benefit but his own, he could not exert his liberality in things that were undeniably of great consequence. Otherwise he was an excellent orator, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as with his own country or Roman language. He was also able, off-hand and readily, to give answers to compositions made by others, of considerable length and accuracy. He was also more skilful in persuading others to very great things than any one else, and this from a natural affability of temper, which had been improved by much exercise and pains-taking; for as he was the grandson of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was, this was a strong inducement to his aspiring to the principality, because Tiberius aspired after the highest pitch of that sort of reputation; and Caius aspired after the like glory for eloquence, being induced thereto by the letters of his kinsman and his emperor. He was also among the first rank of his own citizens. But the advantages he received from his learning did not countervail the mischief he brought upon himself in the exercise of his authority; so difficult it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary for a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they please without control. At the first he got himself such friends as were in all respects the most worthy, and was greatly beloved by them, while he imitated their zealous application to the learning and to the glorious actions of the best men; but when he became insolent towards them, they laid aside the kindness they had for him, and began to hate him; from which hatred came that plot which they raised against him, and wherein he perished.

CHAPTER III.

HOW CLAUDIUS WAS SEIZED UPON, AND BROUGHT OUT OF HIS HOUSE, AND BROUGHT TO THE CAMP; AND HOW THE SENATE SENT AN EMBASSY TO HIM.

§ 1. Now Claudius, as I said before, went out of that way along which Caius was gone, and as the family was in a mighty disorder upon the sudden accident of the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place; though he had no other occasion for suspicion of any dangers, besides the dignity of his birth; for while he

1 This Caius was the son of that excellent person Germanus, who was the son of Bureyus, the brother of Tiberius the emperor.
was a private man, he behaved himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning, and to keeping up the appearance of being a scholar, and keeping himself entirely clear from everything that might bring on any disturbance. But at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers' madness, and the very emperor's guards seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called pretorians, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation, had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he deserved it, nor his foresight of the state of things; rather considering their own circumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially while the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius; which yet was rather done to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the people; all which things disturbed Claudius, who was afraid of his own safety, and this particularly because he saw the heads of Aspernas and his partners carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither a few steps led him, and whither he had retired in the dark by himself. But when Caius, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was, because it was dark, though he could well judge that it was a man who was private there on some design, he came nearer to him; and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was, and owned him to be Claudius. So he said to his followers, "This is a Germanicus; come on, let us choose him for our emperor." But when Claudius saw they were making preparations for taking him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caius, he besought them to spare him, putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what had been done. Hereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand, and said, "Leave off, Sir, these low thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire, which the gods, out of their concern for the habitable world, by taking Caius out of the way, commit to thy virtuous conduct. Go to, therefore, and accept of the throne of thy ancestors." So they took him up and carried him, because he was not then able to go on foot, such was his dread and his joy at what was told him.

2. Now there was already gathered together about Gratus, a great number of the guards; and when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked with a sad countenance, as supposing that he was carried to execution for the mischiefs that had been lately done; while yet they thought him a man who never meddled with public affairs all his life long, and one that had met with no contemptible dangers under the reign of Caius; and some of them thought it reasonable that the conquest should take cognizance of these matters; and, as still more and more of the soldiers got together, the crowd about him ran away, and Claudius could hardly go on, his body was then so weak; and those who carried his sedan, upon an inquiry that was made about his being carried off, ran away and saved themselves, as despairing of the loss of their protecting. But when they were come into the large court of the palace (which, as the report goes about it, was inhabited first of all the parts of the city of Rome), and had just reached the public treasury, many more soldiers came about him, as glad to see Claudius's face, and thought it exceeding right to make him emperor on account of their kindness for Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behind him a vast reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected also on the covetous temper of the leading men of the senate, and what great errors they had been guilty of when the senate had the government formerly; they also considered the impossibility of such an undertaking, as also what dangers they should be in, if the government should come to a single person, and that such a one should possess it as they had no hand in advancing, and not to Claudius, who would take it as their grant, and as gained by their good-will to him, and would remember the favours they had done him, and would make them a sufficient recompense for the same.

3. These were the discourses the soldiers had one with another by themselves, and they communicated them to all such as came in to them. Now those that inquired about this matter, willingly embraced the invitation that was made them to join with the rest: so they carried Claudius into the camp, crowding about him as his guard, and encompassing him about, one chairman still succeeding another, that their vehement endeavours might not be hindered. But as to the populace and senators, they disagreed in their opinions. The latter were very desirous to recover their former dignity, and were zealous to get clear of the slavery that had been brought on them by the injurious treatment of the tyrants, which the present opportunity afforded them; but for the people, who were envious against them, and knew that the emperors were capable of curbing their covetous temper, and were a refuge from them, they were very glad that Claudius had been seized upon, and brought to them, and thought, that if Claudius were made emperor, he would prevent a civil war, such as there was in the days of Pompey. But when the senate knew that Claudius was brought into the camp by the soldiers, they sent to them those of their body which had the best character for their virtues, that they might inform him that he ought to do nothing by violence, in order to gain the government; that he who was a single person, one either already, or hereafter to be a member of their body, ought to yield to the senate, which consisted of so great a number; that he ought to let the law take place in the disposal of all that related to the public order, and to remember how greatly the former tyrants had afflicted their city, and what dangers both he and they had escaped under Caius; and that he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyranny, which the injury was, and himself wilfully treat his country after a mad and insolent manner; that if he would comply with them, and demonstrate that his firm resolution was to live quietly and virtuously, he would have the greatest honours decreed on him that a free people could bestow; and by subjecting himself to the law, would obtain this branch of commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue, both as a ruler
and a subject; but that if he would act foolishly, and learn no wisdom by Caius's death, they would not permit him to go on; that a great part of the army was got together for them, with plenty of weapons, and a great number of slaves, which they could make use of; that good hope was a great matter in such cases, as was also good fortune, and that the gods would never assist any others, but those that undertook to act with virtue and goodness, who can be no other than such as fight for the liberty of their country.

4. Now the ambassadors, Veranius and Brocchius, who were both of them tribunes of the people, made this speech to Claudius; and, falling down upon their knees, they begged of him that he would not throw the city into wars and misfortunes; but when they saw what a multitude of soldiers encompassed and guarded Claudius, and that the forces that were with the consuls were, in comparison of them, perfectly inconsiderable, they added, that if he did desire the government, he should accept of it as given by the senate; that he would prosper better, and he happier if he came to it, not by injustice, but by the good-will of those that would bestow it upon him.

CHAPTER IV.

WHAT THINGS KING AGrippA DID FOR CAIUS; AND HOW CAIUS, WHEN HE HAD TAKEN THE GOVERNMENT, COMMANDED THE MURDERERS OF CAIUS TO BE SLAIN.

§ 1. Now Claudius, though he was sensible after what an insolent manner the senate had sent to him, yet did he, according to their advice, behave himself for the present with moderation; but not so far that he could not recover himself out of his fright: so he was encouraged [to claim the government] partly by the boldness of the soldiers, and partly by the persuasion of king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let such a dominion slip out of his hands, when it came thus to him of its own accord. Now this Agrippa, with relation to Caius, did what became one that had been so much honoured by him; for he embraced Caius's body after he was dead, and laid it upon a bed, and covered it as well as he could, and went out to the guards, and told them Caius was still alive; but he said that they should call for physicians, since he was very ill of his wounds. But when he had learned that Claudius was carried away violently by the soldiers, he rushed through the crowd to him, and when he found that he was in disorder, and ready to resign up the government to the senate, he encouraged him, and desired him to keep the government; but when he had said this to Claudius, he retired home. And, upon the senate's sending for him, he anointed his head with ointment, as if he had lately accompanied with his wife, and had dismissed her, and then came to him; he also asked of the senators what Claudius did; who told him the present state of affairs, and then asked his opinion about the government of the public. He told them in words, that he was ready to lose his life for the honour of the senate, but desired them to consider what was for their advantage, without any regard to what was most agreeable to them; for that those who grasp at government, will stand in need of weapons and soldiers to guard them, unless they will set up without any preparation for it, and so fall into danger. And when the senate replied, that they would bring in weapons in abundance, and money, and that an army had already collected together for them, and they would raise a larger one by giving the slaves their liberty,

—Agrippa made answer, "O senators! may you be able to compass what you have a mind to; yet will I immediately tell you my thoughts, because they tend to your preservation. Take notice, then, that the army which will fight for Claudius hath been long exercised in warlike affairs; but our army will be no better than a rude multitude of raw men, and those such as have been unexpectedly made free from slavery, and ungovernable; we must then fight against those that are skilful in war, with men who know not so much as how to draw their swords. So that my opinion is, that we should send some persons to Claudius, to persuade him to lay down the government; and I am ready to be one of your ambassadors."

2. Upon this speech of Agrippa, the senate complied with him, and he was sent among others, and privately informed Claudius of the disorder the senate was in, and gave him instructions to answer them in a somewhat commanding strain, and as one invested with dignity and authority. Accordingly Claudius said to the ambassadors, that he did not wonder the senate had no mind to have an emperor over them, because they had been harassed by the barbarity of those that had formerly been at the head of their affairs; but that they should taste of an equitable government under him, and moderate times, while he should only be their ruler in name, but the authority should be equally common to them all; and since he had passed through many and various scenes of life before their eyes, it would be good for them not to distrust him. So the ambassadors, upon their hearing this answer, were dismissed. But Claudius discourse with the senators which were with him together, who took oaths that they would persist in their fidelity to him; upon which he gave the guards every man five thousand* drachmae a-piece, and a proportionable quantity to their captains, and promised to give the same to the rest of the armies, wherever they were.

3. And now the consuls called the senate together, into the temple of Jupiter the Conqueror, while it was still night; but some of those senators concealed themselves in the city, being uncertain what to do, upon the hearing of this summons; and some of them went out of the city to their own farms, as foreseeing whither the public affairs were going, and despairing of liberty; nay, these supposed it much better for them to be slaves without danger to themselves, and to live a lazy and inactive life, than by claiming the dignity of their forefathers, to run the hazard of their own safety. However, a hundred, and no more, were gotten together; and as they were in consultation about the present posture of affairs, a sudden clamour was made by the soldiers that were on their side, desiring, that the senate would choose them an emperor.

* This number of drachmae to be distributed to each private soldier, five thousand drachmae, equal to twenty thousand talents, or one hundred pounds, and eight thousand drachmae sterling, seems much too large, and directly contradictory to what, ch. x. who makes them in all but fifteen thousand, or two shillings and fourpence. Yet might Josephus have this number from Agrippa, junior, though I doubt the thousand, or at least the hundred, have been added by the transcribers; of which we have heard several examples already in Josephus.
perior, and not bring the government into ruin by a multitude of rulers. 2. The fulcrum declared to be for the giving the government not to all, but to one; but they gave the senate leave to look out for a person worthy to be set over them, insomuch, that now the affairs of the senate were much worse than before; because they had not only failed in the recovery of their liberty, which they boasted themselves of, but were in dread of Claudius also. Yet there were those that hankered after the government, both on account of the dignity of their families, and that accuring to them by their marriages; for Marcus Minucianus was illus- trious for his family, Quintus Flaminius married Julia, the sister of Caius, who accordingly was very ready to claim the government, although the consule discouraged him, and made one delay after another in proposing it: that Minucianus also, who was one of Caius’s murderers, restrained Valerius of Asia from thinking of such things; and a prodigious slaughter there had been, if leaves had been given to these men to set up for themselves, and oppose Claudius. There were also a considerable number of gladiators besides, and of those soldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and rivers of ships, who all ran into the camp to dis- much, that of those who put in for the government, some left off their pretensions, in order to spare the city, and others out of fear of their own persons.

4. But as soon as ever it was day, Cherea, and those that were with him, came into the senate, and attempted to make speeches to the soldiers. How- ever, the multitude of those soldiers, when they saw they were making signals for silence with their hands, and were ready to begin to speak to them, grew tumultuous, and would not let them speak at all, because they were jealous to be under a monarchy; and they demanded of the senate one for their ruler, as not enduring any longer delays. But the senate hesitated about either their own governing, or how they should be governed, while the soldiers would not admit them to govern; and the murderers of Caius would not permit the soldiers to dictate to them. When they were in those circumstances, Cherea was not able to contain the anger he had, and promised, that if they desired an emperor, he would give them one, if one would bring him the watch-word from Eutychus. Now, this Eutychus was charioteer of the green-band fac- tion, styled Praxine, and a great friend of Caius, who used to harass the soldiers with building sta- bles for horses, and spent his time in ignominious labours, which occasioned Cherea to reproach them with him, and to abuse them with much other scur- rilous language; and told them he would bring them the head of Claudius; and that it was an amazing thing that, after their former madness, they should commit their government to a fool. Yet were they not moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went to Claudius, so join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the soldiers were not without some body to defend them; and the very consule differed nothing from private persons. They were also under con- sternation and sorrow, men not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fell a reproaching one ano- ther, and repented of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinus, one of Caius’s murderers, threatened, that he would sooner come into the midst of them and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them; he also abused Cherea for loving his life too well, while he who was the first in his con- tempt of Caius, could think it a good thing to live, when, even by all that they had done for the reco- very of their liberty, they had found it impossible to do it. But Cherea said he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; yet he would first sound the intentions of Claudius before he did it.

5. These were the debates [about the senate]; but in the camp every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius; and the other leaders of the people increasing military as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty; whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him, and they had done it, if Claudius had not hindered them, who matched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honourable manner; nay, some of them received blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Claudius; nay, Aponius went away surrounded, and they were all in danger. However, king Agrippa went up to Claudius, and declared he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senate together into the palace, and was carried thither himself through the city, while the soldiers conducted him, though this was to the great vexation of the multitude; for Cherea and Sabinus, two of Caius’s murderers, went in the fore-front of them, in an open manner, while Pollio, whom Claudius, a little before, had made captain of his guards, had sent them an epistolary edict, to forbid them to appear in public. Then did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get his friends together, and desired their suffrages about Cherea. They said that the work he had done was a glorious one; but they accused him that he did it of perfidiousness, and thought it just to inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, to dis- countenance such actions for the time to come. So Cherea was led to his execution, and Lupus and many other Romans with him. Now it is reported that Cherea bore his calamity courageously; and this not only by the firmness of his own behaviour under it, but by the reproaches he laid upon Lupus, who fell into tears; for when Lupus had laid his garment aside and complained of the cold, he said, that cold was never hurtful to Lupus [i.e. a wolf]. And as a great many men went along with them to see the sight, when Cherea came to the place, he asked the soldier who was to be their executioner, whether this office was what he was used to, or whether this was the first time of his using this sword in that manner; and desired him to bring him that very sword with which he himself slew Caius. So he was happily killed at once. But Lupus did not meet with such good fortune in going out of the world, since he was timorous, and had many blows levelled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly [as he ought to have done].

6. Now a few days after this, as the Parental
Solomities were just at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual offerings to their several gods, and put portions into the fire in honor of Chereza, and besought him to be merciful to them, and not continue his anger against them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the life that Chereza came to. But for Sabinus, although Claudia not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army, yet did he think it would be unjust in him to fail of performing his obligations to his fellow-confederates; so he fell upon his sword, and killed himself, the wound reaching up to the very hilt of the sword.*

CHAPTER V.

HOW CLAUDIUS RESTORED TO AGRIPPA HIS GRANDFATHER'S KINDOMS, AUGMENTED HIS DOMINIONS; AND HOW HE PUBLISHED AN EDICT IN BEHALF OF THE JEWS.

1. Now, when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, which he did immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed that kingdom to Agrippa which Caius had given him, and therein commended the king highly. He also made an addition to it of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is, Judea and Samaria; and this he restored to him as due to his family. But for Abilut, of Lysanias, and all that lay at Mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territories. He also made a league with this Agrippa, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome: he also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagene: he also set Alexander Lycurgus over Judea; he did all this, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother Antonia, but had been imprisoned by Caius, whose son [Marcus] married Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod, and begg'd for him of Claudia the kingdom of Chalcis.

2. Now, about this time there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexander; for, when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews which had been very much harassed under the reign of Caius, and reduced to very great distress by the people of Alexandria, recovered themselves, and immediately took up their arms to fight for themselves. So Claudia sent an order to the president of Egypt, to quiet that tumult; also he sent an edict, at the request of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whose contents were as follows:—"Tiberius Claudia Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high-priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus:—Since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called Alexandrians, have been joint inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexandrians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evident by the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves; and that after Alexandria had been subjected to our empire by Augustus, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those presidents who have at divers times been sent thither; and that no dispute has been raised about those rights and privileges, even when Aquila was governor of Alexandria; and that when a Jewish ethumarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit the making such ethumarchs, as willing that all men should be on the same footing. Therefore, as to the Romans, to continue in the observation of their own customs, and not be forced to transgress the ancient rules of their own country religion; but that, in the time of Caius, the Alexandrians became insolent to the Jews that were among them, which Caius, out of his great madness, and want of understanding, reduced the nation of the Jews very low, because they would not transgress the religious worship of their country, and call him a god: I will, therefore, that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the madness of Caius; but these rights and privileges, which they formerly enjoyed, he preserved to them, and that they may continue in their own customs. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no troubles may arise after the promulgation of this edict." 3. And such were the contents of this edict on behalf of the Jews, that was sent to Alexandria. But the edict that was sent into the other parts of the habitable earth was this which follows:—"Tiberius Claudia Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high-priest, tribune of the people, chosen consul the second time, ordains thus:—Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges should be preserved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith; and this grant I make not only for the sake of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned, worthy of such a favour, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Greek citizen should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they would not transgress them under the great Augustus. It will therefore be fit to permit the Jews, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient customs without being hindered so to do. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstition.
CHAPTER VI.

WHAT THINGS WERE DONE BY AGRIPPA AT JERUSALEM WHEN HE WAS RETURNED BACK INTO JUDEA; AND WHAT IT WAS THAT PETRONIUS WROTE TO THE INHABITANTS OF DORIS, IN BEHALF OF THE JEWS.

§ 1. Now Claudius Caesar, by these decrees of his which were sent to Alexandria and to all the habitable earth, made known what opinion he had of the Jews. So he soon sent Agrippa away to take his kingdom, now he was advanced to a more illustrious dignity than before, and sent letters to the presidents of the provinces, that they should treat him very kindly. Accordingly, he returned in haste, as was likely he would, now he returned in much greater prosperity than he had before. He also came to Jerusalem and offered all the sacrifices that belonged to him, and omitted nothing which the law required; on which account he ordered that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shorn. And for the golden chain which had been given him by Caligula, of equal weight with that iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the limits of the temple, over the treasury; that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better; that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall, and that God sometimes raises what is fallen down: for this chain thus dedicated, afforded a document to all men, that king Agrippa had been once bound in a chain for a small cause, but recovered his former dignity again; and a little while afterwards got out of his bonds, and was advanced to be a more illustrious king than he was before. Whence men may understand, that all that pariah of human nature, how great soever they are, may fall; and that those that fall may gain their former illustrious dignity again.

2. And when Agrippa had entirely finished all the duties of the divine worship, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the high-priesthood, and bestowed that honour of his on Simon, the son of Boethus, whose wife was also Canthera, whose daughter king Herod had married, as I have related above. Simon, therefore, had the [high] priesthood with his brethren, and with his father, in like manner as the sons of Simon, the husband of Onias, whereas three, had it formerly under the government of the Macedonians, as we have related in a former book.

3. When the king had settled the high-priesthood after this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had shewn him; for he released them from the tax upon houses, every one of whom paid it before, thinking it a good thing to requite the tender affection of those who loved him. He also made Silas the general of his forces, as a man who had partaken with him in many of his troubles. But after a very little while, the young men of Doris, professing a rash attempt before piety, and being naturally bold and insolent, carried a statue of Caesar into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his country. So he came without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then president of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor did he less resent what was done than did Agrippa; for he judged it a piece of impiety to transgress the laws that regulate the actions of mankind. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris, in an angry strain: to Publius Petronius, the president under Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, to the magistrates of Doris, ordains as follows:—Since some of you have had the boldness, or madness rather, after the edict of Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus was published, for permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their country, not to obey the same, but have acted in entire opposition thereto, as forbidding the Jews to assemble together in the synagogue, by removing Caesar’s statue, and setting it up therein, and thereby have offended not only the Jews, but the emperor himself, whose statute is more commendably placed in his own temple than in a foreign one, where is the place of assembling together; while it is but a part of natural justice, that every one should have the power over the place belonging peculiarly to themselves, according to the determination of Caesar,—to say nothing of my own determination, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor’s edict, which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs, as also gives order that they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the Greeks themselves,—I therefore ordain, that Proenius Vellius, the centurion, bring those men to me, who, contrary to Augustus’ edict, have been so insolent as to do this thing at which those very men who appear to be of principal reputation among them, have an indignation also, and allege for themselves that it was not done with their consent, but by the violence of the multitude, that they might give an account of what hath been done. I also exhort the principal magistrates among them, unless they have a mind to have this action esteemed to be done with their consent, to inform the centurion of those that were present at it, that they may be taken for raising a sedition or quarrel among them, which those seem to me to hunt after, who encourage such doings; while both I myself, and king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, have nothing more under our care than that the nation of the Jews may have no occasion given them of getting together, under the pretence of avenging themselves, and become tumultuous.

This form was so known and frequent among the Romans, as Dr. Lord Hervey tells us, as from the Greek, it is used to be translated at the bottom of their letters by the initials letters only, U. D. P. H. P. L. P., Unite De Plano Murta Lega Posti: Whence it may be plainly read from the ground.  

Josephus shows, both here and ch. vii. sect. 9, that he had a much greater opinion of king Agrippa, I than Simon: the learned rabbin, than the people of Chama and Sebaste, ch. vii. sect. 4, and ch. ix. sect. 1, and indeed than his double-cousin, even the sense and Claudius, chap. iv. sect. 9, than his slaughter of James, the brother of John, and his imprisonment of Peter, or his vain-glorious behaviour before he died, both in Acts xii. 3, 4, Acts xiv. 21, and also ch. vii. sect. 1, will justly assert or allow Josephus’s character was probably taken from hi: son Agrippa, junior.  

This treasury-chamber seems to have been the very same in which our Saviour taught, and where the people offered their charity money, for the repairs or for the use of the temple. Mark xii. 41, 42, Luke xxi. 1, John viii. 39
And that it may be more publicly known what Augustus hath resolved upon this whole matter, I have absolved those edicts which he hath lately caused to be published at Alexandria, and which, although they may be well known to all, yet did Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, read them at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived of those rights which Augustus hath granted them. I therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time to come, seek for any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that every one be allowed to follow their own religious customs.

4. Thus did Petronius take care of this matter, that such a breach of the law might be corrected, and that no such thing might be attempted afterwards against the Jews. And now king Agrippa took the [high] priesthood away from Simon Cantheras, and put Jonathan, the son of Ananus, into it again, and owned that he was more worthy of that dignity than the other. But this was not a thing acceptable to him, to recover that his former dignity. So he refused it, and said, "O king! I rejoice in the honour that thou hast for me, and take it kindly that thou wouldst give me such a dignity of thy own inclination, although God hath judged that I am not at all worthy of the high-priesthood. I am satisfied with having once put on the sacred garments; for I then put them on after a more holy manner than I should now receive them again. But, if thou desirest that a person more worthy than myself should have this honourable employment, give me leave to name thee such a one. I have a brother that is pure from all sin against God, and of all offences against thyself; I recommend him to thee, as one that is fit for this dignity." So the king was pleased with these words of his, and passed by Jonathan, and according to his brother's desire, bestowed the high-priesthood upon Matthias. Nor was it long before Marcus succeeded Petronius, as president of Syria.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCERNING SILAS,—AND ON WHAT ACCOUNT IT WAS THAT KING AGrippa WAS ANGRY AT HIM. HOW AGrippa BEGAN TO ENCIRCUMP JERUSALEM WITH A WALL; AND WHAT BENEFITS HE BESTOWED ON THE INHABITANTS OF BERYTUS.

§ 1. Now Silas, the general of the king's horse, because he had been faithful to him under all his misfortunes, and had never refused to be a partner with him in any of his dangers, but had oftentimes undergone the most hazardous dangers for him, was full of assurance, and thought he might expect a sort of equality with the king, on account of the firmness of the friendship he had shown to him. Accordingly, he would nowhere let the king sit as his superior, and took the like liberty in speaking to him upon all occasions, till he became troublesome to the king, when they were merry together, extolling himself beyond measure, and often putting the king in mind of the severity of fortune he had undergone, that he might by way of ostentation demonstrate what zeal he had shown in his service; and was continually harping upon this string, what pains he had taken for him, and much enlarged upon that subject. The repetition of this so frequently seemed to reproach the king, insomuch that he took this unoverable liberty of making very ill at his hearing. For the commemoration of times, when men have been under ignominy, is by no means agreeable to them; and he is a very silly man, who is perpetually relating to a person what kindness he had done him. But therefore, Silas had so thoroughly provoked the king's indignation, that he acted rather out of passion than good consideration, and did not only miss Silas out of his place, as general of his horse, but sent him in bonds into his own country. But the edge of his anger wore off by length of time, and made room for more just reasonings as to his judgment about this man; and he considered how many labours he had undergone for his sake, when Agrippa was solemnizing his birthday-day, and he gave festival entertainments to all his subjects, he sent for Silas on the sudden to be his guest. But, as he was a very frank man, he thought he had now a just handle given him to be angry; which could not conceal from those that came for him, but said to them, "What honour is the king invites me to, which I conclude will not be over! For the king hath not let me keep those original marks of the good-will I bore him, which I once had from him; but he hath plundered me, and that unjustly also. Does he think that I leave off that liberty of speech, which the consciousness of my deserts, I shall use more boldly than before, and shall relate how many misfortunes I have undergone for him, whereby I procured his delivery and respect, as a reward for which I have borne the hardships of bonds and a dark prison: I shall never forget this usage. Nay, perhaps, my very soul, when it is departed out of the body, will not forget the glorious actions I did in his account." This was the clamour he made; and he ordered the messengers to tell it to the king. So he perceived that Silas was incurable in his folly, and still suffered him to lie in prison.

2. As for the walls of Jerusalem, that were adjoining to the new city [Bezatha], he repaired them at the expense of the public, and built them wider in breadth and higher in altitude; and he had made them too strong for all human power to demolish, unless Marcus, the then president of Syria, had by letter informed Claudius Cesar of what he was doing. And when Claudius had some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he sent to Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls presently. So he obeyed, as not thinking it proper to contradict Claudius.

3. Now, this king was by nature very beneficent and liberal in his gifts, and very anxious to oblige people with such large donations; and he made himself very illustrious by the many charitable presents he made them. He took delight in giving, and rejoiced in living with good reputation. He was not at all like that Herod who reigned before him; for that Herod was ill-natured, and severe in his punishments, and had no mercy on them that he hated; and every one perceived that he was more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews; for he adorned foreign cities with large presents in money; with building them baths and theatres besides; nay, in some of those places, he erected temples, and porticoes in others; but he did not vouchsafe to raise one of the least edifices in any Jewish city, or make them any donation that was
of Chaleis. All these he treated with agreeable entertainments, and after an obliging manner, and so as to exhibit the greatness of his mind,—and so as to appear worthy of those respects which the kings paid to him, by coming thus to see him. However, while these kings staid with him, Marcus, the president of Syria, came thither. So the king, in order to preserve the respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city to meet him, as far as seven furlongs. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marcus; for he took with him in his chariot those other kings as his assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings one with another, and did not think so close an agreement of so many potencies to be for the interest of the Romans. He therefore sent some of his domestics to every one of them, and enjoined them to go their ways home without further delay. This was very ill taken by Agrippa, who after that became his enemy. And now he took the high-priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elioenaeus, the son of Cantherus, high priest in his stead.

2. Now, when Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city Cesarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honour of Cæsar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival, a great multitude was gotten together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his provinces. On the second day of which shows he put a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture such as the Indians use, into the theatre early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread a horror over those that looked intently upon him; and presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place, and another from another (though not for his good), that he was a god: and they added, "Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto reverenced thee only as a man, yet shall we make thee, without thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their immodest flattery. But, as he presently afterwards looked up, he saw an owl siting on a certain rope over his head, and

CHAPTER VIII.

WHAT OTHER ACTS WERE DONE BY AGrippa UNTil HIS DEATH; AND AFTER WHAT MANNER HE DIED.

1. When Agrippa had finished what I have above related at Berytus, he removed to Tiberias, a city of Galilee. Now he was in great esteem among other kings. Accordingly there came to him Antiochus, king of Commagena, Sampsiger- manus, king of Emess, and Cotys, who was king of the lesser Armenia, and Polemo, who was king of Pontus, as also Herod his brother, who was king

* A strange number of condemned criminals to be under sentence of death at once; no fewer, it seems than 1700! 

* We have a mighty cry made here by some critics, as if the great Eusebius had on purpose falsified this account of Josephus, so as to make it agree with the parallel account in the Acts of the Apostles; but I am of opinion that Josephus has contended in the present place its situation in his history. In the Acts, his oration, it is said, that he considered the Jews as a new generation, and that they were not the same as the Jews of the Old Testament; and this is true. We must therefore understand, that Josephus and Eusebius's copies of the fourth century were just like the present in this clause, which we have no distinct evidence of, the following words, preserved still in the Eusebian, will not admit of any such exception; and the conjecture of 1700, that it was given to the Jews, that they were only the second generation, is not supported by the context. But this (and may Eusebius) Agrippa presently perceived to be the true state of affairs, so that he determined to put the Jews under the same authority as the Jews of the Old Testament, and that the difference of these might only belong to that bird, the owl, which as it had formerly foretold his death, and the solemn measures of his government under the new dispensation, were not then the reverse of it; so was it then foretold to prove afterward the unhappy forewarning of his death in five days time. If the improper words signifying, as it was changed for Josephus’s proper word αὐτοκράτορας, οὐκ αὐτοκράτορας, οὐτοκράτορας, the forgoing word ωίκονομος, which is inserted, Eusebius’s text will truly represent the sense of Josephus in this place. This impression been in some hesitancy, that it was in good sense with our modern critics, they would have readily corrected these barely errors in the copies; but being in an ancient Christian writers, not as well relieved by many of these critics, nothing will serve but the ill-grounded suspense of selfish corrections and prescriptions,
immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him; and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends, and said, "To whom do you call a god, am commanded presently to depart from this life; while Providence thus reproves the lying words you have just now said to me; and I, who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what Providence alloteth, as it pleases God; for I know by no means lived ill, but in a splendid manner, and happily." When he had said this, his pain became violent. Accordingly he was carried into the palace; and the rumour went abroad everywhere, that he would certainly die in a little time. But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear tears. He had been so worn out in the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventh year of his reign; for he reigned four years under Caius Caesar, three of them over Philip's tetrarchy only, and on the fourth he had that of Herod added to it; and he reigned besides those, three years under the reign of Claudius Caesar; in which time he reigned over the fore-mentioned countries, and also had Judea added to them, as also Samaria and Cesarea. The revenues that he received out of them were very great, no less than twelve millions of drachmas. Yet did he borrow great sums from others; for he was so very liberal, that his expenses exceeded his incomes; and his generosity was boundless.

3. But before the multitude were made acquainted with Agrippa's being expired, Herod the king of Chalcis, and Heleias the master of his horse, and the king's friend, sent Aristob, one of the king's most faithful servants, and slew Sibas, who had been his enemy, as if it had been done by the king's own command.

CHAPTER IX.

WHAT THINGS WERE DONE AFTER THE DEATH OF AGrippA; AND HOW CLAUDIUS, ON ACCOUNT OF THE YOUTH AND UNSEARDINESS OF AGrippA, JUNIOR, SENT CURSIPUS FADUS TO BE PROCURATOR OF JUDEA, AND OF THE ENTIRE KINGDOM.

§ 1. And thus did king Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a son, Agrippa by name, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age, and three daughters, one of whom, Bernice, was married to Herod, his father's brother, and was sixteen years old; the other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins; the former was ten years old, and Drusilla six. Now these his daughters were the espoused by their father; Mariamne to Iulius Archelaus Epiphaneus, the son of Antiochus, the son of Chalecas; and Drusilla to the son of Cesareus; and when it was known that Agrippa was departed this life, the inhabitants of Cesarea and of Sebaste forgot the kindness he had bestowed on them, and acted the part of the bitten enemies; for they cast such reproaches on the deceased and of his name to be spoken of: and as many of them as were then soldiers, which were a great number, went to his house, and hastily carried off the statuæ of this king's daughters, and all at once carried them into the brothel-houses, and when they had set them on the tops of these houses, they abused them to the utmost of their power, and did such things to them as are too indecent to be related. They also laid themselves down in the public places, and celebrated general feasting, with garlands on their heads, and wild movements and libations to Chiron, and drinking one another for joy that the king was expired. Nay, they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who had extended his liberality to them in abundance, but of his grandfather Herod also, who had himself rebuilt their cities, and had raised there havens and temples at vast expenses.

2. Now Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at Rome, and brought up with Caius Caesar. And when Caesar was informed that Agrippa was dead, and that the inhabitants of Sebaste and Cesarea had abused him, he was sorry for the first news, and was disconsolate with the ingratitude of those cities. He was therefore disposed to send Agrippa, junior, away presently to succeed his father in the kingdom, and was willing to confirm him in it by his oath. But those freemen and friends of his who had the greatest authority with him, dissuaded him from it, and said that it was a dangerous experiment to permit so large a kingdom to come under the government of so very young a king, and one hardly yet arrived at the years of discretion, who would not be able to take sufficient care of its administration; while the weight of a kingdom is heavy enough to a grown man. So Caesar thought what they said to be reasonable. Accordingly he sent Cuspius Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire kingdom, and paid that respect to the deceased as not to introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined, in the first place, to send orders to Fadus, that he should chastise the inhabitants of Cesarea and Sebaste for those abuses they had offered to him that was deceased, and their madness towards his daughters that were still alive; and that he should remove that body of soldiers that were at Cesarea and Sebaste, with the five regiments, into Ptolemais, that they might do their military duty there, and that he should choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria, to supply their place. Yet were not those that had such orders actually removed; for by sending ambassadors to Claudius, they mollified him, and got leave to abide in Judea.

[Photius, who made an extract out of this section, says, you were not the editors or compilers, but the ladies themselves, who were thus hourly abused by the soldiers. Cn. cesar.]
still; and these were the very men that became
the source of very great calamities to the Jews in
after-times, and sowed the seeds of that war which
began under Florus; whence it was that, when

Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed
them out of his province, as we shall relate here-
after.*

BOOK XX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWENTY-TWO YEARS.

FROM FADUS THE PROCURATOR TO FLORUS.

CHAPTER I.

A SEDITION OF THE PHILADELPHIANS AGAINST THE
JEWs; AND ALSO CONCERNING THE VESTMENTS
OF THE HIGH-PRIEST.

§ 1. Upon the death of king Agrippa, which we
have related in the foregoing book, Claudius Cesar
sent Cassius Longinus as successor to Marcus, out
of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had
often desired of him by letters, while he was alive,
that he would not suffer Marcus to be any longer
president of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was
made procurator into Judæa, found quarrelsome
doings between the Jews that dwelt in Perea and
the people of Philadelphia, about their borders, at
a village called Mia, that was filled with men of a
warlike temper; for the Jews of Perea had taken
up arms without the consent of their principal men,
and had destroyed many of the Philadelphians.
When Fadus was informed of this procedure, it
provoked him very much that they had not left the
determination of the matter to him, if they thought
that the Philadelphians had done them any wrong,
but had rashly taken up arms against them. So
he seized upon three of their principal men, who
were also the causes of this sedition, and ordered
them to be bound, and afterward had one of them
slain, whose name was Hannibal; and he banished
the other two, Amram and Eleazar; Tholomy also,
the arch robber, was, after some time, brought to
him bound, and slain, but not till he had done a
world of mischief to Idumea and the Arabians.
And indeed, from that time, Judea was cleared of
robberies by the care and providence of Fadus.
He also at this time sent for the high-priests and
the principal citizens of Jerusalem, and this at the
command of the emperor, and admonished them,
that they should lay up the long garment and the
sacred vestment, which it is customary for nobody
but the high-priest to wear, in the tower of Anto-
nia, that it might be under the power of the Ro-
mans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews
durst not contradict what he had said, but desired
Fadus, however, and Longinus (which last was
come to Jerusalem, and had brought a great army
with him, out of a fear that the [rigid] injunctions
of Fadus should force the Jews to rebel), that they
might, in the first place, have leave to send ambas-
sadors to Cesar, to petition him that they might
have the holy vestments under their own power;
and that, in the next place, they would tarry till
they knew what answer Claudius would give to
that their request. So they replied, that they
would give them leave to send their ambassadors,
provided they would give them their sons as pledges
(for their peaceable behaviour). And when they
had agreed so to do, and had given them the
pledges they desired, the ambassadors were sent
accordingly. But when, upon their coming to
Rome, Agrippa, junior, the son of the deceased,
understood the reason why they came (for he dwelt
with Claudius Cesar, as we said before), he besought
Cesar to grant the Jews their request about
the holy vestments, and to send a message to Fadus
accordingly.

2. Hereupon Claudius called for the ambassa-
dors, and told them that he granted their request;
and bade them to return their thanks to Agrippa
for this favour which had been bestowed on them
upon his entreaty. And, besides these answers of
his, he sent the following letter by them: "Claud-
iius Cesar, Germanicus, tribune of the people the
fifth time, and designed consul the fourth time,
and imperator the tenth time, the father of his
country, to the magistrates, senate, and people,
and the whole nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting.
Upon the representation of your ambassadors to me
by Agrippa my friend, whom I have brought up,
and have now with me, and who is a person of very
great piety, who are come to give me thanks for the
care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me,
in an earnest and obliging manner, that they may
have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging
to them, under their power,—I grant their request,
as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear
to me, had done before me. And I have complied
with your desire, in the first place, out of regard
to that piety which I profess, and because I would
have every one worship God according to the laws
of their own country; and this I do also, because
I shall hereby highly gratify king Herod and Agrippa,
junior, whose sacred regards to me, and earnest
good-will to you, I am well acquainted with, and
with whom I have the greatest friendship, and
whom I highly esteem, and look on as persons of
the best character. Now I have written about
these affairs to Cuspius Fadus, my procurator.
The names of those that brought me your letter
are Cornelius, the son of Cero, Trypho, the son of
Theodio, Dorothus, the son of Nathaniel, and

NOW WAITING.
John, the son of John. This is dated before the fourth of the calenders of Julius Caesar, when Rufus and Pompeius Sylvanus were consuls. 3.

Herod also the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Caesar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the high-priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for. So that after that time this authority continued among all his descendants till the end of the war. Accordingly Herod removed the last high-priest, called Cantheras, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Camus.

CHAPTER II.

HOW HELENA, THE QUEEN OF ADIABENE, AND HER SON IZATES, EMBRACED THE JEWISH RELIGION; AND HOW HELENA SUPPLIED THE POOR WITH CORN, WHEN THERE WAS A GREAT FAMINE IN JERUSALEM.

§ 1. About this time it was that Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, and this on the occasion following—Monobazus, the king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife, and begat her with child. But as he was in bed with her one night, he laid his hand upon her wife’s belly, and fell asleep, and seemed to hear a voice, which bade him take his hand off his wife’s belly, and not to hurt the infant that was therein, which, by God’s providence, would be safely born, and have a happy end. This voice put him into disorder; so he awaked immediately, and told the story to his wife; and when his son was born, he called him Izates. He had indeed Monobazus, his elder brother, by Helena also, as he had other sons by other wives besides. Yet did he openly place all his affections on this his only begotten son Izates, which was the origin of that envy which his other brethren, by the same father, bore to him; while on this account they hated him more and more, and were all under great affliction that their father should prefer Izates before them all. Now, although his father was very sensible of these their passions, yet did he forgive them, as not indulging those passions out of an ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates, with many presents, to Abenenerig, the king of Charax-Spasini, and that out of the great dread he was in about him, lest he should come to some misfortune by the hatred his brethren bore him; and he committed his son’s preservation to him. Upon which Abenenerig gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him, and married him to his own daughter, whose name was Samacha; he also bestowed a country upon him, from which he received large revenues.

* Here is some error in the copies, or mistake in Josephus; for the power of appointing high-priests, after Herod king of Chalcis was dead, and Agrippa prince of the Jews, was thrown into Chalcis, which was in his room, belonged to him; and he received the same all along till Jerusalem was destroyed, and the Chaldaeans overthrew it, ch. viii. sect. 3, 4; ch. ix. sect. 1, 4, 6, 7.

† Josephus here uses the word Μούτορρην, an only-begotten son, for no other than one beloved, as both the Old and New Testaments; I mean where there were two or more sons besides, Gen. xxiii. 1, 2, Is. xxvi. 7. See the note on b, ch. xiii. sect. 1.

2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he had not a little time to live, he had a mind to come to the sight of his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him affectionately, and bestowed on him the country called Carme; it was a soil that bare amomum in great plenty; there was also in it the remains of that ark, wherein it is related that Noah escaped the deluge, and where they are still shown to such as are desirous to see them. Accordingly Izates abode in that country until his father’s death. But the very day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandees and governors of the kingdom, and for those that had the armies committed to their command; and when they were come, she made the following speech to them:—

"I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband was desirous that Izates should succeed him in the government, and thought him worthy so to do. However, I wait your determination; for, happy is he who receives a kingdom, not from a single person only, but from the willing suffrages of a great many." This she said, in order to try those that were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon the hearing of which, they first of all told the message to the queen, as custum was, and then they said that they confirmed her king’s determination, and would submit to it; and they rejoiced that Izates’s father had preferred him before the rest of his brethren, as being agreeable to all their wishes: but that they were desirous first of all to slay his brethren and kinsmen, that so the government might come securely to Izates; because if they were once destroyed, all that fear would be over which might arise from their envy and hatred to him. Helena replied to this, that she returned them her thanks for their kindness to herself and to Izates; but desired that they would however defer the execution of this slaughter of Izates’s brethren till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it. So since these men had not prevailed with her when they advised her to slay them, they exhorted her at least to keep them in bonds till he should come; and that for their own security; they also gave her counsel to set up some one whom she could put the greatest trust in, as governor of the kingdom in the meantime. So queen Helena complied with this counsel of theirs, and set up Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king; and put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father’s ring, with its signet; as also the ornament which they called Samperus, and exhorted him to administer the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come; who came suddenly upon hearing that his father was dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned up the government to him.

3. Now, during the time Izates abode at Charax-Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Amanias, got among the women that belonged to the king, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish religion. He, moreover, by their means became known to Izates; and persuaded him, in a like manner, to embrace that religion; he also, at the earnest entreaty of the women, accompanied him when he was sent for by his father to come to Adiabene; it also happened that Helena, about the same time, was instructed by a
certain other Jew, and went over to them. But, when Izates had taken the kingdom, and was come to Adiabene, and there saw his brethren and other kinsmen in bonds, he was displeased at it; and as he thought it was an instance of impiety either to slay or imprison them, but still thought it a hazardous thing for to let them have their liberty, with the remembrance that to have offered them, he sent some of them and their children for hostages to Rome, to Claudius Caesar, and sent the others to Artabanus, the king of Parthia, with the like intentions.

4. And when he perceived that his mother was highly pleased with the Jewish customs, he made haste to change, and to embrace them entirely; and as he supposed that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised, he was ready to have it done. But when his mother understood what he was about, she endeavoured to hinder him from doing it, and said to him that this thing would bring him into danger: and that as he was a king, he would thereby bring himself into great odium among his subjects, when they should understand that he was so fond of rites that were to them strange and foreign; and that they would never bear to be ruled over by a Jew. This it was that she said to him, and for the present persuaded him to forbear. And when he had related what she said to Aananias, he confirmed what his mother had said; and when he had also threatened to leave him, unless he complied with him, he went away from him; and said he was afraid lest such an action being once become public to all, he should himself be in danger of punishment for having been the king's instructor in actions that were of ill reputation; and he said, that he might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely; which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision. He added, that God would forgive him, though he did not perform the operation, while it was omitted out of necessity, and for fear of his subjects. So the king at that time complied with those persuasions of Aananias. But afterwards, as he had not left off his desire of obtaining anything, a certain other Jew that came out of Galilee, whose name was Eleazar, and who was esteemed very skilful in the learning of his country, persuaded him to do the thing; so as he entered into his palace to salute him, and found him reading the law of Moses, he said to him, "Thou dost not consider, O king, that thou unjustly breakest the principal of those laws, and art injurious to God himself, [by omitting to be circumcised]; for thou oughtest not only to read them, but chiefly to practice what they enjoin thee. How long wilt thou continue uncircumcised? but when thou hast read the law about circumcision, and dost not know how great impiety thou art guilty of by neglecting it, read it now." When the king had heard what he said, he delayed no longer, but retired to another room, and sent for a surgeon, and did what he was commanded to do. He then sent for his mother, and Aananias his tutor, and informed them that he had done the thing; upon which they were presently struck with astonishment and fear, and that to a great degree, lest the thing should be openly discovered and censured, and the king should hazard the loss of his kingdom, while his subjects would not bear to be governed by a man who was so zealous in another religion; and lest they should themselves run some hazard, because they would be supposed the occasion of his so doing. But it was God himself who hindered what they feared from taking effect; for he preserved both Izates himself and his sons when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible, and demonstrated thereby, that the fruit of piety does not perish as to those that have regard to him, and fix their faith upon him only;—but these events we shall relate hereafter.

5. But as to Helena, the king's mother, when she saw that the affairs of Izates's kingdom were in peace, and that her son was a happy man, and admired among all men, and even among foreigners, by the means of God's providence over him, she had a mind to go to the city of Jerusalem, in order to worship at that temple of God which was so very famous among all men, and to offer her thank-offerings there. So she desired her son to give her leave to go thither: upon which he gave his consent to what she desired very willingly, and made great preparations for her discharge, and gave her a great deal of money, and she went down to the city Jerusalem, her son conducting her on her journey a great way. Now her coming was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem; for whereas a famine did oppress them at that time, and many people died for want of what was necessary to procure food withal, queen Helena sent some of her servants to Alexandria with money to buy a great quantity of corn, and others of them to Cyprus, to bring a cargo of dried figs; and as soon as they were come back, and had brought those provisions, which was done very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it, and left a most excellent memorial behind her of this benefaction, which she bestowed on our whole nation; and when her son Izates was informed of this famine, he sent a great sum of money to the principal men in Jerusalem. However, what favour this queen and king conferred upon our city Jerusalem, shall be farther related hereafter.†

CHAPTER III.

HOW ARTABANUS, THE KING OF PARTHIA, OUT OF FEAR OF THE SECRET CONTRIVANCES OF HIS SUBJECTS AGAINST HIM, WENT TO IZATES, AND WAS BY HIM BRINNISTED IN HIS GOVERNMENT; AS ALSO HOW BARDANES, HIS SON, DENOUNCED WAR AGAINST IZATES.

§ 1. But now Artabanus, king of the Parthians, perceiving that the governors of the provinces had
framed a plot against him, did not think it safe for him to continue among them; but resolved to go to Izates, in hopes of finding some way for his preservation by his means, and, if possible, for his return to his own dominions. So he came to Izates, and brought a thousand of his kindred and servants with him, and met him upon the road, while he well knew Izates, but Izates did not know him. When Artabanus stood near him, and in the first place, worshipped him according to the custom, he then said to him, "O king! do not thou overlook me thy servant, nor do thou proudly reject the suit I make thee for as I am reduced to a low estate, by the change of fortune, and own to be a private man, I stand in need of thy assistance. Have regard, therefore, unto the uncertainty of my fortune, and esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of thy self also; for if I be neglected, and my subjects go off unpunished, many other subjects will become insolent towards other kings also." And this speech Artabanus made with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance. Now, as soon as Izates heard Artabanus's name, and saw him stand as a supplicant before him, he leaped down from his horse immediately, and said to him, "Take courage, O king! nor be disturbed at thy present calamity, as if it were incurable; for the change of thy sad condition shall be sudden; for thou shalt find me to be more thy friend and thy assistant than thy hopes can promise thee; for I will either re-establish thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose my own."

2. When he had said this, he set Artabanus upon his horse, and followed him on foot, in honour of a king whom he owned as greater than himself;—which when Artabanus saw, he was very uneasy at it, and aware by his present fortune and honour, that he would get down from his horse, unless Izates would set him upon his horse again and go before him. So he complied with his desire, and leaped upon his horse; and, when he had brought him to his royal palace, he showed him all sorts of respect when they sat together,—and he gave him the upper place at festivals also, as regarding not his present fortune, but his former dignity; and that upon this consideration also, that the changes of fortune are common to all men. He also wrote to the Parthians, to persuade them to receive Artabanus again; and gave them his right hand and his faith, that he should forget what was past and done, and that he would undertake for this as a mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themselves refuse to receive him again, but pleased that it was not now in their power so to do, because they had committed the government to another person, who had accepted of it, and whose name was Cinnamus; and that they were afraid lest a civil war should arise on this account. When Cinnamus understood their intentions, he wrote to Artabanus himself, for he had been brought up by him, and was of a nature good and gentle also, and desired him to put confidence in him, and to come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly Artabanus trusted him, and returned home, where Cinnamus met him, worshipped him, and saluted him as a king, and took the diadem off his own head, and put it on the head of Artabanus.

3. And thus was Artabanus restored to his kingdom again by the means of Izates, when he had lost it by the means of the grandees of the king-
onset, they would desert their king, because they were desirous to punish him, by reason of the hatred he had to their religious worship; then they obliged themselves, by oaths, to be faithful to each other, and desired that he would make haste in this design. The king of Arabia complied with their desires, and brought a great army into the field, and marched against Izates; and, in the beginning of the first onset, and before they came to a close fight, three grandees, as if they had a panic terror upon them, all deserted Izates, as they had agreed to do, and, turning their backs upon their enemies, ran away. Yet was not Izates dismayed at this; but, as that, which had betrayed him, he also retired into his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that had made this conspiracy with the king of Arabia, he cut off those that were found guilty; and renewing the fight on the next day, he slew the greatest part of his enemies, and forced all the rest to betake themselves to flight. He also pursued their king, and drove him into a fortress called Arasamus, and, following on the siege vigorously, he took that fortress. And, when he had plundered it of all the prey and was in it, which was very well, he returned to Adiabene, and did he not take Abia alive; because, when he found himself encompassed upon every side, he slew himself.

2. But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not even then be quiet, but wrote again to Vologases, who was then king of Parthia, and desired that he would kill Izates, and set over them some other potentate, who should be of a Parthian family; for they said that they hated their own king for abrogating the laws of their forefathers, and embracing foreign customs. When the king of Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon Izates; and, as he had no just pretence for this war, he sent to him and demanded back those honourable privileges which had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war upon him. Upon hearing of this, Izates was under no small trouble of mind, as thinking it would be a reproach upon him to appear to resign those privileges that had been bestowed upon him out of cowardice; yet, because he knew, that though the king of Parthia should receive back those honours, yet would he not be quiet, he resolved to commit himself to God, his protector, in the present danger he was in of his life; and as he esteemed him to be his principal assistant, he intrusted his children and his wives to a very strong fortress, and laid up his corn in his citadels, and set the hay and the grass on fire. And when he had thus put things in order, as well as he could, he awaited the coming of the enemy. And when the king of Parthia was come, with a great army of footmen and horsemen, which he did sooner than was expected (for he marched in great haste), and had cast up a bank at the river that parted Adiabene from Media,—Izates also pitched his camp not far off, having with him six thousand horsemen. But there came a messenger to Izates, sent by the king of Parthia, who told him how large his dominions were, as reaching from the river Euphrates to Bactria, and enumerated that king's subjects; he also threatened him that he should be punished, as a person ungrateful to his lord; and said that the God whom he wor-

shipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands. When the messenger had delivered this his message, Izates replied, that he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own; but that he knew also that God was much more powerful than all men. And when he had returned him this answer, he betook himself to make supplication to God, and threw himself on the ground, and put ashes upon his head, in testimony of his confusion, and fainted, together with his wives and children. Then he called upon God, and said, "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly determined that thou only art the Lord and principal of all beings, come now to my assistance, and defend me from my enemies, not only on my own account, but on account of their insolent behaviour with regard to thy power, while they have not feared to lift up their proud and arrogant tongue against thee." Thus did he lament and bewail himself, with tears in his eyes; whereupon God heard his prayer. And immediately that very night Vologases received letters, the contents of which were these, that a great band of Dahae and Saces, despising him, now he was gone so long a captivity from Armenia, had made an expedition, and laid Parthia waste; so that he was forced to retire back, without doing any thing. And thus it was that Izates escaped the threatenings of the Parthians by the providence of God.

3. It was not long ere Izates died, when he had completed fifty-five years of his life, and had ruled his kingdom twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters. However, he gave order that his brother Monobazus should succeed in the government, thereby requiring him, because, while he was himself absent, after their father's death, he had faithfully preserved the government for him. But when Helena, his mother, heard of her son's death, she was in great heaviness, as was but natural, upon her loss of such a most dutiful son; yet was it a comfort to her that she heard the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly she went to him in haste; and when she was come into Adiabene, she did not long outlive her son Izates. But Monobazus sent her bones, as well as those of Izates, his brother, to Jerusalem, and gave orders that they should be buried at the pyramid which their mother had erected; they were three in number, and distant no more than three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem. But for the actions of Monobazus the king, which he did during the rest of his life, we will relate them hereafter.

* This mourning, and fasting, and praying, used by Izates, with prayer for his body, and ashes upon his head, are plain signs that he was become either a Jew, or an Ebionite Christian, who indeed differed not much from proper Jews. See chap. vi. sect. 3. However, his supplications were heard, and he was providentially delivered from the imminent danger he was in.

‡ Three pyramids or pillars, erected by Helena, queen of Adiabene, near Jerusalem, three in number, as mentioned by Eusebius, in his Fest. Hei. b. 2. chap. 18. for which Dr. Hudson refers us to Valesius, and notes upon that place. They are also mentioned by Pausanias, as has already been noted, chap. vi. sect. 3. Richard also guesses that that so called Abiaban's Pillar may be one of them.

† This account is now wanting.
CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THEUODAS, AND THE SONS OF JUDAS THE GALLEAN; AS ALSO WHAT CALAMITY FELL UPON THE JEWS ON THE DAY OF THE PASSOVER.

§ 1. Now it came to pass, that while Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician, whose name was Theudas, persuadeth a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them he was a prophet, and that he would: by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it; and many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit them to make any advantage of his wild attempt, but sent a troop of horsemen against them; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befell the Jews in the time of Cæcilius Fadus’s government.

2. Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus; he was the son of Alexander the alabarch of Alexandria; which Alexander was a principal person among all his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth: he was also more eminent for his piety than this his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in Judea, in which queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have related already; and besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain; I mean of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews, as we have shown in a foregoing book. The names of those sons were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified; but now Herod, king of Chaleisa, removed Joseph, the son of Camyduas, from the high-priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, his successor; and now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod, brother of Agrippa the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar. He left behind him three sons, Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, with Berniceanus and Hyrcanus, both whom he had by Bernice, his brother’s daughter; but Claudius Caesar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa, junior.

3. Now, while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cumanus, there happened a great tumult at the city of Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein; but I shall first explain the occasion whence it was derived. When that feast which is called the Passover was at hand, at which time our custom is to use unleavened bread, and a great multitude was gathered together from all parts to that feast, Cumanus was afraid lest some attempt of innovation should then be made by them; so he ordered that one regiment of the army should take their arms, and stand in the temple cloisters, to repress any attempts of innovation, if perchance any such should begin; and this was no more than what the former procurators of Judea did at such festivals; but on the fourth day of the feast, a certain soldier let down his breeches, and exposed his privy members to the multitude, who, seeing those that saw him into a furious rage, and made them cry out that this impious action was not done to reproach them, but God himself; nay, some of them reproached Cumanus, and pretended that the soldier was set on by him; which, when Cumanus heard, he was also himself not a little provoked at such reproaches laid upon him; yet did he instruct them to leave off such seditious attempts, and not to raise a tumult at the festival; but when he could not induce them to be quiet, for they still went on in their reproaches to him, he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armour, and come to Antonia, which was a fortress, as we have said already, which overlooked the temple; but when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted at them, and ran away hastily; but as the passages out were but narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in those narrow passages; nor indeed was the number fewer than twenty thousand that perished in this tumult. So, instead of a festival they had at last a mournful day of it; and they all of them forgot their prayers and sacrifices, and betook themselves to lamentation and weeping; so great an affliction did the innocent obscenity of a single soldier bring upon them.

4. Now, before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befell them also; for some of those that had raised the foregoing tumult, when they were travelling along the public road, about a hundred furlongs from the city, robbed Stephanus, a servant of Caesar, as he was journeying, and plundered him of all that he had with him; when things when Cumanus heard of, he sent soldiers immediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighbouring villages, and to bring the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him. Now, as this devastation was making, one of the soldiers seized the Laws of Moses, that lay in one of these villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces; and this was done with reproachful language, and much security; which things when the Jews heard of, they ran together, and that in great numbers, and came down to Cesarea, where Cumanus then was, and besought him that he would avenge, not themselves, but God himself, whose laws had been affronted; for that they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their forefathers must be affronted after this manner. Accordingly Cumanus, out of fear lest the multitude should go into a sedition, and by the advice of his friends also, took care that the soldier who had offered the affront to the laws should be beheaded; and thereby put a stop to the sedition which was ready to be kindled a second time.

* This Theudas, who arose under Fadus the procurator, about a. D. 45 or 46, could not be that Theudas who arose in the days of the taxing in Cyreneus, as Josephus, lib. iii. c. 7. This is a mistake. Why that earlier Theudas was, see the note to b. xvii. ch. x. sect. 1.
and said withal, that they were not so much displeased at what they had suffered, as they were at the contempt thereby shown to the Romans; while, if they had received any injury, they ought to have made them the judges of what had been done, and not presently to make such devastations, as if they had not the Romans for their governors; on which account they came to him, in order to obtain the vengeance they wanted. This was the accusation which the Samaritans brought against the Jews. But the Jews affirmed that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult and fighting, and that, in the first place, Cumanus had been corrupted by their gifts, and passed over the murder of those that were slain in silence;—which allegations when Quadratus heard, he put off the hearing of the cause, and promised that he would give sentence when he should come into Judea, and should have a more exact knowledge of the truth of that matter. So these men went away without success. Yet was it not long ere Quadratus came to Samaria; where, upon hearing the cause, he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors of that disturbance. But when he was informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captive. From whence he came to a certain village called Lydda, which was not less than a city in largeness, and there heard the Samaritan cause a second time before his tribunal, and there learned from a certain Samaritan, that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was Dortus, and some other innovators with him, four in number, persuaded the multitude to a revolt from the Romans; whom Quadratus ordered to be put to death: but still he, sent away Ananias the high-priest, and Ananus the commander of the temple, in bonds to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Caesar. He also ordered the principal men, both of the Samaritans and Jews, as also Cumanus the procurator, and Celer the tribune, to go to Italy to the emperor, that he might hear their cause, and determine their differences one with another. But he came again to the city of Jerusalem, out of his fear that the multitude of Jews should attempt some innovation; but he found the city in a peaceable state, and celebrating one of the usual festivals of their country to God. So he believed that they would not attempt any innovations, and left them at the celebration of the festival, and returned to Antioch.

2. Now Cumanus and the principal of the Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the emperor, whereupon they were to have pleaded their cause about the quarrels of the Jews. But when they had only with their families and their freed-men and his friends were very zealous on the behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans; and they had prevailed over the Jews, unless Agrippa, junior, who was then at Rome, had seen the principal of the Jews hard set, and had earnestly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to persuade her husband to hear the cause, so as was agreeable to his justice, and to condemn those to be punished who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government:—whereupon Claudius was so full disposed to hear it, that when he had heard the cause, and found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders in those mischievous doings, he gave order that those who came up to him should be slain, and that Cumanus should be banished.

* This constant passage of the Galilæans through the country of Samaria, as they went to Judea and Jerusalem, illustrates several passages in the Gospels to the same purpose, as Dr. Hudson rightly observes. See the 2nd John, v. 4. See also the notes on 2 John, v. 9, 10, when that journey is determined to three days.

† One of the most frequent occasions of his Gospel would bring upon them, among other miseries, these three, which they themselves have show they would be the cause of these present tumults and seditions; the utter subversion of their country, the confusion of their temple, and the slavery of themselves, their wives, and children. See Luke xxi. 36, 37.
He also gave order that Celer, the tribune should be carried back to Jerusalem, and should be drawn through the city in the sight of all the people, and then should be slain.

CHAPTER VII.

FELIX IS MADE PROCURATOR OF JUDEA; AS ALSO CONCERNING AGrippa, Junior, and his SISTERS.

§ 1. So Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to take care of the affairs of Judea; and, when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, he bestowed upon Agrippa the territory of Philip, and Batanea, and added thereto Trachonitis, with Abila; which last had been the tetrarchy of Lycaonia; but he took him from Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof four years. And when Agrippa had received these countries as the gift of Caesar, he gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, upon his consent to be circumcised; for Ephephus, the son of king Antiochus, had refused to marry her, because, after he had promised her father formerly to come over to the Jewish religion, he would not now perform it. He also gave to Mariamme, the daughter of Helelas, whom she had formerly been betrothed by Agrippa her father; from which marriage was derived a daughter, whose name was Bernice.

2. But for the marriage of Drusilla with Azizus, it was in no long time afterward dissolved, upon the following occasion:—While Felix was procurator of Judea, he saw this Drusilla, and fell in love with her; for she did indeed exceed all other women in beauty; and he sent to her a person whose name was Simon* one of his friends; a Jew he was, and by birth a Cypriot, and one who pretended to be a holy man. This Simon persuaded her to forsake her present husband, and marry him; and promised, that if she would not refuse him, he would make her a happy woman. Accordingly she acted ill and because she was desirous to avoid her sister Bernice’s envy, for she was very ill-treated by her on account of her beauty, was prevailed upon to transgress the laws of her forefathers, and to marry Felix; and when he had had a son by her, he named him Agrippa. But after what manner that young man, with his wife, perished at the conflagration of the mountain Veius, in the days of Titus Caesar, shall be related hereafter.

§ 2. But as for Bernice, she lived a widow a long while after the death of Herod (king of Chalcis), who was both her husband and her uncle. But, when the report went that she had had criminal conversation with her brother [Agrippa, junior] she persuaded Poelmo, who was king of Galilee, to be circumcised, and to marry her, as supposing that by this means she should prove those calumnies upon her to be false; and Poelmo was prevailed upon, and that chiefly on account of her riches. Yet did not this matrimony endure long; but Bernice left Poelmo, and, as was said, with impious intentions. So she forsook at once this matrimony, and the Jews also rejected her; and at the same time, Mariamne put away Archelaus, and was married to Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews, both for his family and his wealth; and indeed she was then their alabarch. So she named her son whom she had by him Agrippa. But of all these particulars we shall hereafter treat more exactly.

CHAPTER VIII.

AFTER WHAT MANNER, UPON THE DEATH OF CLAUDIUS, NERO SUCCEEDED TO THE GOVERNMENT; AS ALSO WHAT BARBAROUS THINGS HE DID, CONCERNING THE ROBBERS, MURDERERS, AND IMPOSTORS, THAT ABOBE WHILE FELIX AND PESTEUS WERE PROCURATORS OF JUDEA.

§ 1. Now Claudius Caesar died when he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days; and a report went about that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Caesar. Her husband was Domitian, and her name was Agrippina. She was the most illustrious person that was in the city of Rome; after whose death, and her long continuance in unlawful power, Claudius took to her wife. She brought along with her a son, Domitian, of the same name with his father. He had before this slain his husband Messallus, out of jealousy, by whom he had his children Britannicus and Octavia; their eldest sister was Antonia, whom he had by Felim his first wife. He also married Octavia to Nero; for that was the name that Caesar gave him afterward, upon his adopting him for his son.

2. But now Agrippina was afraid, lest when Britannicus should come to man’s estate, he should succeed his father in the government, and desire to seize upon the principality beforehand for her own son [Nero]; upon which the report went, that she thenes compassed the death of Claudius. Accordingly she sent Burrius, the general of the army, immediately, and with him the tribunes and such also of the freed-men as were of the greatest authority, to bring Nero away into the camp, and to salute him emperor. And when Nero had thus

*This Simon, a friend of Felix, a Jew, born in Cyprus, though he pretended to be a Magian, and seemed to have been educated such, could hardly be that Simon Simon the magician, in the Acts of the Apostles (v. 9, 10, &c.), as some are ready to suppose. The Simon mentioned in those places is another person, perhaps a native of Judæa, in the country of Samaria, as the Apostles’ Constitutions, v. 2, 5, &c., and Josephus, Antiq. b. 14, 6, &c., inform us. He was also the author of a passage out of the first Gnostic heresies, as the for- mer-mentioned authors assure us. So I suppose him a different person from the other. I mean this only upon the hypothesis that Josephus was not mistaken as to his being a Cypriot Jew; for otherwise the time, the name, the profession, and the wickedness of them both, would strongly convince us to believe the two to be the same. As Agrippa, the very sister of Agrippa, Junior, as Josephus informs us here, and a Jewess, as St. Luke sets it down, Acts xxiv. 24, where this Simon mentioned by Josephus pretended to leave her former husband, Axius, king of Emesa, a Jew, and marry Felix, the capital procurator of Judea, Titius Hilarus, an Ottoman king, and she pretended to be a holy woman, not the daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra, contrary both to St. Luke and Josephus. Now Titius lived one hundred miles remote, both as to time and place, to be compared with either of those gems writers, in a matter containing such a great authority in such great and holy writers, as the authenticity of Agrippa, junior, with which Aesopius Josephus himself was so well acquainted, so that Jerusalem and Tarsus may say true, when he informs us that this Felix (who had in all those wars, or quœs, as his name of Agrippa, he mistook her for that other wife, whose name he did not know, by which the Bradbury of the last is now wanting.

5. This duration of the reign of Claudius agrees with Dio, as Dr. Hych- man has before observed; and the death of him, as well as of Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus, was at first L. Domitianus, afterward Claudius and adopted him, see Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus.
obtained the government, he got Britannicus to be so poisoned, that the multitude should not perceive it; although he publicly put his own mother to death not long afterward, making her this requital, not only for being born of her, but for bringing it so about by her contrivances, that he obtained the Roman empire. He also slew Octavia his own wife, and many other illustrious persons, under this pretext, that they plotted against him.

3. But I omit any farther discourse about these matters, for there have been a great many who have imposed the history of Nero; some of whom have departed from the truth of facts, out of favour, as having received benefits from him; while others, out of hatred to him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserved to be condemned. Nor do I wonder at such as have told lies of Nero, since they have not in their writings preserved the truth of history as to those facts that were earlier than his time, even when the ancients could have no way incurred their hatred, since those writers lived a long time after these events. Those, however, that have no regard for truth, they may write as they please,—for in that they take delight; but as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to this undertaking, but shall relate what hath happened to us Jews with great accuracy, and shall not grudge our pains in giving an account both of the calamities we have suffered and of the crimes we have been guilty of,—I will now therefore return to the relation of our own affairs.

4. For in the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Drusus, king of Emea, Soeneus, his brother, succeeded in his kingdom, and Ariostobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was intrusted by Nero with the government of the Lesser Armenia. Caesar also bestowed on Agrrippa a certain part of Galliea, Tiberias and Tarichea, and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julius, a city of Perea, with fourteen villages that lay about it.

5. Now, as for the affairs of the Jews, they grew worse and worse continually; for the country was again filled with robbers and impostors, who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix, as judge, send proconsuls to death many of these impostors every day, together with the robbers. He also caught Eleazar, the son of Dineus, who had gotten together a company of robbers; and this he did by treachery; for he gave him assurance that he should suffer no harm, and thereby persuaded him to come to him; but when he came, he bound him and sent him to Rome. Felix also bore an ill-will to Jonathan, the high-priest, because he frequently gave him admonitions about governing the Jewish affairs better than he did; lest he should himself have complaints made on him by the multitude, since he was so good-natured and desired Caesar to send him as procurator of Judea. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rid of him, now he was become so continually troublesome to him; for such continual admonitions are grievous to those who are disposed to act unjustly. Wherefore Felix persuaded one of Jonathan's most faithful friends, a citizen of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon

Jonathan, in order to kill him; and this he did by promising to give him a great deal of money for so doing. Doras complied with the proposal, and contrived matters so, that the robbers might murder him after the following manner:—Certain of those robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God, while they had daggers hidden under their garments; and, by thus mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew Jonathan; and as this murder was never avenged, the robbers went up with the greatest security at the festival next time; and having weapons concealed in like manner as before, and mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew certain of their own enemies, and were subservient to other men for money; and slew others not only in remote parts of the city, but in the temple itself also; for they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to me to have been the reason why God, out of his hatred to these men's wickedness, rejected our city; and as for the temple, he no longer esteemed it sufficiently pure, in order to inhabit therein, but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it; and brought upon us, our wives, and children, slavery,—as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities.

6. These works, that were done by the robbers, filled the city with all sorts of impiety. And now these impostors and deceivers persuaded the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs, that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were prevailed on by them suffered the penalties of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and then punished them. Moreover, there came out of Egypt about this time to Jerusalem, one that said he was a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common

† This treacherous and barbarous murder of the good high-priest Jonathan, by the contrivance of this wicked procurator Felix, was the immediate occasion of the ensuing murders by the sbios or ruffians, and one great cause of the following horrid cruelties and miseries of the Jewish nation, as Josephus here supposes. But it is a question whether the direct cause of their terrible destruction, is well worthy the attention of every Jewish and Christian reader. And, since in the year one hundred and twenty, according to the catalogue of Jewish high-priests, it may not be ascertained, with certainty, to insert this Jonathan among them, and to represent his placing amongst the last twenty-eight high-priests, taken out of Josephus, and begin with Ananias, who was made by Herod the Great. See Antiq. b. xv. ch. ii. sect. 6, and the note there.

1. Ananias.

2. Artobulus.

3. Jesus, the son of Fabus.

4. Simon, the son of Bocherus.

5. Matthias, the son of Theophilus.

6. Jesus, the son of Boethus.

7. Eleazar, the son of Ithobulus.

8. Jesus, the son of Scipio.

9. (Anna, or) Ananias, the son of Seth.

10. Iriam, the son of Fabus.

11. Eleazar, the son of Ananias.

12. Simon, the son of Gamaliel.

13. Josephus, the son of Ananias, the son-in-law to Ananias.

14. Jonathan, the son of Ananias.

15. Theophilus, his brother, and son of Ananias.

16. Simon, the son of Gamaliel.

17. Matthias, the brother of Jonathan, and son of Ananias.

18. Eleazar.

19. Josephus, the son of Campus.

20. Ananias, the son of Nabuchodonosor.


22. Iriam, the son of Edom.

23. Josephus, the son of Simon.

24. Ananias, the son of Ananias.

25. Jesus, the son of Gamaliel.

26. Matthias, the son of Theophilus.

27. Phanagora, the son of Samuel.

† These Jewish impostors and false prophets, with many other circumstances and miseries of the Jews, till their utter destruction, are told by our Porphyrion, see Litt. Anecr. of Prophe. p. 66.24.

1. Of this 127 pagan impostor, and the number of his followers in Josephus, see Acts 13. 50.
people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of five furlongs. He said farther, that he would show them from hence, how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down; and he promised them that he would procure them an entrance into the city through those walls, when they were fallen down. Now when Felix was informed of these things, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and came against them with a great number of horsemen and footmen, from Jerusalem, and attacked the Egyptian and the people that were with him. He also slew four hundred of them, and took two hundred alive. But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the fight, but did not appear any more. And again the robbers stirred up the people to make war with the Romans, and said they ought not to obey them at all; and when any persons would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and plundered them. And now there was great contention between the Jews that inhabited Cesarea, and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens; for the Jews claimed the pre-eminence, because Herod their king was the builder of Cesarea, and because he was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was alleged about Herod; but they said that Cesarea was formerly called Strato's Tower, and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant. When the presidents of that country heard of these disorders, they caused the authos of them to order them on both sides, and tormented them with stripes, and by the means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But the Jewish citizens depending on their wealth, and on that account despising the Syrians, reproached them again, and hoped to provoke them by such reproaches. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, yet valuing themselves highly on this account, that the greatest part of the Roman soldiers that were there, were either of Cesarea or Sebaste, they also for some time used reproachful language to the Jews also; and thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another; and several were wounded, and fell on both sides, though still the Jews were the conquerors. But when Felix saw that this quarrel was become a kind of war, he came upon them in the sudden, and desired the Jews to desist; and when they refused so to do, he armed his soldiers, and sent them out upon them, and slew many of them, and took more of them alive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder some of the houses of the citizens, which were full of riches. Now those Jews that were more moderate among themselves dined together, afraid of themselves, and desired of Felix that he would sound a retreat to his soldiers, and spare them for the future, and afford them room for repentance for what they had done; and Felix was prevailed upon to do so.

3. About this time king Agrippa gave the high-priesthood to Ismael, who was the son of Fabi. And now arose a sedition between the high-priests and the principal men of the multitude of Jerusalem; each of whom got them a company of the boldest sort of men, and of those that loved innovations; and now they became leaders to them; and when they armed together, they did it by casting reproachful words against one another, and by throwing stones also. And there was nobody to reprove them; but these disorders were after a licentious manner in the city, as if it had no government over it. And such was the impudence and boldness that had seized on the high-priests, that they had the hardness to send their servants into the thrashing-floors, to take away those tithes that were due to the priests, insomuch that it so fell out that the poorer sort of the priests cried for war. To this degree did the violence of the sedition prevail over all right and justice.

9. Now, when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants at Cesarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix; and he had certainly been brought to punishment, unless Nero had yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallas, who was at that time had in the greatest honour by him. Two of the principal Syrians in Cesarea persuaded Bessus, who was Nero's tutor, and secretary for his Greek epistles, by giving him a great sum of money, and of other present, and by constant conversation with him, to intercede for the citizens which they bitherto enjoyed. So Bessus, by his solicitations, obtained leave of the emperor, that an epistle should be written to that purpose. This epistle became the occasion of the following miseries that befell our nation; for, when the Jews of Cesarea were informed of the contents of this epistle to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than before, till a war was kindled.

10. Upon Festus's coming into Judea, it happened that Judea was afflicted by the robbers, while all the villages were set on fire, and plundered by them. And then it was that the sect of those robbers, that were called, who were robbers, grew numerous. They made use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian actis, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman scis [or sickles], as they were called; and from these weapons these robbers got their denomination; and with these weapons they slew a great many; for they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were come up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God, as we said before, and easily slew those that had a mind to stay. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, with their weapons, and plundered them, and set them on fire. So Festus sent forces, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they were under, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. Accordingly those forces that were sent destroyed both him that had seduced them and those that were his followers also.

11. About the same time king Agrippa built himself a house in a large dining-room in the royal palace at Jerusalem, near to the portico. Now this palace had been evacuated of old by the children of Asamoneus, and was situate upon an elevation, and afford a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city, which prospect was desired by the king; and there he could lie down, and eat, and thence observe was what was done in the temple: which thing, when the chief men of Jerusalem saw, they were very much displeased at it; for it was not agreeable to the institutions of our
CONCERNING ALBINUS, UNDER WHOSE PROCURATORSHIP JAMES WAS SLAIN; AS ALSO WHAT EDIFICES WERE BUILT BY AGrippA.

§ 1. And now Caesar, upon hearing the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procurator; but the king deprived Joseph of the high-priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called Ananus. Now the report goes, that this elder Ananus proved a most fortunate man; for he had five sons, who had all performed the office of a high-priest to God, and he had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high-priests; but this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high-priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent; he was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who were very rigid in judging offenders, above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed; when, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority]. Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the sanhedrin of the judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, [or, some of his companions]; and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he desired them to be sent up to him, that he might see the evidence of the accusers. For the//*[some of the] citizens seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done; they also sent to the king (Agrippa), desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified: so, some of them went also to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrin without his consent; whereupon Albinus complied with what they had said, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done; on which king Agrippa took the high-priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jesus, the son of Damæus, high-priest.

2. Now, as soon as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavours and care that the country might be kept in peace, and this by destroying many of the sicarii; but as for the high-priest Ananus, he increased in glory every day, and this to a great degree, and had obtained in favour and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner; for he was a great hoarder up of money, he therefore cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the high-priest (Jesus), by making them presents; he also had servants who were very wicked, who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to the thrashing-floors, and took away the tithes that belonged to the priests by violence, and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them. So the other high-priests acted in the like manner, as did those his servants, without any one being able to prohibit them; so that [some of the] priests, that of old were wont to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food.

3. But now the sicarii went into the city by night, just before the festival, which was now at hand, and took the scribe belonging to the governor of the temple, whose name was Eleazar, who was the son of Ananus (Ananias) the high-priest, and bound him, and carried him away with them; after which they sent to Ananias, and said that they would send the scribe to him, if he would persuade Albinus to release ten of those prisoners which he had caught of their party; so Ananias was plainly forced to persuade Albinus, and gained his request of him. This was the beginning of greater calamities; for the robbers perpetually contrived to catch some of Ananias's servants; and when they had...
taken them alive, they would not let them go till they thereby recovered some of their own sacrists: and as they were again become no small number, they grew bold, and were a great affliction to the whole country.

4. About this time it was that Agrippa built Caesarea of Philippus larger than it was before, and, in honour of Nero, named it Neronias; and when he had built a theatre at Berytus, with vast expenses, he bestowed on them shows, to be exhibited every year, and spent therein many ten thousand drachmas; he also gave the people a largess of corn, and distributed oil among them, and adorned the entire city with statues of his own donation, and with original images made by ancient hands; nay, he almost transferred all that was most ornamental in his own kingdom thither. This made him more than ordinarily hated by his subjects; because he took those things away that belonged to them, to adorn a foreign city; and now Jesus the son of Gamaliel, became the successor of Jesus, the son of Damnaeus, in the high-priesthood, which the king had taken from the other; on which account a sedition arose between the high-priests, with regard to one another; for they got together bodies of the people, and frequently came, from reproaches, to throwing of stones at each other; but Ananias was too hard for the rest, by his riches,—which enabled him to gain those that were the most ready to receive. Costobarus also, and Sannus, did themselves get together a multitude of wicked wretches, and this because they were of the royal family; and so they obtained favour among them, because of their kindred to Agrippa: but still they used violence with the people, and were very ready to plunder those that were weaker than themselves. And from that time it principally came to pass, that our city was greatly disorder'd, and that all things grew worse and worse among us.

5. But when Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he was desired to delay a year or two, and not to take in him, but to send someone else; and he was very grateful to the people of Jerusalem: so he brought out all those prisoners who were committed to him to be the most plainly worthy of death, and ordered them to be put to death accordingly. But as to those who had been put into prison on some trifling occasion, he took money of them, and dismissed them; by which means the prisons were indeed emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

6. Now, as many of the Levites; which is a tribe of ours, as were singers of hymns, persuaded the king to assemble a sanhedrin, and to give them leave to wear linen garments, as well as the priests: for they said this would be a work worthy the times of his government, that he might have a memorial of such a novelty, as being his doing. Nor did they fail of obtaining their desire; for the king, with the suffrages of those that came into the sanhedrin, granted the singers of hymns this privilege, that they might lay aside their former garments, and wear such a linen one as they desired; and as a part of this tribe ministered in the temple, he also permitted them to learn hymns as they had besought him for. Now all the Jews contrary to the king, of the country, which whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to avoid the punishment of such transgressions.

7. And now it was that the temple was finished: so, when the people saw that the workmen were unemployed, who were above eighteen thousand, and that they, receiving no wages, were in want, because they had earned their bread by their labours about the temple, and that they were unwilling to keep them by their treasuries that were there deposited, out of fear of [their being carried away] by the Romans; and while they had a regard to the making provision for the workmen, they had a mind to expend those treasures upon them; for if any one of them did but labour for a single hour, he received his pay immediately; so they persuaded him to rebuild the eastern cloister. These cloisters belonged to the outer court, and were situated in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits [in length], and were built of square and very white stones, the length of each of which stones was twenty cubits, and their height six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon, who first of all built the entire temple. But king Agrippa, who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Caesar, considered that it is easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again, and that it was particularly hard to do it to those cloisters, which would require a considerable time, and great sums of money; he denied the petitioners their request about the matter; but he did not obstruct them when they desired the city might be paved with white stone. He also deprived Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, of the high-priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the Jews' war with the Romans took its beginning.

CHAPTER X.

AN ENUMERATION OF THE HIGH-PRIESTS.

§ 1. And now I think it proper, and agreeable to history, to give an account of our high-priests, how they began, who those are which are capable of that dignity, and how many of them there had been at the end of the war. In the first place, therefore, history informs us that Aaron, the brother of Moses, officiated to God as a high-priest; and that, after his death, his sons succeeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath been continued down from them all to their posterity. Whence it is a custom of our country, that no one should take the high-priesthood of God, but he who is of the blood of Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he be a king, can never obtain that high-priesthood. Accordingly, the number of all the high-priests from Aaron, of whom we have already spoken as the first of them, until Phanaeus, who was made high-priest during the war by the seditious, was eighty-three; of whom thirteen officiated as high-priests in the wilderness, from the days of Moses, while the tabernacle was standing, until the people came into Judæa, when king Solomon erected the temple to God; and at first they held the high-priesthood till the end of their life, although afterward they had successors.
while they were alive. Now these thirteen, who were the descendants of two of the sons of Aaron, received this dignity by succession, one after another; for their form of government was an aristocracy, and after that a monarchy, and in the third year the high-priest died. Now, but a number of years during the rule of these thirteen, from the days when our fathers departed out of Egypt, under Moses their leader, until the building of that temple which king Solomon erected at Jerusalem, were six hundred and twelve. After those thirteen high-priests, eighteen took the high-priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon until Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made an expedition against that city, and burnt the temple, and removed our nation into Babylon, and then took Josadak, the high-priest, captive; the time of these high-priests were four hundred and sixty-six years, six months, and ten days, while the Jews were still under the regal government. But after the term of seventy years' captivity under the Babylonia, Cyrus king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon to their own land again, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time Jesus, the son of Josadak, took the high-priesthood over the captives when they were returned home. Now he and his posterity, who were in all fifteen, unto king Antiochus Eupator, were under a democratic government for four hundred and forty-seven years; and then the forementioned Antiochus and Lysias the general of his army, deprived Onias, who was called Menelaus, of the high-priesthood, and slew him at Berea; and driving away the son of Onias the third, put Jacimus into the high-priest's place, one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of the family of Onias. On which account Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was dead, and bore the same name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendship of Ptolemy Phylometor, and Cleopatra his wife, and persuaded them that he, being the high-priest of that temple which he built to God in the perfection of Heliopolis, and this in imitation of that at Jerusalem; but as for the temple which was built in Egypt, we have spoken of it frequently already. Now when Jacimus had retained the priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high-priest. But then the posterity of the sons of Asaamon, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high-priest, who ruled over them seven years. And when he had been slain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as we have related somewhere, Simon his brother took the high-priesthood; and when he was destroyed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his own son, whose name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him, after he had held the high-priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed that dignity thirty years, and died an old man, leaving the succession to Judas, who was also called Aristobulus, whose brother Alexander was like him; which Judas died of a sore disease; after he had kept the priesthood, together with the royal authority; for this Judas was the first that put on his head a diadem, for one year. And when Alexander had been both king and high-priest twenty-seven years, he departed this life, and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint him that should be high-priest; so she gave the high-priesthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herself nine years, and then departed this life. The like duration [and no longer] did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the high-priesthood; for after her death his brother Aristobulus fought against him, and beat and deprived him of his principality; for he did himself both reign and perform the office of high-priest to God. But when he had reigned three years, and as many months, Pompey came upon him, and not only took the city of Jerusalem by force, but put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the high-priesthood to Hyrcanus, and made him governor of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem. This Hyrcanus ruled, besides his first nine years, twenty-four years more, when Barzaphar and Pescorus, the generals of the Parthians, passed over Euphrates, and fought with Hyrcanus, and took him alive, and made Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king; and when he had reigned three years and three months, Sosiades and Herod besieged him, and took him, when Antony had him brought to Antioch, and slain there. Herod was then made king by the Romans, but did no longer appoint high-priests out of the family of Asaamonus; but made certain men to be so that were of no eminent families, but barely of those that were priests, excepting that he gave that dignity to Aristobulus; for when he had made this Aristobulus, the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was then taken by the Parthians, and had taken his sister Mariamne to wife, he thereby aimed to win the good-will of the people, who had a kind remembrance of Hyrcanus [his grandfather]. Yet did he afterward, out of his fear lest they should all bend their inclinations to Aristobulus, put him to death, and that by contriving how to have him suffocated, as he was swimming at Jericho, as we have already related that matter; but after this man, he never intrusted the high-priesthood to the posterity of the sons of Asaamonus. Archelaus also, Herod's son, did dispute his father in the appointment of the high-priests, as did the Romans also, who took the government over the Jews into their hands afterward. Accordingly the number of the high-priests, from the days of Herod until the day when Titus took the temple and the city, and burnt them, were in all twenty-eight; the time also that belonged to them was a hundred and seven years. Some of these were the political governors of the people under the reign of Herod, and under the reign of Archelaus his son, though, after their death, the government became an aristocracy, and the high-priests were intrusted with a dominion over the nation. And thus much may suffice to be said concerning our high-priests.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING FLORUS THE PROCURATOR, WHO NECESSITATED THE JEWS TO TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THE ROMANS. THE CONCLUSION.

§ 1. Now Gessius Florus, who was sent as successor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judea with abundance of miseries. He was by birth of the city of Ciazomenae, and brought along with him his wife Cleopatra (by whose friendship with Poppea, Nero's wife, he obtained this government), who was no way difficult
from him in wickedness. This Florus was so wicked, and so violent in the use of his authority, that the Jews took Albinus to have been [comparatively] their benefactor: so excessive were the mischiefs that he brought upon them. For Albinus concealed his wickedness, and was careful that it might not be discovered to all men; but Gessinus Florus, as though he had been sent on purpose to show his crimes to everybody, made a pompous ostentation of them to our nation, as never omitting any sort of violence, nor any unjust sort of punishment; for he was not to be moved by pity, and never was satisfied with any degree of gain that came in his way; nor had he any more regard to great than to small acquisitions, but became a partner with the robbers themselves; for a great many fell then into that practice without fear, as having him for their security, and depending on him, that he would save them harmless in their particular robberies; so that there were no bounds set to the nation's miseries; but the unhappy Jews, when they were not able to bear the devastations which the robbers made among them, were all under a necessity of leaving their own habitations, and of flying away, as hoping to dwell more easily anywhere else in the world among foreigners [than in their own country]. And what need I say any more upon this head! since it was this Florus who necessitated us to take up arms against the Romans, while we thought it better to be destroyed at once, than by little and little. Now this war began in the second year of the government of Florus, and the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. But then what actions we were forced to do, or what miseries we were enabled to suffer, may be accurately known by such as will peruse those books which I have written about the Jewish war.

2. I shall now, therefore, make an end here of my Antiquities; after the conclusion of which events, I began to write, as it were, an account of the war; and these Antiquities contain what hath been delivered down to us from the original creation of man, until the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, as to what hath befallen the Jews, as well in Egypt as in Syria, and in Palestine, and what we have suffered from the Assyrians and Babylonians, and what afflications the Persians and Macedonians, and after them the Romans, have brought upon us; for I think I may say that I have composed this history with sufficient accuracy in all things. I have attempted to enumerate those high-priests that we have had during the interval of two thousand years; I have also carried down the succession of our kings, and related their actions, and political administration, without [considerable] errors, as also the power of our monarchs; and all according to what is written in our sacred books; for this it was that I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I am so bold as to say, now I have so completely perfected the work I proposed to myself to do, that no other person, whether he were a Jew or a foreigner, had he ever so great an inclination to it, could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For those of my own nation freely acknowledge that these had between them in the learning belonging to the Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness; for our nation does not encourage those that have the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their period, because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of freemen, but also to many of the servants as plebeian to learn them. But they give him the testimony of being a wise man who is fully acquainted with our laws, and able to interpret their meaning; on which account, as there have been many who have done their devours with great patience to obtain this learning, there have yet hardly been so many as two or three that have succeeded therein, who were immediately well rewarded for their pains.

3. And now it will not be perhaps an invidious thing, if I treat briefly of my own family, and of the actions of my own life, while there are still living, such as can make it appear by the false, as can attest that it is true; with which accounts I shall put an end to these Antiquities, which are contained in twenty books, and sixty thousand verses. And if God permit me, I will briefly run over this war again, with what befall us therein to this very day, which is the thirteenth year of the reign of Caesar Domitian, and the fifty-sixth of my own life. I have also an intention to write three books concerning our Jewish opinions about God and his essence, and about our laws; why, according to them, some things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.

* The Life here referred to, will be found at the beginning of the volume.

What Josephus here declares his intention to do, if God permit, to give the public accounts of the Jewish War, and to set what befell this far longer than very long, the last Domitian, as we said, is not, that I have observed, taken distinct notices of by anyone, nor do we hear of it elsewhere, whether he performed what he boasted or no. Some of the reasons of this design of his may possibly be, an observation of the many errors he had been guilty of in the two first books of these seven books of the War, which were written when he was comparatively young, and less acquainted with the Jewish war; and that he may now, and in which abridgment, we might be sure to find those many passages which himself, as well as several passages which other-rather be written for him, and which are not admit to his present works. However, since many of his own rumors to what he had written elsewhere, as well as most of his errors removal, most of which remain side by side with all that he had written, and to the public not only, but also to the public, I mean the three or four books on which God's 500th Exordium, under the name of God, according as there, some things were permitted the Jews, and others prohibited, which last part to be the abridgment itself. If God permitted, as the conclusion of this, Preface to those Antiquities; nor do I suppose that he ever published any of them. To omit all of his faults at court, his wealth, and his writings, and the coming of those he had no acquaintance with the crown, I mean Nero and Titus, together with his general banishment to Rome, what followed, is might easily interrupt such his intention, and prevent his intention of those works.
WARS OF THE JEWS;

OR,

THE HISTORY

OF THE

DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

PREFACE.

§ 1. Whereas the war which the Jews made with the Romans hath been the greatest of all those, not only that have been in our times, but, in a manner, of those that ever were heard of; both of those wherein cities have fought against cities, or nations against nations; while some men who were not concerned in the affairs themselves, have gotten together vain and contradictory stories by hearsay, and have written them down after a sophistical manner; and while those that were there present have given false accounts of things, and this either out of a humour of flattery to the Romans, or of hatred to the Jews; and while their writings contain sometimes accusations, and sometimes encomiums, but nowhere the accurate truth of the facts, I have proposed to myself, for the sake of such as live under the government of the Romans, to translate those books into the Greek tongue, which I formerly composed in the language of our own country, and sent to the Upper Barbarians; I Joseph, the son of Matthias, by birth an Hebrew, a priest also, and one who first fought against the Romans myself, and was forced to be present at what was done afterwards, am the author of this work.

2. Now at the time when this great concussion of affairs happened, the affairs of the Romans themselves were in great disorder. Those Jews also, who were for innovations, then arose when the times were disturbed; they were also in a flourishing condition for strength and riches, insomuch that the affairs of the east were exceeding tumultuous, while some hoped for gain, and others were afraid of loss in such troubles; for the Jews hoped that all of their nation which were beyond Euphrates would have raised an insurrection together with them. The Gauls also, in the neighbourhood of the Romans, were in motion, and the Celts were not quiet; but all was in disorder after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to aim at the royal power: and the soldiery affected change, out of the hopes of getting money. I thought it therefore an absurd thing to see the truth falsified in affairs of such great consequence, and to take no notice of it; but to suffer those Greeks and Romans that were not in the wars to be ignorant of these things, and to read either fictions or falsehoods, while the Parthians, and the Babylonians, and the remotest Arabs, and those of our nation beyond Euphrates, with the Adiabeni, by my means, knew accurately both when the war began, what miseries it brought upon us, and after what manner it ended.

3. It is true, these writers have the confidence to call their accounts histories; wherein yet they seem to me to fail of their own purpose, as well as to relate nothing that is sound; for they have a mind to demonstrate the greatness of the Romans, while they still diminish and lessen the actions of the Jews, as not discerning how it cannot be that those must appear to be great who have only conquered those that were little; nor are they ashamed to overlook the length of the war, the multitude of the Roman forces who so greatly suffered in it, or the might of the commanders,—whose great labours about Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.
4. However, I will not go to the other extreme, out of opposition to those men who extol the Romans, nor will I determine to raise the actions of my countrymen too high; but I will prosecute the actions of both parties with accuracy. Yet shall I suit my language to the passions I am under, as to the affairs I describe, and must be allowed to indulge some lamentations upon the miseries undergone by my own country; for that it was a sedition temper of our own that destroyed it; and that they were the tyrants among the Jews who brought the Roman power upon us, who unwillingly attacked us, and occasioned the burning of our holy temple; thus One who destroyed it, is himself a witness, who, during the whole war, justified the people who were kept under by the seditionists, and did often voluntarily delay the taking of the city, and allowed time to the siege, in order to let the authors have opportunity for repentance. But if any one makes an unjust accusation against us, when we speak so passionately about the tyrants, or the robbers, or sorely bewail the misfortunes of our country, let him indulge my affections herein, though it be contrary to the rules for writing history; because it had so come to pass, that our Jerusalem had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Roman government, and yet at last fell into the sorest calamities again. Accordingly it appears to me, that the misfortunes of all men, from the beginning of the world, if they be compared to these of the Jews, are not so considerable as they were; while the authors of them are not foreigners neither. This makes it impossible for me to contain my lamentations. But, if any one be inflexible in his censures of me, let him attribute the facts themselves to the historical part, and the lamentations to the writer himself only.

5. However, I may justly blame the learned men among the Greeks, who, when such great actions have been done in their own times, which, upon the comparison, quite eclipse the old wars, do yet sit as judges of those affairs, and pass bitter censures upon the labours of the best writers of antiquity; which moderns, although they may be superior to the old writers in eloquence, yet are inferior to them in the execution of what they intended to do. While these also write new histories, and bring in their Alexandrians and Moises, as if the ancient writers had not described their affairs as they ought to have done; although these be as far inferior to them in abilities as they are different in their notions from them; for of old, every one took upon them to write what happened in their own time; where their immediate concern in the actions made their promises of value; and where it must be reproachful to write lies, when they must be known by the reader to be such. But then, an undertaking to preserve the memory of what hath not been before recorded, and to represent the affairs of one's own time to those that come afterwards, is really worthy of praise and commendation. Now, he is to be esteemed to have taken good pains in earnest, not who does no more than change the disposition and order of other man's works, but he who not only relates what had not been related before, but composes an entire body of history of his own:

accountingly, I have been at great charges, and have taken very great pains, and have combed my every word and passage, to compose this work, as a memorial of great actions, both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians. But, for some of our own principal men, their mouths are wide open, and their tongues loosened presently, for gain and law-suits, but quite muzzled up when they are to write history, where they must speak truth and gather facts together with a great deal of pains; and so they leave the writing of such histories to weaker people, and so to such as are not acquainted with the actions of princes. Yet shall the real truth of historical facts be preserved before us, how much soever it be neglected among the Greek historians.

6. To write concerning the Antiquities of the Jews, who were [originally], and how they revolted from the Egyptians, and what country they travelled over, and what countries they sailed upon afterward, and how they were removed out of them, I think this not to be a fit opportunity, and, on other accounts, also superfluous; and this because many Jews before me have composed the histories of our ancestors very exactly; as have some of the Greeks that did it also, and have therefore related our histories into their own tongues, and have not much mistaken the truth in their histories. But then, where the writers of these affairs and our prophets leave off, thence shall I take my rise, and begin my history. Now, as to what concerns that war which happened in my own time, I will go over it largely, and with all the diligence I am able; but, for what preceded mine own age, that I shall run over briefly.

7. [For example, I shall relate] how Antiochus, who was a madman, Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by force, and held it three years and three months, and was then ejected out of the country by the sons of Asamoneus; after that, how their posterity quarrelled about the government, and brought upon their settlement the Romans and Pompey; how Herod also, the son of Antipater, dissolved their government, and brought Scevis upon them; as also how our people made a sedition upon Herod's death, while Augustus was the Roman emperor, and Quinctius Varus was in that country; and how the war broke out in the twelfth year of Nero, with what happened to Cestius; and what peace the Jews attained in an hostile manner in the first sallicy of the war.

8. As also, [I shall relate] how they built walls about the neighbouring cities; and how Nero, upon Cestius's defeat, was in fear of the entire event of the war, and thereupon made Vespasian general in this war; and how this Vespasian, with the elder of his sons, made an expedition into the country of Judæa; what was the number of the Roman army that he made use of; and how many of his auxiliaries were cut off in all Galilean, and how he took some of its cities entirely, and by force, and others of them by treaty, and on terms. Now, when I come so far, I shall describe the good order of the Romans in war, and the discipline of their legions: the amplitude of both the Galilean, with its nature, and the limits of Judea. And besides this, I shall particularly go over what is peculiar to the country, the lakes and fountains that are in them, and what miseries happened to every city as they were taken; and all this with accuracy as I saw the things done, or suffered in them; for...
shall not conceal any of the calamities I myself endured, since I shall relate them to such as know the truth of them.

9. After this [I shall relate] how, when the Jews' affairs were become very bad, Nero died; and Vespasian, when he was going to attack Jerusalem, was called back to take the government upon him; what signs happened to him relating to his gaining that government, and what mutations of government then happened at Rome, and how he was unwillingly made emperor by his soldiers; and how, upon his departure to Egypt, to take upon him the government of the empire, the affairs of the Jews became very tumultuous; as also how the tyrants rose up against them, and fell into dissensions amongst themselves.

10. Moreover [I shall relate] how Titus marched out of Egypt into Judea the second time; as also how and where, and how many forces he got together; and in what state the city was, by means of the seditions, at his coming; what attacks he made, and how many ramparts he cast up; of the three walls that encompassed the city, and of their measures; of the strength of the city, and the structure of the temple and holy house; and besides, the measures of those edifices, and of the altar, and all accurately determined. A description also of certain of their festivals, and seven purifications or days of purity, and the sacred ministrations of the priests, with the garments of the priests, and of the high-priests; and of the nature of the most holy place of the temple; without concealing any thing, or adding anything to the known truth of things.

11. After this, I shall relate the barbarity of the tyrants towards the people of their own nation, as well as the indulgence of the Romans in sparing foreigners; and how often Titus, out of his desire to preserve the city and the temple, invited the seditious to come to terms of accommodation. I shall also distinguish the sufferings of the people, and their calamities; how far they were afflicted by the sediment, and how far by the famine, and at length were taken. Nor shall I omit to mention the misfortunes of the deserters, nor the punishments inflicted on the captives; as also how the temple was burnt against the consent of Caesar; and how many sacred things that had been laid up in the temple, were snatched out of the fire; the destruction also of the entire city, with the signs and wonders that went before it; and the taking the tyrants captive, and the multitude of those that were made slaves, and into what different misfortunes they were every one distributed. Moreover, what the Romans did to the remains of the wall; and how they demolished the strong-holds that were in the country; and how Titus went over the whole country, and settled its affairs; together with his return into Italy, and his triumph.

12. I have comprehended all these things in seven books; and have left no occasion for complaint or accusation to such as have been acquainted with this war; and I have written it down for the sake of those that love truth, but not for those that please themselves with fictitious relations. And I will begin my account of these things with what I call my First Chapter.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVEN YEARS.

FROM ANTIOCHUS EPIPhanES TAKING JERUSALEM TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT.

CHAPTER I.


§ 1. At the same time that Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy about his right to the whole country of Syria, a great sedition fell among the men of power in Judea, and they had a contention about obtaining the government; while each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias, one of the high-priests, got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city; who fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to make an expedition into Judea. The king being thereto disposed beforehand, complied with them, and came upon the Jews with a great army, and took their city by force, and slew a great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them, without mercy. He also spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for three years and six months. But Onias, the high-priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the Nome of Heliopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like its temple; concerning which we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.

1 I see little difference in the several accounts in Josephus about the Egyptian temple Onias, of which large complaints are made by his commentators. Onias, it seems, hoped to have made it very like that at Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions; and so he appears to have written, as far as he was able, and thought proper. Of this temple see Antioch, b. iii. ch. iii. sect. 1, 2, 8; and Of the War, b. vii. ch. 1. sect. 8.
2. Now Antiochus was not satisfied either with his unexpected taking the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but being overcome with his violent passions, and remembering what his brother had done in the siege, he commanded the Jews to dissolve the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine’s flesh upon the altar; against which they all opposed themselves, and the most approved among them were put to death. Bacchides also, who was sent to keep the fortresses, having these wicked commands, joined to his own natural barbarity, indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness, and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, man by man, and threatened their city every day with open destruction; and when the city had already provoked the poor sufferers, by the extremity of his wicked doings, to avenge themselves.

3. Accordingly Matthias, the son of Asamoneus, one of the priests who lived in a village called Modin, armed himself, together with his own family, which had five sons of his in it, and slew Bacchides with daggers; and thereupon, out of the fear of the many garrisons of the enemy, he fled to the mountains; and so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come down from the mountains, and to give battle to Antiochus’s generals, when he beat them, and drove them out of Judea. So he came to the government by this his success, and became the prince of his own people by their own free consent, and then died, leaving the government to Judas, his eldest son.

4. Now Judas, supposing that Antiochus would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own country, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans, and drove Epiphanes out of the country when he had made a second expedition into it, and this by giving him a great defeat there; and when he was warmed by this great success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off hitherto; so he ejected them out of the upper city, and drove the soldiers into the lower, which part of the city was called the Citadel. He then got the temple under his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar, and began to offer the sacrifices; and when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus died; whose son Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

5. So this Antiochus got together fifty thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, and four score elephants, and marched through Judea into the mountainous parts. He then took Bethsura, which was a small city; but at a place called Bethzacharias, where the passage was narrow, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Judas’s brother, Eleazar, seeing the very highest of the elephants adorned with a large tower, and with military trappings of gold to guard him, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, he ran a great way before his own army, and cutting his way through the enemies’ troops, he got up to the elephant; yet could not reach him who seemed to be the king, by reason of his being so high; but still he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and showed that he preferred glory before life. Now he that governed the elephant was but a private man; but had he been to be Antiochus, Eleazar had performed nothing more by this bold stroke than that it might appear he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of thereby doing a glorious action; nay, this disappointment proved an omen to his brother [Judas] how the entire battle would end. It is true that the Jews fought it out bravely for a long time; but the king’s forces, being superior in number, and having fortune on their side, obtained the victory; and when a great many of his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the territory of Gophna. So Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and staid there but a few days, for he wanted provisions, and so he went his way. He left indeed a garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient to keep the place; but drew the rest of his army off, to take their winter-quarters in Syria.

6. Now, after the king was departed, Judas was not idle; for as many of his own nation came to him, so did he gather those that had escaped out of the battle together, and gave battle again to Antiochus’s generals at a village called Adasa; and being too hard for his enemies in the battle, and killing a great number of them, was at last himself slain also. Nor was it many days afterward that his brother John had a plot laid against him by Antiochus’s party, and was slain by them.

CHAPTER 11.

CONCERNING THE SUCCESSORS OF JUDAS, WHO WERE JONATHAN, SIMEON, AND JOHN HYRCANUS.

§ 1. When Jonathan who was Judas’s brother, succeeded him, he behaved with great circumspection in other respects, with relation to his own people; and he corroborated his authority by preserving his friendship with the Romans. He also made a league with Antiochus the son. Yet was not all this sufficient for his security; for the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus’s son, laid a plot against him; and, besides that, endeavoured to take off his friends, and caught Jonathan by a wile, as he was going to Ptolemiais to Antiochus, with a few persons in his company, and put them in bonds, and then made an expedition against the Jews; but when he was afterward driven away by Simeon, who was Jonathan’s brother, and was enraged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

2. However, Simeon managed the public affairs after a courageous manner, and took Gazer, and Joppa, and Jamnia, which were cities in the neighbourhood. He also got the garrison under, and demolished the citadel. He was afterwards an auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, whom he besieged in Doris, before he went on his expedition against the Medes; yet could not he make the king ashamed of his ambition, though he had assisted him in killing Trypho; for it was not long ere Antiochus sent Cendebens his general with an army to lay waste Judea, and to subdue Simeon; yet he, though he was now in years, conducted the war as if he were a much younger man. He also sent his sons with a band of strong men against Antiochus, while he took part of the army himself with him, and fell upon him from another quarter: he also
laid a great many men in ambush in many places of the mountains, and was superior in all his attacks upon them. And when he had been conqueror after so glorious a manner, he was made high-priest, and also freed the Jews from the dominion of the Macedonians, after a hundred and seventy years of the empire [of Scælus].

3. This Simeon also had a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his wife and two sons into prison, and sent some persons to kill John, who was also called Hyrcanus. But when the young man was warned of the coming beforehand, he made much haste to get to the city, as having a very great confidence in the people there, both on account of the memory of the glorious actions of his father, and of the hatred they could not but bear to the injustice of Ptolemy. Ptolemy also made an attempt to get into the city by another gate, but was repelled by the people, who had just then admitted Hyrcanus; so he retired presently to one of the fortresses that were above Jericho, which was called Dagon. Now, when Hyrcanus had reached the high priestly seat, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might afford relief to his mother and brethren.

4. So he laid siege to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcome by him as to the just affection [he had for his relations]; for when Ptolemy was distressed, he brought forth his mother and his brethren, and set them upon the wall, and beat them with rods in every body's sight, and threatened, that unless he would go away immediately, and be reconciled with his brethren, he would destroy the city at which point Hyrcanus' compassion and concern were too hard for his anger. But his mother was not dismayed, neither at the stripes she received, nor at the death with which she was threatened, but stretched out her hands, and prayed her son not to be moved with the injuries that she suffered, to spare the wretch; since it was to her better to die by the means of Ptolemy than to live ever so long, provided he might be punished for the injuries he had done to their family. Now John's case was this; when he considered the courage of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he set about his attacks; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces with the stripes, he grew feeble, and was entirely overcome by his affections. And as the siege was delayed by this means, the year of rest came on, upon which the Jews rest every seventh year as they do on every seventh day. On this year, therefore, Ptolemy was freed from being besieged, and slew the brethren of John, with their mother, and fled to Zeno, who was also called Cotylas, who was the tyrant of Philadelphia. And now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered from Simeon, that he made an expedition into Judea, and sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus: but Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who was the richest of all kings, and took thence about three thousand talents in money, and induced Antiochus, by the promise of three thousand talents, to raise the siege. Moreover, he was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and began to hire foreign auxiliaries also.

6. However, at another time, when Antiochus was gone upon an expedition against the Medes, and so gave Hyrcanus an opportunity of being avenged upon him, he immediately made an attack upon the cities of Syria, as thinking, what proved to be the case with them, that he should find them empty of good troops. So he took Medaba and Samesa, with the towns in their neighbourhood, as also Shechem and Gerizzim; and besides these, [he subdued] the nations of the Cuthenians, who dwelt round about that temple which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem; he also took a great many other cities of Idumes, with Adoreon and Mariass.

7. He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city Sebaste, which was built by Herod the king, and encompassed it all round with a wall, and set his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that a famine so far prevailed with the city, that they were forced to eat that what never was esteemed food. They also invited Antiochus, who was called Cylcicus, to come to their assistance; whereupon he got ready, and complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristobulus and Antigonus; and indeed he was pursued as far as Scylipolis by these brethren, and fled away from them. So they returned back to Samaria, and shut the multitude again within the wall; and when they had taken the city they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. And, as they had still great success in their undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but went on with the siege of Scylipolis, and made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within mount Carmel.

8. But then, these successes of John and of his sons made them be envied, and occasioned a sedition in the country; and many there were who got together, and would not be at rest till they brake out into open war, in which war they were beaten. So John lived the rest of his life very happily, and administered the government after a most extraordinary manner, and this for thirty-three entire years together. He had five sons behind him. He was certainly a very happy man, and afforded no occasion to have any complaint made of fortune on his account. He it was who alone had three of the most desirable things in the world,—the government of his nation, and the high-priesthood, and the gift of prophecy; for the Deity conversed with him,—and he was not ignorant of anything that was to come afterwards; insomuch that he foresaw and foretold that his two eldest sons would not continue masters of the government; and it will highly deserve our narration to describe their catastrophe, and, how far inferior these men were to their father in felicity.

CHAPTER III.

HOW ARISTOBULUS WAS THE FIRST THAT PUT A DIadem ABOUT HIS HEAD; AND, AFTER HE HAD PUT HIS MOTHER AND BROTHER TO DEATH, DIED HIMSELF, WHEN HE HAD REIGNED NO MORE THAN A YEAR.

§ 1. For after the death of their father, the elder of them, Aristobulus, changed the government into
2. Now Antiochus was not satisfied either with his unexpected taking the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but being overcome with his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he compelled the Jews to dissolve the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar; against which they all opposed themselves, and the most approved among them were put to death. Baccides also, who was sent to keep the fortresses, having these wicked commands, joined to his own natural barbarity, indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness, and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, man by man, and threatened their city every day with open destruction; till at length he provoked the poor sufferers, by the extremity of his wicked doings, to avenge themselves.

3. Accordingly Matthias, the son of Assanemonus, one of the priests who lived in a village called Modio, armed himself, together with his own family, which had five sons of his in it, and slew Baccides with daggers; and thereupon, out of the fear of the many garrisons [of the enemy], he fled to the mountains; and so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come down from the mountains, and to give battle to Antiochus's generals, when he beat them, and drove them out of Judaea. So he came to the government by this his success, and became the prince of his own people by their own free consent, and then died, leaving the government to Judas, his eldest son.

4. Now Judas, supposing that Antiochus would not lie still, armed an army out of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans, and drove Epiphanes out of the country when he had made a second expedition into it, and this by giving him a great defeat there; and when he was warmed by this great success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off hitherto; so he ejected them out of the upper city, and drove the soldiers into the lower, which part of the city was called the Citadel. He then got the temple under his power, and cleanse the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar, and began to offer the sacrifices; and when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus died; whose son Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

5. So this Antiochus got together fifty thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, and four war elephants, and marched through Judaea into the mountain parts. He then took Bethsam, which was a small city; but at a place called Bethzacharias, where the passage was narrow, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Judas's brother, Eleazar, seeing the very highest of the elephants adorned with a large tower, and with military trappings of gold to guard him, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, he ran away before his own army, and cutting his way through the enemies' troops, got up to the elephant; yet could not reach him who seemed to be the king, by reason of his being so high; but still he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and showed that he preferred glory before life. Now he that generals the elephant was but a private man; but had it proved to be Antiochus, Eleazar had performed nothing more by this bold stroke than that it might appear he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of thereby doing a glorious action; nay, this appointment proved an omen to his brother Judas, how the entire battle would end. It is true that the Jews fought it out bravely for a long time; but the king's forces, being superior in number, in having fortune on their side, obtained the victory; and when a great many of his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the sanctuary of Gophna. So Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and said there but a few days, for he wanted provisions, and so he went his way. He left indeed a garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient to keep the place; but drew the rest of his army off, to take their winter-quarters in Syria.

6. Now, after the king was departed, Judas was not idle; he gathered a great number of the enemy, and came to his room, so did he gather those that had escaped the battle together, and gave battle again to Antiochus's generals at a village called Adate; and being too hard for his enemies in the battle, and killing a great number of them, he was at last himself slain also. Nor was it many days afterward that his brother John had a plot laid against him by Antiochus's party, and was slain by them.

CHAPTER II.
CONCERNING THE Successors of Judas, Who Was
Jonathan, Simeon, and John Hyrcanus.

§ 1. When Jonathan who was Judas's brother succeeded him, he behaved with great circumspection in other respects, with relation to his own people; and he corroborated his authority by preserving his friendship with the Romans. He also made a league with Antiochus the son.

Yet was not this sufficient for his security. For the tyrant Typho, who was guardian to Antiochus's son, had a plot against him; and, besides that, endeavored to take off his friends, and caught Jonathan by a wile, as he was going to Ptolemais to Antiochus, with a few persons in his company, and put them in bonds, and then made an expedition against the Jews; but when he was afterward driven away, Simeon, who was Jonathan's brother, and was enraged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

2. However, Simeon managed the public affairs after an arraignment manner, and took Gaza, and Joppa, and Jannah, which were cities in the neighborhood. He also got the garrison under, and demolished the citadel. He was afterward auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, when he besieged in Dora, before he went on his expedition against the Medes; yet could not he make the king ashamed of his ambition, though he had assumed him in killing Trypho; for it was not long ere Antiochus sent Cendebeus his general with an army to lay waste Judea, and to subdue Simeon; yet he, though he was now in years, conducted the war so far as if he were a much younger man. He also sent his sons with a band of strong men against Antiochus, while he took part of the army himself with him, and fell upon him from another quarter; he also
laid a great many men in ambush in many places of the mountains, and was superior in all his attacks upon them. And when he had been taken by a most glorious manner, he was made high-priest, and also freed the Jews from the dominion of the Macedonians, after a hundred and seventy years of the empire [of Seleucus].

3. This Simeon had also a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his wife and two sons into prison, and sent some persons to kill John, who was also called Hyrcanus. But when the young man was informed of their coming beforehand, he made much haste to get to the city, as having a very great confidence in the people there, both on account of the memory of his father and the act of his father, and of the hatred they could not but bear to the injustice of Ptolemy. Ptolemy also made an attempt to get into the city by another gate, but was repelled by the people, who had just then admitted Hyrcanus; so he retired presently to one of the fortresses that were above Jericho, which was called Dagon. Now, when Hyrcanus had received the high-priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might afford relief to his mother and to his sons.

4. So he laid siege to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcame by him as to the just affection [he had for his relations]; for when Ptolemy was distressed, he brought forth his mother and his brethren, and set them upon the wall, and beat them with rods in every body's sight, and threatened, that, unless he would go away immediately, he would throw them down headlong; at which sight Hyrcanus's commiseration and concern were too hard for his anger. But his mother was not dismayed, neither at the stripes she received, nor at the death with which she was threatened, but stretched out her hands, and prayed her son not to be moved with the injuries that she suffered, to spare the wretch; since it was to her better to die by the means of Ptolemy than to live ever so long, provided he might be punished for the injuries he had done to their family. Now John's case was this:—When he considered the courage of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he set about his attacks; but when he saw her beaten, and took no care of her, he gave her cause to think, and was entirely overcome by his affections. And as the siege was delayed by this means, the year of rest came on, upon which the Jews rest every seventh year as they do on every seventh day. On this year, therefore, Ptolemy was freed from being besieged, and slew the brethren of John, with their mother, and fled to Zeno, who was also called Cotylas, who was the tyrant of Philadelphia.

5. And now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered from Simeon, that he made an expedition into Judea, and sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus; but Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who was the richest of all kings, and took thence about three thousand talents in money, and induced Antiochus, by the promise of three thousand talents, to raise the siege. More-

* Why this John the son of Simeon, the high-priest and governor of the Jews, was called Hyrcanus, Josephus nowhere informs us; nor is he called John at the end of the first book of the Maccabees. However, Blasis Sennertus, who gives us an epitome of the Greek version of this book here abridged by Josephus, or the Chronicle of this John Hyrcanus, then assigns, assures us that he was called Hyrcanus, from his conquests of one of that name. See Authent. Rec. p. 31. p. 67. But this of this younger Antiochus, see Dean Aldrich's note LXX.1

over, he was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and began to hire foreign auxiliaries also.

However, at another time, when Antiochus was gone upon an expedition against the Medes, and so gave Hyrcanus an opportunity of being avenged upon him, he immediately made an attack upon the cities of Syria, as thinking, what proved to be the case with them, that he should find them empty of good troops. So he took Medaba and Sames, with the towns in their neighbourhood, as also Shechem and Gerizim; and besides these, [he subdued] the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt round about that temple which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem: he also took a great many other cities of Idumea, with Adoreon and Marissa.

7. He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city Sebaste, which was built by Herod the king, and encompassed it all round with a wall, and set his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that a famine so far prevailed with the city, that they were forced to eat what never was esteemed food. They also invited Antiochus, who was called Cyzicus, to come to their assistance; whereupon he got ready, and complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristobulus and Antigonus; and indeed he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by these brethren, and fled away from them. So they returned back to Samaria, and shut the multitude again within the wall; and when they had taken the city they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. And, as they had still great success in their undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within mount Carmel.

8. But then, these successes of John and his sons made them envied, and occasioned a sedition in the country; and many there were who got together, and would not be at rest till they brake out into open war, in which war they were beaten. So John lived the rest of his life very happily, and administered the government after a most extraordinary manner, and this for thirty-three entire years together. He died, leaving five sons behind him. He was certainly a very happy man, and afforded no occasion to have any complaint made of fortune on his account. He it was who alone had three of the most desirable things in the world,—the government of his nation, and the high-priesthood, and the gift of prophecy; for the Deity conversed with him,—and he was not ignorant of anything that was to come afterwards; insomuch that he foresaw and foretold that his two eldest sons would not continue masters of the government: and it will highly deserve our narration to describe their catastrophe, and how far inferior these men were to their father in felicity.

CHAPTER III.

HOW ARISTOBULUS WAS THE FIRST THAT PUT A DIadem ABOUT HIS HEAD; AND, AFTER HE HAD PUT HIS MOTHER AND BROTHER TO DEATH, DIED HIMSELF, WHEN HE HAD REIGNED NO MORE THAN A YEAR.

§ 1. For after the death of their father, the elder of them, Aristobulus, changed the government into
a kingdom, and was the first that put a diadem upon his head, four hundred and seventy-one years and three months after our people came down into this country, when they were set free from the Babylonian slavery. Now, of his brethren, he appeared to have an affecion for Antigonus, who was next to him in age, and made him his equal; but, for this, he bound him, and put them in prison. He also put his mother in bonds, for her contesting the government with him; for John had left her to be the governor of public affairs. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity as to cause her to be pined to death in prison.

2. But vengeance circumvented him in the affair of his brother Antigonus, whom he loved, and whom he made his partner in the kingdom; for he slew him by the means of the calumni which ill men about the palace contrived against him. At first indeed, Aristobulus would not believe their reports, partly out of the affection he had for his brother, and partly because he thought that a great part of these tales were owing to the envy of their relations; however, as Antigonus came once in a splendid manner from the army to that festival, wherein our ancient custom is to make tabernacles for God, it happened in those days that Aristobulus was sick, and that, at the conclusion of the feast, Antigonus came up to him, with his armed men about him, and that when he was adorned in the finest manner possible, and that, in a great measure, to pray to God on the behalf of his brother. Now, at this very time it was that these ill men came to the king, and told him in what a pompous manner the armed men came, and with what insolence Antigonus marched, and that such his insolence was too great for a private person, and that accordingly he was come with a great band of men to kill him; for that he could not endure this bare enjoyment of royal honour, when it was in his power to take the kingdom himself.

3. Now Aristobulus, by degrees, and unwillingly, gave credit to these accusations; and accordingly, he took care not to discover his suspicion openly, though he provided to be secure against any accidents; so he placed the guards of his body in a certain dark subterraneous passage; for he lay sick in a certain place called formerly the Citadel, though afterwards its name was changed to Antonia; and he gave orders, that if Antigonus came unarmed, they should let him alone; but if he came to him in his armour, they should kill him. He also sent some to let him know beforehand, that he should come unarmed. But, upon this occasion, the queen very cunningly contrived the matter with those that plotted his ruin, for she persuaded them that were sent, to conceal the king’s message; but to tell Antigonus how his brother had heard he had got a very fine suit of armour, made with fine martial ornaments, in Galilee; and because his present sickness hindered him from coming and seeing all that finery, he very much desired to see him now in his armour, because, said he, in a little time thou art going away from me.

4. As soon as Antigonus heard this, the good tears of his brother to allowing him to suspend any harm from him, he came along with his armour on, to show it to his brother; but when he was going along that dark passage, which was called Strato’s Tower, he was slain by the body guards, and became an eminent instance how calumny destroys all good-will and natural affection and how none of our good affections are strong enough to resist envy perpetually.

5. And truly any one would be surprised at Judas upon this occasion. He was of the sect of the Essenes, and had never failed or deceived men in his predictions before. Now, this man saw Antigonus as he was passing along by the temple, and came out to his acquaintance (they were not a few who attended upon him as his scholars), “O strange said he, “it is good for me to die now, since truth is dead before me, and somewhat that I have foretold hath proved false; for this Antigonus is the day alive, who ought to have died this day; and the place where he ought to be slain, according to that fatal decree, was Strato’s Tower, which is the distance of six hundred furloons from this place, and yet four hours of this day are over already; which point of time renders the prediction impossible to be fulfilled.” And when the old man had said this, he was selected in his mind, and so continued. But, in a little time, news came that Antigonus was slain in a subterraneous place, which was itself also called Strato’s Tower, by the same name with that Cesarea which lay by the sea-side; and this ambiguity it was which caused the people’s disorder.

6. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of the great crime he had been guilty of, and this gave occasion to the increase of the distemper. He also grew worse and worse, and his soul was constantly disturbed at the thought of what he had done, till his very bowels being torn to pieces by the intolerable grief he was under, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And, as one of those servants that attended him carried out that blood, he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonus had been slain; and so he split some of the murderer’s blood upon the spot, the blood of him that had been murdered, which still appeared. Hereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators, as if the servant had spilled the blood on purpose in that place; and, as the king heard that cry, he inquired what was the case of it; and while nobody durst tell him, he pressed them so much the more to let him know what was the matter; so, at length, when he had threatened them, and forced them to speak out, they told him; whereupon he burst into tears, and groaned, and said, “So I perceive I am not like to escape the all-seeing eye of God, as to the great crimes I have committed; but the vengeance of the blood of mykinsman pursues me hasty. O thou most impendent body! how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die, on account of that punishment it ought to suffer for a mother and a brother slain! I how long shall I myself spend my blood drop by drop; let them take it all at once; and let their ghosts longer be disappointed by a few parcels of my bowels offered to them.” As soon as he had said these words, he presently died, when he had reigned no longer than a year.

CHAPTER IV.

WHAT ACTIONS WERE DONE BY ALEXANDER JANNES, WHO REIGNED TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS.

§ 1. And now the king’s wife losted the king’s brethren, and made Alexander king, who appeared
both elder in age and more moderate in his temper than the rest; who, when he came to the government, slew one of his brethren, as affecting to govern himself; but had the other of them in great esteem, as loving a quiet life, without meddling with public affairs.

2. Now it happened that there was a battle between him and Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, who had taken the city Aeschis. He indeed slew a great many of his enemies; but the victory rather inclined to Ptolemy. But, when this Ptolemy was pursued by his mother Cleopatra, and retired into Egypt, Alexander besieged Gadara, and took it; as also he did Amathus, which was the strongest of all the fortresses that were about Jordan, and therein were the most precious of all the possessions of Theodorus, the son of Zeno. Whereupon Theodorus marched against him, and took what belonged to himself, as well as the king's baggage, and slew ten thousand of the Jews. However, Alexander recovered this blow, and turned his force towards the land of Galaad, and took Parnabas, and Garam, with Antheodorus also, which was afterwards called Agrippias by king Herod.

3. But when he had made slaves of the citizens of all the cities, the nation of the Jews made a sedition against him at a festival; for at those feasts seditions are generally begun: and it looked as if he should not be able to escape the plot they had laid for him, had not his foreign auxiliaries, the Parthians and Cilicians, assisted him; and, for, as to the Syrians, he never admitted them among his mercenaries, troops, on account of their innate enmity against the Jewish nation. And when he had, more than six thousand of the rebels, he made an incursion into Arabia, and when he had taken that country, together with the Gileadites and Moabites, he enjoined them to pay him tribute, and returned to Amathus; and as Theodorus was surprised at his great success, he took the fortresses, and demolished it.

4. However, when he fought with Obodas, king of the Arabians, who had laid an ambush for him near Gadara, and attacked him, he lost his entire army, which was made up together by the valley, and broken to pieces by the multitude of camels; and when he had made his escape to Jerusalem, he provoked the multitude, who hated him before, to make an insurrection against him, and this on account of the greatness of the calamity that he was under. However, he was then too hard for them; and, in the several battles that were fought on both sides, he slew not fewer than fifty thousand of the Jews, in the interval of six years. Yet had he reason to rejoice in these victories, since he did not consume his own kingdom; till at length he left off fighting, and endeavoured to come to a composition with them, by talking with his subjects, but this mutability and irregularity of his conduct made them hate him still more; and when he asked them why they so hated him, and what he should do, in order to appease them, they said, by killing himself; for that it would be then all they could do, to be reconciled to him who had done such tropical things to them, even when he was dead. At the same time they invited Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, to assist them; and as he readily complied with their wishes, in hopes of great advantages, and came with his army, the Jews joined with those their auxiliaries about Shechem.

5. Yet did Alexander meet both those forces with one thousand horsemen, and eight thousand mercenaries that were on foot. He had also with him that part of the Jews which favoured him, to the number of ten thousand; while the adverse party had three thousand horsemen, and fourteen thousand footmen. Now, before they joined battle, the kings made proclamation, and endeavoured to draw off each other's soldiers, and make them revolt; while Demetrius hoped to induce Alexander's mercenaries to leave him; and Alexander hoped to induce the Jews that were with Demetrius to leave him; but, since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement, and to a close fight with their weapons. In which battle Demetrius was the conqueror, although Alexander's mercenaries showed the greatest exploits, both in soul and body. Yet did the upshot of this battle prove different from what was expected, as to both of them; for neither did those that invited Demetrius come to the battle; although he was conqueror; and six thousand Jews, out of pity to the change of Alexander's condition, when he was fled to the mountains came over to him. Yet could not Demetrius bear this turn of affairs; but supposing that Alexander was already become a match for him again, and that all the nation would [at length] run to him, he left the country, and went his way.

6. However, the rest of the Jews made not lay aside their quarrels with him, when the foreign auxiliaries were gone; but they had a perpetual war with Alexander, until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven them into the city Bemessala; and when he had demolished that city, he carried the captives to Jerusalem. Nay, his rage was grown so extravagant, that his barbarity proceeded to a degree of impiety: for when he had ordered eight hundred to be hung upon crosses in the midst of the city, he had the throns of their wives and children cut before their eyes; and these executions he saw as he was drinking and lying down with his concubines. Upon which, so great a surcharge of the people, that eight thousand of his opponents fled away the very next night, out of all Judea, whose flight was only terminated by Alexander's death; so at last, though not till late, and with great difficulty, he, by such actions, procured quiet to his kingdom, and left off fighting any more.

7. Yet did that Antiochus, who was also called Dionysius, become an origin of troubles again. This man was the brother of Demetrius, and the last of the race of the Seleucids. Alexander was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabs; so he had made a treachery between Antipatras, which was near the sea, and the shores of Joppa; also he erected a high wall before the trearch, and built wooden towers in order to hinder any sudden approaches; but still he was not able to exclude Antiochus, for he burnt the towers, and filled up the trenches, and marched on with his army; and as he looked upon taking his revenge on Alexander for endeavouring to stop him, as a thing of less consequence, he marched directly against the Arabs, whose king retired into such parts of the country as were fittest for

*Josephus here calls this Antiochus the last of the Seleucids, although there remained still a shadow of another king of that family, Antiochus Amathus, or commageneus, who reigned; or rather lay hid, till Pompey quite turned him out; as Dean Aldrich here notes, from Appian and Justin.
imperious manner, rather than to comply with that call. However, he saw the multitude were in great fear, and his friends exhorted him to consider what the power of the Romans was, and how it was irresistible; so he complied with their advice, and came down to Pompey; and when he had made a long apology for himself, and for the justness of his cause in taking the government, he returned to the fortress. And when his brother invited him again [to plead his cause], he came down and spoke about the justice of it, and then went away without any hindrance from Pompey; so he was between hope and fear. And when he came down, it was to prevail with Pompey to allow him the government entirely; and when he went up to the citadel, it was that he might not appear to debase himself too low. However, Pompey commanded him to give up his fortified places, and forced him to write to every one of their governors to yield them up; they having had this charge given them, to obey no letters but what were of his own hand-writing. Accordingly he did what he was ordered to do; but had still an indignation at what was done, and retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to fight with Pompey.

6. But Pompey did not give him time to make any preparations [for a siege], but followed him at his heels; he was also ordered to make haste in his attempt, by the death of Mithridates, of which he was informed about Jericho. Now here is the most fruitful country about Judea, which bears a vast number of palm-trees, besides the balsam-tree, whose sprouts they cut with sharp stones, and at the incisions they gather the juice, which drops down like tears. So Pompey pitched his camp in that place one night, and then hastened away next morning to Jerusalem; but Aristobulus was so frightened at his approach, that he came and met him by way of supplication. He also promised him money, and that he would deliver up both himself and the city into his disposal; and thereby he mitigated the anger of Pompey. Yet did not he perform any of the conditions he had agreed to; for Aristobulus' party would not so much as admit Gabinius into the city, who was sent to receive the money that he had promised.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW POMPEY HAD THE CITY OF JERUSALEM DELIVERED UP TO HIM, BUT TOOK THE TEMPLE [BY FORCE]. HOW HE WENT INTO THE HOLY OF HOLIES; AS ALSO WHAT WERE HIS OTHER EXPLOITS IN J UDE A.

§ 1. At this treatment Pompey was very angry, and took Aristobulus into custody; and when he was come to the city he looked about where he might make his attack; for he saw the walls were so firm that it would be hard to overcome them, and that the valley before the walls was terrible; and that the temple, which was within that valley, was itself encompassed with a very strong wall, in such that if the city were taken, the temple would be a second place of refuge for the enemy to retire to.

2. Now, as he was long in deliberating about this matter, a sedition arose among the people in the city; Aristobulus' party being willing to join to their king at liberty, while the part of Hyrcanus stood for opening the gates to Pompey, and the dread people were afraid it might be a very number party, when they laid upon the excellent order the Roman soldiers in.

So Aristobulus' party was wested, and went into the temple, and cut off the communications between the temple and the city, by breaking the bridge that joined them together, and prepared make an opposition to the utmost; but as the day had received the Romans into the city, and delivered up the palace to him, Pompey sent one of his great officers, into that palace with army, who distributed a garrison about the city, because he could not persuade any one of them to have Hyrcanus' party very ready to afford the both counsel and assistance.

3. But Pompey himself filled up the ditch that was on the north side of the temple, and the valley also, the army itself was obliged to sit the materials for that purpose. And indeed it was a hard thing to fill up that valley, by reason of the immense depth, especially as the Jews had all means possible to repel them from their expectation; nor had the Romans succeeded in their endeavours, had not Pompey taken notice of the seventh days, on which the Jews abstain from a sort of work on a religious account, and used no bank, but restrained his soldiers from fighting those days; for the Jews only acted during the Sabbath-days.

But as soon as Pompey had filled up the valley, he erected high towers at a distance, and brought up those engines which they fetched from Tyre near to the wall, and set the batter it down; and the slingers of stones beat those that stood above them, and drove them out, but the towers on this side of the city made no great resistance, and were indeed extraordinary, both for largeness and magnificence.

4. Now, here was that, upon the many harassments which the Romans underwent, Pompey could not but admire not only at the other instances the Jews' fortitude, but especially that they had not at all intermix their religious services, even when they were encompassed with darts and stones, and for, as if the temple were in full peace, their daily sacrifices, and purifications, and every branch of their religious worship, were still performed to God on the utmost exactness. Nor indeed, when the temple was actually taken, and they were every soul slain about the altar, did they leave off the instance of their divine worship that were appointed by the law; for it was in the third month of the siege before the Romans could even with great difficulty overthrow one of the towers, and get into the temple. Now he that first of all ventured to get up the wall was Aulus Cornelius, the son of Syr., and next after him were two centurions, Firmus and Fabius; and every one of the temple was followed by cohort of his own, who encompassed the Jews in all sides, and slew them; some of them as they were running for shelter to the temple, and others as they, for a while, fought in their own defence.

3. And now did many of the priests, even while they saw their enemies assailing them with stones in their hands, without any disturbance, go on

1. Of the famous palm-trees and balsam about Jericho and En-gedi, see the notes in Hazen's edition, both here and b. ii. ch. 18 sec. 1. They are somewhat too long to be transcribed in this place.
their divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink-offerings and burning their incense, as preferring the duties about their worship to God before their own preservation. The greatest part of them were slain by their own countrymen of the diverse factions, and as innumerable multitudes of bystanders threw themselves down prestipices; nay some there were who were so distracted among the insuperable difficulties they were under, that they set fire to the buildings that were near to the wall, and were burnt together with them. Now the Jews were slain twelve thousand; but of the Romans very few were slain, but a greater number was wounded.

6. But there was nothing that affected the nation so much, in the calamities they were then under, as that their holy place, which had been hitherto seen by none, should be left open to strangers; for Pompey and those that were about him, went into the temple itself,1 whether it was not lawful for any to enter but the high-priest, and saw what was reposed therein, the candlestick with its lamps, and the table, and the pouring vessels, and the censors, all made entirely of gold, as also a great quantity of spicery heaped together, with two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did not he touch the money, nor any thing else that was there reposed; but he commanded the ministers about the temple, the very country about the temple. He was most inveterate and to perform their accustomed sacrifices. Moreover, he made Hyrcanus high-priest, as one that not only in other respects had shown great alacrity, on his side, during the siege, but as he had been the means of hindering the multitude that was in the country from fighting for Aristobulus, which they were otherwise very ready to have done; by which means he acted the part of a good general, and reconciled the people to him more by benevolence than by terror. Now among the captives, Aristobulus’s father-in-law was taken, who was also his uncle:2 so those that were the most guilty he punished with decollation; but rewarded Faustus, and those with him that had fought so bravely, with glorious presents; and laid a tribute upon the country, and upon Jerusalem itself.

7. He also took away from the nation all those cities they had formerly taken, and that belonged to Cæsarea, and made them subject to him that was at that time appointed to be the Roman president there, and reduced Judea within its proper bounds. He also rebuilt Gadara, that had been demolished by the Jews, in order to gratify one Demetrius, who was of Gadara, and was one of his own freed-men. He also made other cities free from their dominion, that lay in the midst of the country,—such, I mean, as they had not demolished before that time; Hippo, and Seythopolis, as also Pella, and Samaria, and Marissa: and besides these, Asbosb, and Jannia, and Anchusa; and in like manner dealt he with the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Doran, and that which was anciently called Strato’s Tower, but was afterwards rebuilt with the most magnificent edifices, and had its name changed to Cesarea, by king Herod. All which he restored to their own citizens, and put them under the province of Syria; which province, together with Judea, and the countries as far as Egypt and Euphrates, he committed to Scæurus as his governor, and gave him two legions to support him; while he made all the haste he could himself to go through Glicia, in his way to Rome, having Aristobulus and his children along with him, as his captives. They were two daughters and two sons; one of the which sons, Alexander, ran away as he was going; but the younger, Antigonus, with his sisters, were carried to Rome.

CHAPTER VIII.

ALEXANDER, THE SON OF ARISTOBULUS, WHO RAN AWAY FROM POMPEY, MAKES AN EXPEDITION AGAINST HYRCANUS; BUT BEING OVERCOME BY GABINIUS, HE DELIVERS UP THE FORTRESS TO HIM. AFTER THIS, ARISTOBULUS ESCAPES FROM ROME, AND GATHERS AN ARMY TOGETHER; BUT BEING BEaten BY THE ROMANS, HE IS Brought BACK TO ROME; WITH OTHER THINGS RELATING TO GABINIUS, CRASSUS, AND CASIUS.

§ 1. In the meantime Scæurus made an expedition into Arabia, but was stopped by the difficulty of the places about Petra. However, he laid waste the country about Petra, and went there he was under great hardship, for his army was afflicted with famine. In order to supply which want, Hyrcanus afforded him some assistance, and sent him provisions by the means of Antipater; whom also Scæurus sent to Aretas, as one well acquainted with him, to induce him to pay him money to buy his peace. The king of Arabia complied with the proposal, and gave him three hundred talents; upon which Scæurus drew his army out of Arabia.3

2. But as for Alexander, that son of Aristobulus who ran away from Pompey, in some time he got a considerable band of men together, and lay heavy upon Hyrcanus, and over-ran Judea, and was likely to overturn him quickly; and indeed he had come to Jerusalem, and had ventured to rebuild its wall that was thrown down by Pompey, had not Gabinius, who was sent as successor to Scæurus into Syria, shown his bravery, as in many other points, so in making an expedition against Alexander, who, as he was afraid he would attack him, so he got together a large army, composed of ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. He also built walls about proper places; Alexander, and Hyrcanus, and Macrherus, that lay upon the mountains of Arabia.

3. However, Gabinius sent before him Marcus Antonius, and followed himself with his whole army; but for the select body of soldiers that were about Antipater, and another body of Jews under the command of Malichus and Pitholus, these joined themselves to those captains that were about Marcus Antonius, and met Alexander; to which body came Gabinius with his main army soon afterward; and as Alexander was not able to sustain the charge of the enemies’ forces, now they were joined, he retired. But when he was come near to Jerusalem, he was forced to fight, and lost six thousand men

1 Thus says Tacitus: "On, Pompeyes first of all subdued the Jews, and went into their temple, by right of conquest, Hist. b. v. ch. 12. He destroyed the temple, and threw down the place of the Antoniis, b. iv. ch. iv. sect. 4, out of Cherson himself.

2 This building of the inhabitants, still stands, with Highway above it, on the remembrance of this his rebuilding by Pompey, as Ephraheim here assures us.

3 Take the list attestation to the truth of this submission of Artemis king of Arabia to Scæurus the Roman general, in the words of Dion Arian. "Hence (says he) there existed among the Emilian family [hyrcanus 4 in Haverstock’s edition] a branch of the line of Hyrcania, with this inscription: M 1. SCÆURUS 4. E. C. and amongst, EROS AKABAE."
in the battle; three thousand of whom fell down dead, and three thousand were taken alive; so he fled with the remainder to Alexandria.

4. Now, when Gabinius was come to Alexandria, because he found a great many there encamped, he tried by promising them pardon for their former offences, to induce them to come over to him before it came to a fight; but when they would hear none of terms of accommodation, he slew a great number of them, and shut a great number of them in the citadel. Now Marcus Antonius, their leader, signalled himself in this battle, who, as he always showed great courage, so did he never show it so much as now; but Gabinius, leaving forces to take the citadel, went away himself, and settled the cities that had not been demolished, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed. Accordingly, upon his injunction, the following cities were restored:—Sycuthopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jannina, Raphia, Mariisa, Adoreus, Gamala, Ashdod, and many others; while a great number of men readily ran to each of them, and became their inhabitants.

5. When Gabinius had taken care of these cities, he returned to Alexandria, and pressed on the siege. So when Alexander despairing of ever obtaining the government, he sent ambassadors to him, and prayed him to forgive what he had offended him in, and gave up to him the remaining fortresses, Hyrcanium and Maccherus, as he put Alexandria into his hands afterwards: all which Gabinius demolished, at the persuasion of Alexander's mother, that they might not be receptacles of men in a second war. She was now there, in order to mollify Gabinius, out of her concern for her relations that were captives at Rome, which were her husband and her other children. After this, Gabinius brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him; but ordained the political government to be by an aristocracy. He also parted the whole nation into five conventions, assigning one portion to Jerusalem, another to Gadara, that another should belong to Amathus, a fourth to Jericho, and to the fifth division was allotted Sephoris, a city of Galilee. So the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchical government, and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.

6. Yet did Aristobulus afford a new foundation for other disturbances. He fled away from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were desirous of a change, such as had borne an afflection to him of old; and when he had taken Alexandria in the first place, he attempted to build a wall about it; but as soon as Gabinius had sent an army against him under Sisenna, Antonius, and Servilius, he was aware of it, and retreated to Maccherus. And as for the unprofitable multitude, he dismissed them, and only marched on with those that were armed, being to the number of eight thousand, among whom was Pitholias, who had been the lieutenant at Jerusalem, but deserted to Aristobulus just before the Romans followed him, and when it came to a battle, Aristobulus's party for a long time fought courageously; but at length they were overborne by the Romans, and of them five thousand fell dead, and about two thousand fled to a certain little hill, but the thousand that remained with Aristobulus brake through the Roman army, and marched together to Maccherus; and, when the king had lodged the first night on its ruins, he was in hopes of raising another army, if the war would but cease a while; accordingly, he fortified that strong-hold, though it was done after a poor manner. But the Romans falling upon him, he resisted, even beyond his abilities, for two days, till he brought a prisoner to Gabinius, with Antipater, son, who had fled away together with him to Rome; and from Gabinius he was carried back to him again. Wherefore the senate put him under confinement, but returned his children back to Juba because Gabinius informed them by letters, that he had promised Aristobulus's mother to do so, for delivering the fortresses up to him.

7. But now as Gabinius was marching to fight against the Parthians, he was hindered by Juba, whom, upon his return from Emathaeae, he brought back into Egypt, making use of Hyrcanus and Antipater to provide every thing that was necessary in this expedition; for Antipater furnished him with money, and weapons, and corn, and audience. He also prevailed with the Jews that were there and guarded the avenues at Pelusium, to let him pass. But now, upon Gabinius's absence, the west part of the country was in motion, and, Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, brought the Jews to revolt against him. Accordingly, he got together a very great body and set about killing all the Jews that were not of his own country; hereupon Gabinius was afraid for he was come back already out of Egypt, and sought to come back quickly by these tumults, and now Antipater, who prevailed with some of the rest of the senate to be quiet. However, thirty thousand men continued with Alexander, who was himself eager to fight also; accordingly, Gabinius went out to fight when the Jews met him; and, as the battle was fought near Mount Tabor, ten thousand of them were slain, and the rest of the multitude dispersed themselves, and fled away. So Gabinius came to Jerusalem, and settled the government as Antipater would have it; thence he marched, and fought and beat the Nabateans: as for the Hauridians and Besanos, who fled out of Palaestina, he sent them to private, but gave it out among the soldiers for they had run away.

8. In the meantime, Cassius came as successor to Gabinius in Syria. He took away all the rest of the gold belonging to the temple of Jerusalem, in order to furnish himself for his expedition against the Parthians. He also took away the two thousand talents which Pompey had not received; but when he had passed over Emathaeae, he persuaded him, and his army with him; concerning which affair this is not a proper time to speak [more largely].

9. But now Cassius, after Cassius, put a stop to the Parthians, who were marching in order to invade Syria. Cassius had fled into that province, and when he had taken possession of the same, he made a hasty march into Judea; and, upon his taking Tarchezem, he carried thirty thousand slaves into slavery. He also slew Pitholias, who had supplicated the seditions followers of Aristobulus; and it was admired how Antipater advised him in this. Now the Antipater married a wife of an eminent family among the Arabians, whose name was Cyprus, and had four sons born to him by her, Phasael and Herod, who was afterwards king, and besides Joseph and Pharaoh; and he had a daughter, whose name was Salome. Now, as he made his friends among the men of power everywhere, by the kind offices he did them, and the hospitable manner
that he treated them; so did he contract the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia, by marrying his relation; insomuch that when he made war with Aristobulus, he sent and entrusted his children with him. So when Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms and to be quiet, he returned to Euphrates, in order to prevent the Parthians from repassing it; concerning which matter we shall speak elsewhere.*

CHAPTER IX.

ARISTOBULUS IS TAKEN OFF BY POMPEY'S FRIENDS, AS IS HIS SON AXELANDER BY SCIPIO. ANTIPATER CULTIVATES A FRIENDSHIP WITH CÄSAR, AFTER POMPEY'S DEATH; HE ALSO PERFORMS GREAT ACTIONS IN THAT WAR, WHEREIN HE ASSISTED MITHRIDATES.

§ 1. Now, upon the flight of Pompey and of the senate beyond the Ionian Sea, Caesar got Rome and the empire under his power, and released Aristobulus from his bonds. He also committed two legions to him, and sent him in haste into Syria, as hoping that by his means he should easily conquer that country, and the parts adjoining to Judea. But envy prevented any effect of Aristobulus's alacrity and the hopes of Cæsar; for he was taken off by poison given him by those of Pompey's party; and, for a long while, he had not so much as a burial vouchsafed him in his own country; but his dead body lay [above ground], preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the royal sepulchres.

2. His son Alexander also was beheaded by Scipio at Antioch, and that by the command of Pompey, and upon an accusation laid against him before his tribunal, for the miscarriage he had done to the Romans. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was then ruler of Chalcis, under Libanus, took his brethren to him, by sending his son Philippus for them to Ascalon; who took Antigonus, as well as his sisters, away from Aristobulus's wife, and brought them to his father; and falling in love with the younger daughter, he married her, and was afterward slain by his father on her account; for Ptolemy himself after he had slain his son, married her, whose name was Alexandra; on account of which marriage, he took the greater care of her brother and sister.

3. Now, after Pompey was dead, Antipater changed sides, and cultivated a friendship with Caesar. And, since Mithridates of Pergamus, with the forces he led against Egypt, was excluded from the avenges about Ptolemy, and was forced to stop at Ascalon, he persuaded the Arabians among whom he had lived, to assist him, and came himself to him, at the head of three thousand men. He also encouraged the men of power in Syria to come to his assistance; as also of the inhabitants of Libanus, Ptolemy, and Jamblicus, and another Ptolemy; by which means the cities of that country came readily into this war; insomuch that Mithridates ventured now, in dependence upon the additional strength that he had gotten by Antipater, to march forward to Ptolemais; and when they refused him admission through it, he lay under the assailable attack of which place, Antipater principally signalized himself, for he brought down that part of the wall which was over against him, and leaped first of all into the city, with the men that were about him.

4. Thus was Ptolemais taken. But still, as they were marching on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the country, called the country of Onias, stopped them. Then did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them, but to afford provisions for their army; on which account even the people about Memphis would not fight against them, but, of their own accord, joined Mithridates. Whereupon he went round about the Delta, and fought the rest of the Egyptians at a place called the Jew's Camp: nay, when he was in danger in the battle with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled about, and came along the bank of that river to him; for he had beaten those that opposed him as he led the left wing. After which success he fell upon those that pursued Mithridates, and slew a great many of them, and pursued the remainder so far, that he took their camp, while he lost no more than fourscore of his own men; as Mithridates lost, during the pursuit that was made after him, about eight hundred. He was also himself saved unexpectedly, and became an unapproachable witness to Caesar of the great actions of Antipater.

5. Whereupon Caesar encouraged Antipater to undertake other hazardous enterprises for him, and that by giving him great commendations and hopes of reward. In all which enterprises he readily exposed himself to many dangers, and became a most courageous warrior; and had many wounds all over his body, as demonstrations of his valour. And when Caesar had settled the affairs of Egypt, and was returning into Syria again, he gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes, and rendered him an object of admiration by the honours and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him. On this account it was that he also confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood.

CHAPTER X.

CESAR MAKES ANTIPATER PROCURATOR OF JUDEA; AS DORS ANTIPATER APPOINT PHAEAEUS TO BE GOVERNOR OF JERUSALEM, AND HEROD GOVERNOR OF GALILEE; WHO, IN SOME TIME, WAS CALLED TO ANSWER FOR HIMSELF BEFORE THE SANIDRIM, WHERE HE IS ACQUITTED. SEXTUS CESAR IS TREACHEROUSLY KILLED BY BASSUS, AND IS SUCCEED BY MARCUS.

§ 1. About this time it was that Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to Cæsar, and became, in a surprising manner, the occasion of Antipater's farther advancement; for, whereas he ought to have lamented that his father appeared to have been poisoned on account of his quarrels with Pompey, and to have complained of Scipio's barbarity towards his brother, and not to mix any invidious passion when suing for mercy; instead of these things, he came before Cæsar, and accused Hyrcanus and Antipater, how they had driven him and his brethren entirely out of their native country, and had acted in a great many instances unjustly and extravagantly with regard to their nation; and that as to the assistance they had sent him into Egypt; it was not done out of good-will to him, but out of
the fear they were in from former quarrels, and in order
to gain pardon for their friendship to [his enemy] Pompey.

2. Hereupon Antipater threw away his garments,
and showed the multitude of the wounds he had, and
said, that as to his good-will to Caesar, he had no
occasion to say a word, because his body cried aloue,
though he said nothing himself: that he
wondered at Antigonus’s boldness, while he was
himself no other than the son of an enemy to the
Romans, and of a fugitive, and had it by inheritance
from his father to be fond of innovations and sedi-
tions, that he should undertake to accuse other men
before the Roman governor, and endeavour to gain
some advantages to himself, when he ought to be
contented that he was suffered to live; for that the
reason of his desire of governing public affairs, was
not so much because he was in want of it, but be-
cause, if he could once obtain the same, he might
stir up a sedition among the Jews, and use what he
should gain from the Romans, to the disservice of
those that gave it him.

3. When Caesar heard this, he declared Hyrcan-
uus to be the most worthy of the high-priesthood,
and gave leave to Antipater to choose what author-
ity he pleased: but he left the determination of
such dignity to him that bestowed the dignity upon
him; so he was constituted procurator of all Judea,
and obtained leave, moreover, to rebuild* those
walls of his country that had been thrown down.
These honorary grants Caesar sent orders to have
engraved in the Capitol, that they might stand there
as indications of his own justice, and of the virtue
of Antipater.

4. But as soon as Antipater had conducted Caesar
out of Syria he returned to Judea, and the first thing
he did, was to rebuild that wall of his own
country [Jerusalem], which Pompey had over-
thrown, and then to go over the country, and to
quiet the tumults that were therein; where he
partly threatened, and partly advised, every one,
and told them, that in case they would submit to
Hyrcanus, they should live happily and peaceably,
and equip themselves, and possessed, and that with
universal peace and quietness; but that in case they
hearten to such as had some frigid hopes by raising
new troubles, to get themselves some gain,
they should then find him to be their lord, instead
of their procurator, and find Hyrcanus to be a
tyrant, instead of a king,—and both the Romans
and Caesar to be their enemies, instead of rulers;
for that they would not suffer him to be removed
from the government, whom they had made their
governor; and, at the same time that he said this, he
settled the affairs of the country by himself, because
he saw that Hyrcanus was inactive, and not fit to
manage the affairs of the kingdom. So he consti-
tuted his eldest son, Phasaelus, governor of Jeru-
salem, and of the parts about it; he also sent his
next son, Herod, who was very young; with equal
authority into Galilee.

5. Now Herod was an active man, and soon
found proper materials for his active spirit to work
upon. As therefore he found that Herakles, the
head of the robbers, ran over the neighbourparts
of Syria with a great band of men, he caught him
and slew him, and many more of the robbers with
him; which exploit was chiefly grateful to the Se-
rians, insomuch that hymns were sung in his com-
memoration, both in the villages and in the cities,
as having procured their quietness, and as having
preserved what they possessed to them; and when
he became acquainted with Sextus Caesar, a
kinsman of the great Caesar, and president of Syria,
A just emulation of his glorious actions made
Phasaelus also to imitate him. Accordingly he
procured the good-will of the inhabitants of Jeru-
salem, by his own management of the city itself,
and did not abuse his power in any disgraceful
manner; whence it came to pass that the same
paid Antipater the respects that were due only
unto a king, and the honours due to an absolute lord;
for he did not abate any part of that good-will or de-
ity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

6. However, he found it impossible to secure
envy in such his prosperity: for the glory of the
young men affected even Hyrcanus himself; and,
privately, though he said nothing of it to anybody,
but what he principally was grieved at was, as
was great actions of Herod, and that so many men
were come one before another, and informed him of
the great reputation he got in all his undertakings.
There were also many people in the royal palace
who inflamed his envy at him; those, I mean
who were obstructed in their designs by the pru-
dence either of the young men, or of Antipater.
These men said, that by committing the public affec-
tions to the management of Antipater and of his
sons, he sat with nothing but the bare name of a
king, without any of its authority; and they asked
him how long he would so far mistake himself as
to breed up kings against his own interest; for
that they did not now conceal their governmental
affairs any longer, but were plainly lords of the
nation, and had thrust him out of his authority
that this would be the case when Herod slew so many
men without having a remonstrance to demand of
him, either by word of mouth or by his letter, and
in contradiction to the law of the Jews; who
therefore, in case he be not a king, but a private
man, still ought to come to his trial, and answer it to
him, and to the laws of his country, which do not permis
any one to be killed till he had been condemned
by a judgment.

7. Now Hyrcanus was by degrees inflamed with
these discourses, and at length could bear no longer,
but summoned Herod to take his trial. Accord-
ingly, by his father’s advice, and as soon as the
affairs of Galilee would give him leave, he came up
[to Jerusalem], when he had first placed garrisons
in Galilee; however, he came with a sufficient body
of soldiers, so many indeed that he might not ap-
ppear to have with him an army able to overawe
Hyrcanus’s government, nor yet so few as to exul-
trate him to the insults of those that envied him.
However, Sextus Caesar was in fear for the young
man lest he should be taken by his enemies, and invites
to punishment; so he sent some to discourse ex-
pressly to Hyrcanus, that he should acquit Herod
of the capital charge against him, who required
him accordingly, as being otherwise inclined also
do, for he loved Herod.

8. But Herod, supposing that he had escaped
punishment without the consent of the king, retired
to Sextus, to Daminus, and got everything ruth

* What is here noted by Hudson and Spathelin, that this grant of
leave to rebuild the walls of the city of Judea was made by Julius
Caesar after the death of Antipater, but to Herod; as Agrippa’s view (b. 35, ch.
viit. sect. 31) has hardly an appearance of contradiction; Antipater
having more power than herod, as Hyrcanus’s deputy and minister, al-
though he afterwards made a cypher of Hyrcanus, and, under great
decency of the behaviour to him, took the real authority to himself.
† Or 20 years of age. See note on Anbly, b. 3, ch. xvi. sect. 2; and on
b. 35, ch. xi. sect. 2; and of the War, b. 6, ch. xi. sect. 9; and Polyb. b.
35, p. 302.
in order not to obey him if he should summon him again; whereupon those that were evil-disposed irritated Hyrcanus, and told him that Herod was gone away in anger, and was prepared to make war upon him; and as the king believed what they said, he knew not what to do, since he saw his antagonist was stronger than he was himself; and now, since Herod was made general of Celesyria and Samaria by Sextus Caesar, he was formidable, not only from the good-will which the nation bore him, but by the power he himself had; insomuch that Hyrcanus fell into the utmost degree of terror, and expected he would presently march against him with his army.

9. Nor was he mistaken in the conjecture he made; for Herod got his army together, out of the anger he bare him for his threatening him with the accusation in a public court, and led it to Jerusalem, in order to throw Hyrcanus down from his kingdom, and that Caesar who had formerly his father and brother had gone out together and broken the force of his fury, and this by exhorting him to carry his revenge no farther than to threatening and affrighting, but to spare the king, under whom he had been advanced to such a degree of power; and that he ought not to be so much provoked at his being tried, as to forget to be thankful that he was acqutted; nor so long to think upon what was of a melancholy nature, as to be ungrateful for his deliverance; and if we ought to reckon that God is the arbitrator of success in war, an unjust cause is of more disadvantage than an army can be of advantage; and that therefore he ought not to be entirely confident of success in a case where he is to fight against his king, his supporter, and one that had often been his benefactor, and that had never been severe to him any otherwise than as he had heartened to evil counsellors, and this no farther than by bringing a shadow of injustice upon him. So Herod was prevailed upon by these arguments, and supposed that what he had already done was sufficient for his future hopes, and that he had enough under his power to the nation.

10. In the meantime, there was a disturbance among the Romans about Apamia, and a civil war occasioned by the treacherous slaughter of Sextus Caesar, by Cecilius Bassus, which he perpetrated out of his good-will to Pompey; he also took the authority over his forces; but, as the rest of Caesar’s commanders attacked Bassus with their whole army, in order to punish him for the murder of Caesar, Antipater also sent them assistance by his sons, both on account of him that was murdered, and on account of this Caesar who was still alive, both of whom were their friends; and as this war grew to be of a considerable length, Marcus came out of Italy as successor to Sextus.

CHAPTER XI.

HEROD IS MADE PROCURATOR OF ALL SYRIA; MALICHUS IS AFRAID OF HIM, AND TAKES ANTIPATER OFF BY POISON; WHEREUPON THE TRIBUNES OF THE SOLDIERS ARE PREVAILED WITH TO KILL HIM.

§ 1. There was at this time a mighty war raised among the Romans, upon the sudden and treacher-

ous slaughter of Caesar by Cassius and Brutus, after he had held the government for three years and seven months. Upon this murder there were very great agitations, and the great men were mightily at difference one with another, and every one betook himself to that party where they had the greatest hopes of advancing themselves. Accordingly, Cassius came into Syria, in order to receive the forces that were at Apamia, where he proposed a reconciliation between Bassus and Marcus, and the legions which were at difference with him; so he raised the siege of Apamia, and took upon him the command of the army, and went about exacting tribute of the cities, and demanding their money to such a degree as they were not able to bear.

2. So he gave command that the Jews should bring in seven hundred talents: whereupon Antipater, out of his dread of Cassius’s threats, parted the raising of this sum among his sons, and among others of his acquaintance, and to be done immediately; and among them he required one Malichus, who was at enmity with him, to do his part also, which necessity forced him to do. Now Herod, in the first place, mitigated the passion of Cassius, by bringing his share out of Galilee, which was a hundred talents, on which account he was in the highest favour with him; and when he reproached the rest for being tardy, he was angry at the cities themselves; so he made slaves of Gophna and Emmaus, and two others of less note: nay, he proceeded as if he would kill Malichus, because he had not made greater haste in exacting his tribute; but Antipater prevented the ruin of this man, and of the other cities, and got into Cassius’s favour by bringing in a hundred talents immediately.

3. However, when Cassius was gone, Malichus forgot the kindness that Antipater had done him, and laid frequent plots against him that had saved him, as making haste to get him out of the way, who was an obstacle to his wicked practices; but Antipater was so much afraid of the power and cunning of the man, that he went beyond Jordan, in order to get him from his territories, and from his designs; but when Malichus was caught in this plot, he put upon Antipater’s sons by his impudence, for he thoroughly deluded Phasaelus, who was the guardian of Jerusalem, and Herod who was entrusted with the weapons of war, and this by a great many excuses and oaths, and persuaded them to procure his reconciliation to their father. Thus was he preserved again by Antipater, who dissuaded Marcus, the then president of Syria, from his resolution of killing Malichus, on account of his attempts for innovation.

Upon this, the interval between Cassius and Brutus on one side, against the younger Caesar [Augustus] and Antony on the other, Cassius and Marcus got an army out of Syria; and because Herod was likely to have a great share in providing necessaries, they then made him procurator of all Syria, and gave him an army of foot and horse. Cassius promised him also, that after the war was over, he

* Many writers of the Roman history give an account of this murder of Sextus Caesar, and of the War of Apamia upon that occasion. They are cited in Dean Alford’s note.

† In the Antiquities, b. xiv. ch. xi. sect. 1, the duration of the reign of Julius Caesar is three years six months; but here three years seven months and eight days is given. The same is observed by many other ancient historians. It is probable the real duration might be three years, and between six and seven months.

‡ In the Antiquities, b. xiv. ch. xi. sect. 9, that this Cassius, one of Caesar’s successors, was a man of great experience, and a master of oratory and judge. These seven hundred talents amount to about three hundred thousand pounds sterling, and are about half the yearly revenue of king Herod afterwards. See the note on Antiq. b. xiv. ch. xi. sect. 6. It also appears that Galilee then paid no more tribute than one hundred sicles, or the seventh part of the sum to be paid in all the country.
would make him king of Judea; but it so happened, that the power and hopes of his son became the cause of his perdition; for, as Malichus was afraid of this, he corrupted one of the king's cup-bearers with money, to give a poisonous potion to Antipater; so he became a victim to Malichus's wickedness, and died at a feast. He was a man, in other respects, active in the management of affairs, and one that recovered the government to Hyrcanus, and preserved it in his hands.

5. However, Malichus, when he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, when the multitude was angry with him for it, denied it, and made the people believe he was not guilty. He also prepared to make a greater figure, and raised soldiers; for he did not suppose that Herod would be quiet, who indeed came upon him with an army presently, in order to revenge his father's death; but upon hearing the advice of his brother Phasaelus, not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should fall into a sedition, he admitted of Malichus's apology, and professed that he cleared him of his suspicion; he also made a pompous funeral for his father.

6. So Herod went to Samaria, which was then in a tumult, and settled the city in peace; after which, at the [Pentecost] festival, he returned to Jerusalem, having his armed men with him; hereupon Hyrcanus, at the request of Malichus, who feared his approach, forbade them to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, while they were purifying themselves; but Herod despised the pretense, and him that gave that command, and came in by night. Upon which Malichus came to him, and bewailed Antipater; Herod also made him believe [he admitted of his lamentation as real], although he had much ado to restrain his passion at him; however, he did himself beware the murder of his father in his letters to Cassius, who, on other accounts also hated Malichus. Cassius sent him word back that he should avenge his father's death upon him, and privately gave order to the tribunes that were under him, that they should assist Herod in a righteous action he was about.

7. And because, upon the taking of Laodicea by Cassius, the men of power were gotten together from all quarters, with presents and crowns in their hands, Herod allotted this time for the punishment of Malichus. When Malichus suspected that, and was at Tyre, he resolved to withdraw his son privately from among the Tyrians, who was an hostage there, while he got ready to fly away into Judea; the despair he was in of escaping, excited him to think of greater things; for he hoped that he should raise the nation to a revolt from the Romans, while Cassius was busy about the war against Antony, and that he should easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.

8. But fate laughed at the hopes he had, for Herod foresaw what he was so zealous about, and invited both Hyrcanus and him to supper; but calling one of the principal servants that stood by him, he did him out, as though it were of things ready for supper, but in reality to give notice beforehand about the plot that was laid against him; accordingly they called to mind what orders Cassius had given them, and went out of the city with their swords in their hands upon the sea shore, where they encompassed Malichus round about, and killed him with many wounds. Upon which Hyrcanus was immediately affrighted, who swooned away, and fell down at the sight, and it was with difficulty that he was recovered, when he asked who it was that had killed Malichus. And when one of the tribunes said that it was done by the command of Cassius, "Then," said he, "Cassius hath saved both my country, by cutting off one that was laying ruin against them both." Whether he spake according to his own sentiments, or whether his fear was such that he was obliged to commend the action by so, is uncertain; however, by this method he inflicted punishment upon Malichus.

CHAPTER XII.

PHASEAELUS IS TOO HARD FOR FELIX; HEROD OVERCOME ANTIGonus IN BATTLE; AND THE JUDGES ACCUSE BOTH HEROD AND PHASEAELUS; BUT MUNTON ACQUIRES THEM, AND MAKES THEM TRACHERS.

§ 1. When Cassius was gone out of Syria, under sedition arose at Jerusalem, wherein Felix assailed Phasaelus with an army, that he might revenge the death of Malichus upon Herod, by killing up his brother, who would be led thither by Cassius, with Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and as he was going to his brother's assistance, he was detained by sickness; in the meantime, Phasaelus was by himself too hard for Felix, and reported Hyrcanus on account of his ingratitude, and for what assistance he had afforded Malichus, for looking over Malichus's brother, when he possessed himself of the fortresses; for he had great many of them already and among the strongest of them all, Masada.

2. However, nothing could be sufficient for him against the force of Herod, who, as soon as he was recovered, took the other fortresses again, and drove him out of Masada in the possession of a subject; he also drove away Marion, the tyrant of the Tyrians, out of Galilee, where he had already possessed himself of three fortified places; but as to the Tyrians whom he had caught he preserved them alive; nay, some of them he gave presents and so sent them away, and thereby procured great love to himself from the city, and hatred to the tyrant Marion had indeed obtained this tyrannical power of Cassius, who set tyrants over all Syria; and out of hatred to Herod it was that he assisted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and principally his Fabius's account, whom Antigonus had made his assistant by money, and had him accordingly in his sight when he made his descent; but it was Fabius, the kinsman of Antigonus, that supplied all that he wanted.

3. When Herod had fought against those in the avenues of Judea, he was conqueror in the battle, and drove away Antigonus, and returned to Jerusalem, beloved by every body for the glorious victory he had done; for those who did not before love your him, did join themselves to him now, because of his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus; for he had formerly married a wife out of his own country of no ignoble blood, who was called Doris.

* Here we see that Cassius set tyrants over all Syria, so that the conduct of destroying Caesar does not seem to have greenet from false zeal for public liberty, but from a desire to be a tyrant himself.
WAR OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER XIII.


§ 1. Now two years afterward, when Barzapharnes, a governor among the Parthians, and Pacorus, the king's son, had possessed themselves of Syria, and when Lysanias had already succeeded, upon the death of his father Ptolemy, the son of Mennennus, in the government [of Chalcis], he prevailed with the governor, by means of a promise of thousand talents, and five hundred women, to bring back Antigonus to his kingdom, and to turn Hyrcanus out of it. Pacorus was by these means induced so to do, and marched along the sea-coast, while he ordered Barzapharnes to fall upon the Jews as he went along the Mediterranean part of the country; but of the maritime people, the Tyrians would not receive Pacorus, although those of Ptolemais and Sidon had received him; so he committed a troop of horse to a certain cup-bearer belonging to the royal family, and gave him orders to march into Judea, that he might learn the state of affairs among their enemies, and to help Antigonus when he should want his assistance.

2. Now, as these men were ravaging Carmel, many of the Jews ran together to Antigonus, and showed themselves ready to make an incursion into the country; so he sent them before into that place called Drymynus [the woodland]; to seize upon the place; whereupon a battle was fought between them; and they drove the enemy away, and pursued them, and ran after them as far as Jerusalem; and as their numbers increased, they proceeded as far as the king's palace; but as Hyrcanus and Phasaeelus received them with a strong body of men, there happened a battle in the market-place, in which Herod's party beat the enemy, and shut them up in the temple, and set sixty men in the houses adjoining as a guard on them. But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in and burnt those men; while Herod, in his rage for killing them, attacked and slew many of the people, till one party made incursions on the other by turns, day by day, in the way of ambushes; and slaughters were made continually among them.

3. Now when that festival which we call Pentecost was at hand, all the places about the temple, and the whole city was full of a multitude of people that were come out of the country, and who were the greatest part of them armed also, at which time Phasaeelus guarded the wall, and Herod, with a few, guarded the royal palace; and when he made an assault upon his enemies, as they were out of their ranks, on the north quarter of the city, he slew a great number of them, and put them all to flight; and some of them he shut up within the city, and others within the outward rampart. In the meantime Antigonus desired that Pacorus might be admitted to be a reconciler between them; and Phasaeelus was prevailed upon to admit

* Phasaeelus and Herod.
the Parthian into the city with five hundred horse, and to treat him in an hospitable manner, who pretended that he came to quell the tumult, but in reality he came to assist Antigonus; however, he laid a plot for Phasaelus, and persuaded him to go as an ambassador to Barzapharnes, in order to put an end to the war, although Herod was very earnest with him to the contrary, and exhorted him to kill the plotter, but not expose himself to the snares he had laid for him, because the barbarians are mutually perfidious. However, P Scoped went out and took Hyrcanus with him, that he might be the less suspected; he also * left some of the horsemen, called the Freemen, with Herod, and conducted Phasaelus with the rest.

4. But now, when they were come to Galilee, they found that the people of that country had revolted, and were in arms, who came very cunningly to their leader, and besought him to conceal his treacherous intentions by an obliging behaviour to them; accordingly, he at first made them presents, and when he was away, laid ambush for them; and, when they were come to one of the maritime cities called Eedippon, they perceived that a plot was laid for them; for they were there informed of a promise of a thousand talents, and how Antigonus had devoted the greatest number of the women that were there with them, among the five hundred, to the Parthians; they also perceived that an ambush was always laid for them by the barbarians in the night time; they had also been seized on before this, unless they had waited for the seizure of Herod first at Jerusalem, because, if he were once informed of this treachery of theirs, he would take care of himself; nor was this a mere report, for they saw the guards already not far off from them.

5. Nor would Phasaelus think of forsaking Hyrcanus and flying away, although Ophellius earnestly persuaded him to it; for this man had learned the whole scheme of the plot from Samaralla, the richest of all the Syrians. But Phasaelus went up to the Parthian governor, and reproached him to his face for laying this treacherous plot against them, and chiefly because he had done it for money; and he promised him that he would have no money for their preservation, than Antigonus had promised to give for the kingdom. But the sly Parthian endeavoured to remove all his suspicion by apologies and by oaths, and then went to [the other] P Scoped; immediately after which those Parthians who were left, and had it in charge, seized upon Phasaelus and Hyrcanus, who could do no more than curse their perfidiousness and their perjury.

As in the meantime the cup-bearer was sent [back], and laid a plot how to seize upon Herod, by deluding him, and getting him out of the city, as he was commanded to do. But Herod suspected the barbarians from the beginning; and having then received intelligence that a messenger, who was to bring him the letters that informed him of the treachery intended, had fallen among the enemy, he would not go out of the city; though P Scoped said, very positively, that he ought to go out, and meet the messengers that brought the letters, for that the enemy had not taken them, and that the contents of them were not accounts of any plots upon them, but of what Phasaelus had done; yet he had heard from others that his brother was alive, and Alexander, the shrewdest woman in the world, Hyrcanus's daughter, begged of him that he was not to go out, nor trust himself to those barbarians who now were come to make an attempt upon him openly.

7. Now, as P Scoped and his friends were wondering how they might bring their plot to pass, because it was not possible to circumvent a man of so great prudence by openly attacking, Herod prevented them, and went off with the persons that were the nearest related to him, and this without their enemies being apprised of it. But, as soon as the Parthians perceived they pursued after them; and, as he gave way for his mother, and sister, and the young man who was betrothed to him, with her mother, as his youngest brother, to make the best of their escape, he himself, with his servants, took all the care he could to keep off the barbarians; and when every aspect of his flight was over, he came to the strong hold of Massada.

8. Nay, he found by experience that the less he fell more heavily upon him than did the Parthians and created him troubles perpetually, and this since he was gotten sixty furlongs from the city of which these sometimes brought it to a sort of civil battle. Now, in the place where Herod best hid and killed a great number of them, there he afterward built a citadel, in memory of the great estate of the place; he also fortified the walls with a wall of cast, and erected very strong fortresses, and called it, from his own name, Herodion. Now, they were in their flight, many joined themselves to him every day; and at a place called Them of Idumea, his brother Joseph met him, and advised him to ease himself of a great number of his followers, because Masada would not contain a great multitude, which were above nine thousand, and Herod complied with this advice, and sent out the most cumbersome part of his retinue, that they might go into Idumea, and gave them instructions for their journey; but he kept safe to the least of his treasures; and as he had retired himself, he retained forty men only, with the help of his followers; and it was that he left eight hundred of his men to guard the women, and provisions sufficient for a siege; but he made haste himself to Perea, to Arabba.

9. As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they took themselves to plundering, and fell upon houses of those that were fled, and upon the city palaces, and spared nothing but Hyrcanus's which was not above three hundred talents, and was lightly on other men's money also, but was so far from as they hoped for; for Herod, having a long with a suspicion of the perfidiousness of the barbarians, had taken care to have what was most spoils; he did among his treasures conveyed into Idumea, every one belonging to him had in like manner been done also. But the Parthians proceeded to a degree of injustice, as to fill all the country with war without denouncing it, and to demolish the city Marissa, and not only set up Antigonus as king, but to deliver Phasaelus and Hyrcanus into his hands, in order to their being transmitted by him. Antigonus himself also left Hyrcanus with his own teeth, and fell down upon his knees to him, that so he might never be able, "
CHAPTER XIV.

WHEN HEROD IS REJECTED IN ARABIA, HE MAKES HASTE TO ROME, WHERE ANTONY AND CASSAR JOIN THEIR INTEREST TO MAKE HIM KING OF THE JEWS.

1. Now Herod did the more zealously pursue his journey into Arabia, as making haste to get money of the king, while his brother was yet alive; by which money alone it was that he hoped to prevail upon the covetous temper of the barbarians to spare Phasælus; for he reasoned thus with himself:—That if the Arabian king was too forgetful of his father’s friendship with him, and too covetous to make him a free gift, he would however borrow as much of him as might redeem his brother, and put into his hands, as a pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed. Accordingly he led his brother’s son along with him, who was of the age of seven years. Now he was ready to give three hundred talents for his brother, and intended to desire the intercession of the Tyrians, to get them accepted; however, fate had been too quick for his diligence; and since Phasælus was dead, Herod’s brotherly love was now in vain. Moreover, he was not able to find any lasting friendship among the Arabians; for the king, Malichus, sent to him immediately, and commanded him to return back out of his country, and used the name of the Parthians as a pretence for so doing, as though these had denounced to him by their ambassadors to cast Herod out of Arabia; while in reality they had a Ruth to keep back what they owed to Antipater, and not be obliged to make requital to his sons for the free gifts the father had made them. He also took the imprudent advice of those who, equally with himself, were willing to deprive Herod of what Antipater had deposited among them; and those men were the most potent of all whom he had in his kingdom.

2. So when Herod had found that the Arabians were his enemies, and this for those very reasons whence he hoped they would have been the most friendly, and had given them such an answer as his passion suggested, he returned back and went for Egypt. Now he lodged the first evening at one of the temples of that country, in order to meet with those whom he left behind; but on the next day word was brought him, as he was going to Phinocrurus, that his brother was dead, and how he came by his death; and when he had lamented so much as he, without circumstancés could bear, he soon laid aside such cares, and proceeded on his journey. But now, after some time, the king of Arabia repented of what he had done, and sent presently away messengers to call him back: Herod had prevented them, and was come to Philisium, where he could not obtain a passage from those that lay with the fleet, so he besought their captains to let him go by them; accordingly, out of the reverence they bore to the fame and dignity of the man, they conducted him to Alexandria; and when he came into the city, he was received by the Cloeopatra with great applause, who might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about. But he rejected the queen’s solicitations, and being neither affrighted at the height of that storm which then happened, nor at the tumults that were now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.

3. But as he was in peril about Pamphylia, and obliged to cast out the greatest part of the ship’s lading, he, with difficulty, got safe to Rhodes, a place which had been grievously harassed in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sapphinius; and although he was then in want of money, he fitted up a three-decked ship of very great magnitude, wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundusium, and went to Rome with all speed, where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the friendship his father had with him, and laid before him the calamities of himself and his family; and that he had left his nearest relations besieged in a fortress, and had sailed to him through a storm, to make supplication to him for assistance.

4. Hereupon Antony was moved to compassion as the change that had been made in Herod’s affairs, and this upon his calling to mind how hospitably he had been treated by Antipater, more especially on account of Herod’s own virtue; so he then resolved to get him made king of the Jews, whom he had himself formerly made tetrarch. The contest also that he had with Antigonus was another inducement, and that of no less weight than the great regard he had for Herod; for he looked upon Antigonus as a sedulous person, and an enemy of the Romans: and as for Cesar, Herod found him better prepared than Antony, as remembering very fresh the wars he had gone through together with his father, the hospitable treatment he had met with from him, and the entire goodwill he had shown to him; besides the activity which he saw in Herod himself. So he called the senate together, wherein Messalas, and after him Atratius, produced Herod before them, and gave a full account of the merits of his father, and his own good-will to the Romans. At the same time they demonstrated that Antigonus was their enemy,

* This Brundisium or Brundisium has coins still preserved, on which is written PÆNÌΔΗΣΙΩΝN, as Spanheim informs us.
not only because he soon quarrelled with them, but because he now overlooked the Romans, and took the government by the means of the Parthians. These reasons greatly moved the senate, at which Proculeius Antiochus, a secret friend of Antiochus, told them that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king; so they all gave their votes for it. And when the senate was separated, Antony and Caesar went out, with Herod between them; while the consul and the rest of the magistrates went before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay the decree in the Capitol. Antony also made a feast for Herod on the first day of his reign.

CHAPTER XV.

ANTIOCHUS BESIEGES THOSE THAT WERE IN MASADA, WHOM HEROD FORCES FROM CONFINEMENT WHEN HE CAME BACK FROM ROME, AND PRESENTLY MARCHES TO JERUSALEM, WHERE HE FINDS SILO CORRUPTED BY BRIBES.

§ 1. Now during this time, Antiochus besieged those that were in Masada, who had all other necessities in sufficient quantity, but were in want of water; on which account Joseph, Herod’s brother, was disposed to run away to the Arabians, with two hundred of his own friends, because he had heard that Malichus repented of his offences with regard to Herod; and he had been so quick as to have been gone out of the fortress already, unless, on that very night when he was going away, there had fallen a great deal of rain, insomuch that his reservoirs were full of water, and so he was under no necessity of running away. After which, therefore, they made an irruption upon Antiochus’s party, and slew a great many of them, some in open battles, and some in private ambush; nor had they always success in their attempts, for sometimes they were beaten, and ran away.

2. In the meantime Ventidius, the Roman general, was sent out of Syria, to restrain the incursions of the Parthians; and after he had done that, he came into Judea, in pretence indeed to assist Joseph and his party, but in reality to get money of Antiochus; and when he had pitched his camp very near to Jerusalem, as soon as he had got money enough, he went away with the greatest part of his forces; yet still did he leave Silo with some part of them, lest if he had taken them all away, his taking of bribes might have been too openly discovered. Now Antiochus hoped that the Parthians would come to his assistance, and therefore cultivated a good understanding with Silo in the meantime, lest any interruption should be given to his hopes.

3. Now by this time Herod had sailed out of Italy, and had come to Ptolemais: and as soon as he had gotten together no small army of foreigners, and of his own countrymen, he marched through Galilee against Antiochus, wherein he was assisted by Ventidius and Silo, both whom Dullius,* a person sent by Antony, persuaded to bring Herod into his kingdom. Now Ventidius was at this time among the cities, and composing the disturbances which had happened by means of the Parthians, as was Silo in Judæa corrupted by the bribes that Antiochus had given him; yet was not he himself destitute of power, but the number of his forces increased every day as he went along; and all Galilee he joined himself to him. So he proposed to himself to set about the most necessary enterprise, and that was Silo, in order to deliver his relations from the siege they endured. But still Joppa stood in his way, and hindered his going thither: for it was necessary take that city first, which was in the enemy’s hands, that when he should go to Jerusalem, a fortress might be left in the enemies’ power behind him. Silo also willingly joined him, as having a plausible occasion of drawing off his forces [from Jerusalem]; and when the Jews pursued him, he pressed upon him [in his retreat], Herod made an excursion upon them with a small body of his own, and soon put them to flight, and saved Silo who he was in distress.

4. After this, Herod took Joppa, and then hastened to Masada to free his relations. Now, as he was marching, many came in to him; some insted by their friendship to his father, some by his reputation he had already gained himself, and some in order to repay the benefits they had received from him; but still what engaged the greatest part on his side, was the hopes from him, that he should be established in his kingdom; so that he had gotten together an army hard to be conquered. But Antiochus laid an ambush for him as he marched out, in which he did little or no harm to his enemies. However, he easily recovered his relations again that were in Masada, as well as the fortress Ressa, and then marched to Jerusalem, where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to his own, as did many out of the city, from a dread of his power.

5. Now, when he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the guards who were there, shot their arrows and threw their darts at them, while others ran out in companies, and attacked those in the fore-front; but Herod commanded proclamation to be made at the wall, that he was come for the good of the people and the preservation of the city, without any design to be revenge on his open enemies, but to grant oblivion to them, though they had been the most obstinate against him. Now the soldiers that were for Antiochus made a contrary clamour, and did neither permit any body to hear that proclamation, nor to obey their party; so Antiochus gave order to his forces to beat the enemy from the walls; accordingly they soon threw their darts at them from the towers, and put them to flight.

6. And here it was that Silo discovered he had taken bribes; for he set many of the soldiers to clamour about their want of necessaries, and to require their pay, in order to buy themselves food; and to demand that he would lead them into places convenient for their winter quarters; because the parts about the city were laid waste by the means of Antiochus’s army, which had taken all things away. By this, the army, and attempted to get them off the siege; but herod went to the captains that were under Silo, and to great many of the soldiers, and begged of them not to leave him, who was sent thither by Caesar and Antony, and the senate; for that he would take care to have their wants supplied that very day. After the making of which entreaty, he went

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* This Dullius is famous, or rather infames, in the History of Mark Antony, as Syrus and Aristobulus note, from the stories from Eusebius and Jos.
Yet were not the enemy affrighted at his assault, but met him in arms; for their skill was that of warriors, but their boldness was that of robbers: when, therefore, it came to a pitched battle, they put to flight Herod's left wing with their right. But Herod, wheeling about on the sudden from his own right wing, came to their assistance, and both made his own left wing return back from its flight, and fell upon the pursuers, and cooled their courage, till they could not bear the attempts that were made directly upon them, and so turned back and ran away.

3. But Herod followed them, and slew them as he followed them, and destroyed a great part of them, till those that remained were scattered beyond the river [Jordan]; and Galilee was freed from the terrors they had been under, excepting from those that remained, and lay concealed in caves, which required longer time ere they could be conquered. In order to which, Herod, in the first place, distributed the fruits of their former labours to the soldiers, and gave every one of them a hundred and fifty drachmes of silver, and a great deal more to their commanders, and sent them into their winter quarters. He also sent to his youngest brother Pheroras, to take care of a good market for them, where they might buy themselves provisions, and to build a wall about Alexandria; who took care of both those injunctions accordingly.

4. In the meantime Antony abode at Athens, while Ventidius called for Silo and Herod to come to the war against the Parthians, but ordered them first to settle the affairs of Judea: so Herod willingly dismissed Silo to go to Ventidius; but he made an expedition himself against those that lay in the caves. Now these caves were in the precipices of craggy mountains, and could not be come at from any side, since they had only some winding path-ways, very narrow, by which they got up to them; but the rock that lay on their front had beneath it valleys of a vast depth, and of an almost perpendicular declivity; insomuch that the king was doubtful for a long time what to do, by reason of a kind of impossibility there was of attacking the place. Yet did he at length make use of a contrivance that was subject to the utmost hazard; for he let down the most hardy of his men in chests, and set them at the mouths of the dens. Now these men slew the robbers and their families, and when they made resistance, they sent in fire upon them, [and burnt them]; and as Herod was desirous of saving some of them, he had proclamation made, that they should come and deliver themselves up to him; but not one of them came willingly to him; and of those that were compelled to come, many preferred death to captivity. And here a certain old man, the father of seven children, whose children, together with their mother, desired him to give them leave to go out, upon the assurance and right hand that was offered them, slew them after the following manner:—He ordered every one of them to go out, while he stood himself at the cave's mouth, and slew that son of his perpetually who went out. Herod was nearer to this right, and his bowels of compassion were moved at it, and he stretched out his right hand to the old man, when Josephus says, "after two years," Antig. b. xiv. ch. xii. sect. 3, "on the second year," and Dunn Alford here notes, that this way of speaking is similar to Josephus.
man, and besought him to spare his children; yet did not he relent at all upon what he said, but over and above reproached Herod on the lowness of his descent, and slew his wife as well as his children, and when he had thrown their dead bodies down the precipice, he at last threw himself down after them.

5. By this means Herod subdued these caves, and the robbers that were in them. He then left there a part of his army, as many as he thought sufficient to prevent any sedition, and made Ptolemy their general, and returned to Samaria: he led also with him three thousand armed footmen, and six hundred horsemen, against Antigonus. Now here those that used to raise tumults in Galilee, having liberty so to do upon his departure, fell unexpectedly upon Ptolemy, the general of his forces, and slew him: they also laid the country waste, and then retired to the woods, and to places not easily to be found; but when Herod was informed of this insurrection, he came to the assistance of the country immediately, and destroyed a great number of the seditions, and raised the sages of all those fortresses, they had besieged Antigonus till his return; for the tribute of a hundred talents of his enemies, as a penalty for the mutations they had made in the country.

6. By this time (the Parthians being already driven out of the country, and Paeonius slain) Venticidius, by Antony's command, sent a thousand horsemen, and two legions, as auxiliaries to Herod, against Antigonus. Now Antigonus besought Macheras, who was their general, by letter, to come to his assistance, and made a great many mournful complaints about Herod's violence, and about the insult and injury the kingdom of Syria promised to give him money for such his assistance; but he complied not with his invitation to betray his trust, for he did not connive him that sent him, especially while Herod gave him more money (than the other offered). So he pretended friendship to Antigonus, but came as a spy to discover his affairs, although he did not herein comply with Herod, who dissuaded him from so doing; but Antigonus perceived what his intentions were beforehand, and excluded him out of the city, and defended himself against him as against an enemy, from the walls; till Macheras was ashamed of what he had done, and retired to Emmaus to Herod; and, as he was in a rage at his disappointment, he slew all the Jews whom he met with, without sparing those that were for Herod, but using them all as if they were for Antigonus.

7. Hereupon Herod was very angry at him, and was going to fight against Macheras as his enemy; but he restrained his indignation, and marched to Antony to accuse Macheras of mal-administration; but Macheras was made sensible of his offences, and followed after the king immediately, and earnestly begged and obtained that he would be reconciled to him. However, Herod did not desist from his resolution of going to Antony; but when he heard that he was besieging Samosata* with a great army, which is a strong city near to Euphrates, he made the greater haste; as observing that this was a proper opportunity for showing at once his courage, and for doing what would greatly oblige Antony. Indeed, when he came, he soon made an end of that siege, and slew a great number of the barbarians, and took from them a large prey; insomuch that Antony, who admired his courage formerly, did now admire it still more. Accordingly he heaped many more honours upon him, and gave him more assured hopes that he should reign in his kingdom; and now king Antiochus was forced to deliver up Samosata.

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CHAPTER XVII.

THE DEATH OF JOSEPH (HEROD'S BROTHER), WHICH HAD BEEN SIGNIFIED TO HEROD IS DEALT WITH HOW HEROD WAS PRESERVED TWICE, AFTER HIS WONDERFUL MANNER. HE CUTS OFF THE HEAD OF PAPPUS, WHO WAS THE MURDERER OF HIS BROTHER, AND SENDS THAT HEAD TO HIS OTHER BROTHER PIERORGAS. AND IN NO LONG TIME DOES HEROD BESIEGE JERUSALEM, AND MARRIES MARIA.

§ 1. In the meantime Herod's affairs in Syria were in an ill state. He had left his brother Joseph with full power, but had charged him to make attempts against Antigonus till his return; for the Macheras would not be such an assistant as he could depend on, as it appeared by what he had done already; but as soon as Joseph heard that his brother was at a very great distance, he neglected the charge he had received, and marched towards Jericho with five cohorts, which Macheras sent with him. This movement was intended for settling on the corn, as it was now in the midst of summer; but when his enemies attacked him in the mountains, and its places which were difficult of passage, he was both killed in the battle, as he was very brave fighting in the battle, and the entire Roman cohorts were destroyed; for these cohorts were now men gathered out of Syria, and there was no mixture of those called veteran soldiers among them, who might have supported those that were useful in war.

2. This victory was not sufficient for Antigonus; but he proceeded to that degree of rage, as to use the dead body of Joseph barbarously; for when he had gotten possession of the bodies of three, he cut off his head, although his brother Pierorgas would have given fifteen talents as a prize of redemption for it. And now the affairs of Galilee were put into such disorder after this victory of Antigonus, that those of Antigonus's party brought the principal men that were on Herod's side to his lake, and there drowned them. There was a great change made also in Idumes, where Macheras was building a wall about one of the fortresses, that was called Gittha. But Herod had not yet been informed of these things; for after the taking of Samosata, and when Antony had set Susias to the affairs of Syria, and given him orders to assist Herod against Antigonus, he departed into Egypt. But Susias sent two legions before him into Judah to assist Herod, and followed himself soon after with the rest of his army.

3. Now when Herod was at Daphne, by Antony, he had some dreams which clearly foreboded his brother's death; and as he leaped out of his bed in a disturbed manner, there came messengers that acquainted him with that calamity. So when he had lamented this misfortune for a while, he put off the main part of his mourning, and made haste to march against his enemies; and when he had

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*This Samosata, the metropolis of Cappadocia, is well known from its coins, as Sapphoism here means us. Diod. Archid. also confirms what Josephus here says, that Herod was a great master of taking the city by Antony, and that from Philostr and Diod.
performed a march that was above his strength, and was gone as far as Libanus, he got eight hundred men of those that lived near to that mountain, as his assistants, and joined with them one Roman legion, with which, before it was day, he made an irruption into Galilee, and met his enemies, and drove them back to the place which they had left. He also made an immediate and continued attack upon the fortress. Yet was he forced, by a most terrible storm, to pitch his camp in a neighbouring village before he could take it. But when, after a few days, the Roman legion, that came from Antony, joined themselves to him, the enemy were affrighted at his power, and left their fortifications in the night-time.

4. After this he marched through Jericho, as making what haste he could to be avenged on his brother's murderers: where happened to him a providential signal, out of which when he had unexpectedly escaped, he had the reputation of being very dear to God; for that evening there feasted with him many of the principal men; and after that a restistance, and what the Romans were about, the house fell down immediately. And as he judged this to be a common signal of what dangers he should undergo, and how he should escape them in the war that he was going about, he in the morning set forward with his army, when about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to fight with those in his fore front; yet durst they not be so very bold as to engage the Romans hand to hand, but threw stones and darts at them at a distance, by which means they wounded a considerable number; in which action Herod's own side was wounded with a dart.

5. Now as Antigonus had a mind to appear to exceed Herod not only in the courage, but in the number of his men, he sent Pappus, one of his companions, with an army against Samaria, whose fortune it was to oppose Macheras. But Herod overran the enemies' country, and demolished five little cities, and destroyed two thousand men that were in them, and burned their houses, and then returned to his camp; but his head-quarters were at the village called Caesarea.

6. Now the multitude of Jews resorted to him every day, both out of Jericho and the other parts of the country. Some were moved so to do out of their hatred to Antigonus, and some out of regard to the glorious actions Herod had done; but others were led on by an unreasonable desire of change; so he fell upon them immediately. As for Pappus and his party, they were not terrified either at their number or at their zeal, but marched out with great alacrity to fight them; and it came to a close fight. Now other parts of their army made resistance for a while: but Herod, running the utmost hazard, out of the rage he was in at the murder of his brother, that he might be avenged on those that had been the authors of it, soon beat those that opposed him; and, after he had beaten them, he always turned his force against those that stood to it still, and pursued them all; so that a great slaughter was made, while some were forced back into that village whence they came out; he also pressed hard upon the hindermost, and slew a vast number of them; he also fell into the village with the enemy, where every house was filled with armed men, and the upper rooms were crowded above with soldiers for their defence; and when he had beaten those that were on the outside, he pulled the houses to pieces, and plucked out those that were within; upon many he had the roofs shaken down, whereby they perished by heaps; and as for those that fled out of the ruins, the soldiers received them with their swords in their hands; and the multitude of those slain and lying in heaps was so great, that the conquerors could not pass along the roads. Now the enemy could not bear this blow, so that when the multitude of them which was gathered together, saw that those in the village were slain, they dispersed themselves and fled away; upon the confidence of which victory, Herod had marched immediately to Jerusalem, unless he had been hindered by the depth of winter's coming on. This was the impediment that lay in the way of this his entire glorious progress, and was what hindered Antigonus from being now conquered, who was already disposed to forsake the city.

7. Now when at this evening Herod had already dismissed his friends to refresh themselves after their fatigue, and when he was gone himself, while it was still but night, he met a common soldier, to bothe himself, and had but on one man that attended him, and before he was gotten into the bath, one of the enemies met him in the face with a sword in his hand, and then a second, and a third, and after that more of them; these were men who had run away out of the battle into the bath in their armour, and they had lain there for some time in great terror, and in privacy; and when they saw the king, they trembled for fear, and ran by him in a fright, although he was naked, and endeavoured to get off into the public road. Now there was by chance nobody at hand that might seize upon these men; and for Herod, he was intended to have come to no harm himself, so that they all got away in safety.

8. But on the next day Herod had Pappus's head cut off, who was the general of Antigonus, and was slain in the battle, and sent it to his brother Pherora, by way of punishment for their slain brother; for he was the man that slew Joseph. Now as winter was going off, Herod marched to Jerusalem, and brought his army to the wall of it; this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; so he pitched his camp before the temple, for on that side it might be besieged; and there it was that Pompey took the city. So he parted the work among the army, and demolished the suburbs, and raised three banks, and gave orders to have towers built upon those banks, and left the most laborious of his acquaintance at the works. But he went himself to Samaria, to take the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, to wife, who had been betrothed to him before, as we have already said; and thus he accomplished this by the bye, during the siege of the city, for he had his enemies in great contempt already.

9. When he had thus married Mariamne, he came back to Jerusalem with a greater army. Sosius also joined him with a large army, both of horsemen and footmen, which he sent before him through the midland parts, while he marched himself along Phœnicia; and when the whole army was gotten together, which were eleven regiments of footmen, and six thousand horsemen, besides the Syrian auxiliaries, which were no small part of the army, they pitched their camp near the north wall. Herod's dependence was upon the decree of the senate, by which he was made king; and Sosius
relieved upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod's assistance.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HOW HEROD AND SOSIUS TOOK JERUSALEM BY FORCE; AND WHAT DEATH ANTIGONUS CAME TO. ALSO, CONCERNING CLEOPATRA'S AVARICIOUS TEMPER.

§ 1. Now the multitude of the Jews that were in the city were divided into several factions, for the people that crowded about the temple, being the weaker part of them, gave it out that, as the times were, he was the happiest and most religious man who should die first. But as to the more bold and hardy men, they got together in bodies, and fell a robbing others after various manners, and these particularly plundered the places that were about the city, and this because there was no food left either for the horses or the men; yet some of the warlike men, who were used to fight regularly, were appointed to defend the city during the siege, and these drove those that raised the banks away from the wall; and these were always inventing one engine or another to be a hindrance to the engines of the enemy; nor had they so much success any way as in the mines under ground.

2. Now, as for the robberies which were committed, the king contrived that ambushes should be so laid, that they might restrain their excursions; and as for the want of provisions, he provided that they should be brought to them from great distances. He was also too hard for the Jews, by the Romans' skill in the art of war: although they were bold to the utmost degree, now they durst not come to a plain battle with the Romans, which was certain death; but through their mines under ground they would appear in the midst of them on their sudden; and when they could break down one wall, they built them another in its stead; and to sum up all at once, they did not show any want of either painstaking or of contrivances, as having resolved to hold out to the very last. Indeed, though they had so great an army lying round about them, they bore a siege of five months, till some of Herod's chosen men ventured to get upon the wall, and fell into the city, as did Sosius's centurions after them; and now the first of all seized upon what was about the temple; and upon the pouring in of the army, there was slaughter of vast multitudes everywhere, by reason of the rage the Romans were in at the length of the siege; and by reason that the Jews that were about Herod earnestly endeavoured that none of their adversaries might remain; so they were cut to pieces by great multitudes, and as they were crowded together in narrow streets, and in houses, or were running away to the temple; nor was there any mercy shown either to infants or to the aged, or to the weaker sex; insomuch, that although the king sent about and desired them to spare the people, nobody could be persuaded to withhold their right hand from slaughter, but they slew people of all ages like madmen. Then it was that Antigonus, without any regard to his former or to his present fortune, came down from the citadel and fell down at Sosius's feet, who, without pitying him at all, upon the change of his condition, laughed at him beyond measure, and called him Antigonus. Yet did not treat him like a woman, or let him go free, but put him into bonds, and kept him in custody.

3. But Herod's concern at present, now he gotten his enemies under his power, was to round the seal of his foreign auxiliaries; for the multitude of the strange people were very eager to enter the temple, and what was sacred in the holy house itself; but the king endeavoured to restrain them partly by his exhortations, partly by his threatenings, many, partly by force, as thinking the worse than a defeat to him, if any thing that may not to be seen were seen by them. He also kept at the same time, the spoiling of the city, and Sosius in the most earnest manner, whether Romans, by thus emptying the city of many men, had a mind to leave him king of a desert; and told him, that he judged the dominion of the habitable earth too small a compensation for the slaughter of so many citizens. And when Sosius said, that it was but just to allow the soldiers to plunder, as a reward for what they had suffered during the siege, Herod made answer, that it would give every one of the soldiers a reward of his own money. So he purchased the absence of his country, and performed his promises to them, and made presents after a magnificent manner to each soldier, and proportionably to the commanders, and with a most royal bounty to the common soldiers, whereby nobody went away but in a wealthy condition. Hereupon Sosius dethroned a crown of gold to God, and then went away from Jerusalem, leading Antigonus away in bonds to Antony; then did the axe bring him to his end, who still had a fond desire of life, and some high hopes of it to the last; but by his cowardly behaviour well deserved to die by it.

4. Hereupon king Herod distinguished his multitude that was in the city; and for those that were of his side, he made them still more his friends by the honours he conferred on them; but of Antigonus, they could betray no more money, he turned all the ornaments he had into money, and sent it to Antony, and told him about him. Yet could he not hereby purchase an exemption from all sufferings; for Antony, now bewitched by his love to Cleopatra, and entirely conquered by her charms. Now Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, till she came in her blood remained alive, and after that with a slaying those no way related to her. She did humiliate the principal men among the Syrian Antony, and persuaded him to have them killed that so she might easily gain to be mistress of the city they had; may, she extended her avaricious mour to the Jews and Arabians, and secretly brouched to have Herod and Malichus, the kings both those nations, slain by his order.

5. Now as to these her injurious to Antony, he complied in part; for though he esteemed so abominable a thing to kill such good and good kings, yet was he thereby alienated from the friendship he had for them. He also took away a great deal of their country; nay even the plane-palm-trees at Jericho, where also grows the sam-tree, and bestowed them upon her; so also the cities on this side the river Eles, Tyre, and

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*This is a woman, not a man.

† This death of Antigonus is confirmed by Plutarch not Josephus.
When Antony, as being already freed from his troubles in Judea, and having gained Hyrcania, which was a place that was held by Antigonus's sister. However, he was cunningly hindered from partaking of the hazards that Antony went through by Cleopatra; for since, as we have already noted, she had laid a plot against the kings of Judea and Arabia, he prevailed with Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod; that is, if he got better, she might become mistress of Arabia, if he were worsted, of Judea; and that she might destroy one of those kings by the other.

2. However, this contrivance tended to the advantage of Herod; for at the very first he took hostages from the enemy, and got together a great body of horse, and ordered them to march against them about Diospolis; and he conquered that army, although it fought resolutely against him. After which defeat, the Arabians were in great motion, and assembled themselves together at Kanatha, a city of Cœle-syria, in a vast multitude, and waited for the Jews. And when Herod was come thither, he tried to manage this war with particular prudence, and gave orders that they should build a wall about their camp; yet did not the multitude comply with those orders, but were so emboldened by their foregoing victory, that they presently attacked the Arabians, and beat them at the first onset, and then pursued them; yet were there snare laid for Herod in that pursuit; whilst Athenicus, who was one of Cleopatra's generals, and always an antagonist to Herod, sent out of Kanatha the men of that country against him; for upon this fresh onset, the Arabians took courage, and returned back, and both joined their numerous forces about stony places, that were hard to be gone over, and there put Herod's men to be rout, and made a great slaughter of them; but those that escaped out of the battle fled to Orniza, where the Arabians surrounded their camp and took it, with all the men in it.

3. In a little time after this calamity, Herod came to bring them succour, but he came too late. Nor the occasion of that blow was this, that the enemies would not obey his orders; for had not the fight begun so suddenly, Athenicus had not found a proper season for the snares he laid for Herod; however, he was even with the Arabians afterward, and overran their country, and did them more harm than their single victory could compensate. But as he was avenging himself on his enemies, there fell upon him another providential calamity; for in the seventh year of his reign, when the war about Actium was at the height, at the beginning of the spring, the earth was shaken, and destroyed an immense number of cattle, and thirty thousand men; but the army received no harm, because it lay in the open air. In the mean time, the fame of this earthquake elevated the Arabians to greater courage, and this by augmenting it to a fabulous height, as is constantly the case in melancholy accidents, and pretending that all Judea was overthrown. Upon this supposal, therefore, that they could easily get a land that was destitute of inhabitants into their power, they first sacrificed those ambassadors who were come to them from the Jews, and then marched into Judea immediately. Now the Jewish nation were affrighted at this invasion, and quite dispirited at the greatness of their calamities one after another; whom yet Herod got together, and endeavored to encourage to defend themselves by the following speech which he made to them:

4. "The present dread you are under, seems to me to have seized upon you very unseasonably. It is true, you might be justly dismayed at the providential chastisement which hath befallen you; but to suffer yourselves to be equally terrified at the invasion of men, is unmanly. As for myself, I am so far from being affrighted at our enemies after this earthquake, that I imagine that God hath thereby laid a bait for the Arabians, that we may be avenged on them; for their present invasion proceeds more from our accidental misfortunes, than that they have any great dependence on their weapons, or their own fitness for action. Now that hope which depends not on men's own power, but on other's ill success, is a very ticklish thing; for there is no certainty among men, either in their bad or good fortunes; but we may easily observe, that fortune is mutable, and goes from one side to another; and this you may readily learn from examples among yourselves; for when you were once victors in the former fight, your enemies overcame you at last; and very likely it will now happen so, that these who think themselves sure of beating you, will themselves be beaten; for when men are very confident, they are not upon their guard, while fear teaches men to act with caution; insomuch, that I venture to prove from your very timorosity, that you ought to take courage; for when you were more bold than you ought to have been, and then I would have had you, and marched on, Athenicus's
superior to the Jews in number, but inferior in alacrity, although they were obliged to expose themselves to danger by their very desirous of victory.

6. Now while they made opposition, they had a great number slain; but as soon as they saw their backs, a great many were trodden to death by the Jews, and a great many by themselves, so perished, till five thousand were fallen down in their flight, while the rest of the multitude prevented their immediate death by crowding into fortification. Herod encompassed these arms and besieged them; and while they were readily taken by their enemies in arms, they had another additional distress upon them, which was their need of water; for the king was above hundred getting to their ambassadors; and when they sought five hundred talents, as the price of their redemption, he pressed still harder upon them; and lastly, were burnt up by their thirst, they came and voluntarily delivered themselves up by seeking to the Jews, till in five days' time four thousand of them were put into bonds; and on the sixth day the multitude that were left despaired of saving themselves, and came out to fight with the Herod fought, and slew again about seven thousand insomuch that he punished Arabia so severely; as so far extinguished the spirits of the men, that it was chosen by the nation for their ruler.

CHAPTER XX.

HEROD IS CONFIRMED IN HIS KINGDOM BY CALEPH, AND CULTIVATES A FRIENDSHIP WITH THE EMPEROR BY MAGNIFICENT PRESENTS; WHILE CALEPH RETURNS HIS KINDNESS BY BESTOWING ON HIM THAT PART OF HIS KINGDOM WHICH HAD BEEN TAKEN AWAY FROM IT BY CLEOPATRA, WITH THE ADDITION OF ZENODORUS'S COUNTRY also.

5. But now Herod was under immediate concern about a most important affair, on account of his friendship with Antony, who was already over at Actium by Caesar; yet he was more afraid that he would hurt; for Caesar did not think he had quite unspecifically; but he was afraid of his power, and in the habit and appearance of a private person, but in his behaviour as a king. He concealed nothing of the truth, but spoke the truth, and with his face:—“O Caesar, as I was made king of the Jews by Antony, so do I profess I have used my royal authority in the best manner, according to his advantage; nor will I conceal this farther, than thou hast certainly found me in arms, and as a separable companion of his, had not the Arabians hindered me. However, I sent him as many soldiers as I was able, and many ten thousand men of corn. Nay, indeed, I did not desert the interest after the blow that was given him at Actium; but I gave him the best advice I could, when I was no longer able to assist him in the war and I told him there was but one way of saving his affairs, and that was to kill Cleopatra; and I promised him, that if she were once dead, I would afford him money and walls for his security, not an army and myself to assist him in his war.
thee: but his affections for Cleopatra stopped his ears, as did God himself also, who hath bestowed the government on thee. I own myself also to be overcome together with him; and with his last fortune I have laid aside my diadem, and am come hither to thee, having my hopes of safety in thy virtue; and I desire that thou wilt first consider how faithful a friend, and not whose friend, I have been.

2. Caesar replied to him thus:—"Nay, thou shalt not only be in safety, but shalt be a king, and that more firmly than thou wast before; for thou art worthy of it over a great many worthy men, on account of the fastness of thy friendship; and do thou endeavour to be equally constant in thy friendship to me upon my good success, which is what I depend upon from the generosity of thy disposition. However, Antony hath done well in preferring Cleopatra to thee; for by this means we have gained thee by her madness, and thus thou hast begun to be my friend before I began to be thine; on which account Quintus Didius hath written to me that thou sentest him assistance against the gladiators. I do not doubt the present, that I will confirm the kingdom to thee by a decree; I shall also endeavour, after my return, to do thee some further kindness hereafter, that thou mayest find no loss in the want of Antony."  

3. When Caesar had spoken such obliging things to the king, and had put the diadem again about his head, he proclaimed what he had bestowed on him by a decree, in which he enlarged in the commendation of the man after a magnificent manner. Whereupon Herod obliged him to be kind to him by the presents he gave him, and he desired him to forgive Alexander, one of Antony's friends, who was become a suppliant to him. But Caesar's anger was against him prevailed, and he complained of the many and very great offences the man whom he petitioned for had been guilty of; and by that means he rejected his petition. After this, Caesar went for Egypt through Syria, when Herod received him with royal and rich entertainments; and then did he first of all ride along with Caesar, as he was reviewing his army about Ptolemais, and feasted him with all his friends, and then distributed among the rest of the army what was necessary to feast them with. He also made a plentiful provision of water for them, when they went on a march as far as Pelusium, through a dry country, which he did also in like manner on their return thence; nor were there any necessaries wanting to that army. It was therefore the opinion, both of Caesar and of his soldiers, that Herod's kingdom was too small for those generous presents he made them; for which reason, when Caesar was come into Egypt, and Cleopatra and Antony were dead, he did not only bestow other marks of honour upon him, but made an addition to his kingdom, by giving him not only the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, but, besides that, Gadara, and Hippo, and Samaria; and moreover, of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower. He also made a present of four hundred Gallas [Galatians] as a guard for his body, which they had been to Cleopatra before.

Nor did any thing so strongly induce Caesar to make these presents as the generosity of him that received them.  

4. Moreover, after the first games at Actium, he added to his kingdom both the region called Trachonitis, and what lay in its neighbourhood, Batanea, and the country of Auranitis; and that on the following occasion:—Zenodorus, who had hired the house of Lysias, had all along sent robbers out of Trachonitis among the Damascenes; who thereupon had recourse to Varro, the president of Syria, and desired of him that he would represent the calumny they were in to Caesar. When Caesar was acquainted with it, he sent back orders that this nest of robbers should be destroyed. Varro therefore made an expedition against them, and cleared the land of those men, and took it away from Zenodorus. Caesar did also afterward bestow it on Herod, that it might not again become a receptacle for those robbers that had come against Damascus. He also made him a procurator of all Syria, and this on the tenth year afterward, when he came again into that province; and this was so established, that the other procurators could not do any thing in the administration without his advice; but when Zenodorus was dead, Caesar bestowed on him all that land which lay between Trachonitis and Galilee. Yet, what was still of more consequence to Herod, he was beloved by Caesar next after Agrippa, and by Agrippa next after Caesar; whence he arrived at a very great degree of felicity; yet did the greatness of his soul exceed it; and the main part of his magnanimity was extended to the promotion of piety.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE [TEMPLE AND] CITIES THAT WERE BUILT BY HEROD, AND ERECTED FROM THE VERY FOUNDATIONS; AS ALSO OF THOSE OTHER EDIFICES THAT WERE ERECTED BY HIM: AND WHAT MAGNIFICENCE HE SHOWED TO FOREIGNERS; AND HOW FORTUNE WAS IN ALL THINGS FAVOURABLE TO HIM.

§ 1. Accordingly, in the fifteenth year of his reign, Herod rebuilt the temple, and encompassed a piece of land about it with a wall; which land was twice as large as that before enclosed. The expenses he laid out upon it were vastly large also, and the riches about it were unsplicable. A sign of which you have in the great cloisters that were erected about the temple and the citadel which were on its north side. The cloisters he built from the foundation, but the citadel he repaired at a vast expense; nor was it other than a royal palace, which he called Antonia, in honour of Antony. He also built himself a palace in the upper city, containing two very large and most beautiful apartments; to which the holy house itself could not be compared [in largeness]. The one apartment he named Cesarereum, and the other Agrippium, from his [two great] friends.

*Simon Josephus, both here and in his Antiq. b xxv. ch. vii. sect. 8. mentions Gaza, which had been a free city, among the cities given Herod by Augustus, and yet implies that Herod had made Cononobarus a governor of it before, Antiq. b xxv. ch. xvii. sect. 7. Hadrian has some pro- tege for saying that Josephus here contradicts himself. But perhaps Herod thought he had sufficient authority to put a governor into Gaza, after he was made tetrarch or king, in times of war, before the city was delivered entirely into his hands by Augustus.
2. Yet did he not preserve their memory by particular buildings only, with their names given them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities; for when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted it a most fruitful piece of land, and in the midst of this city, thus built, had erected a very large temple to Caesar, and had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and a half, he called the city Sebasti, from Sebastus, or Augustus, and settled the affairs of the city after a most regular manner.

3. And when Caesar had farther bestowed upon him another additional country, he built there also a temple of white marble, hard by the fountains of Jordan: the place is called Panium, where is a top of a mountain that is raised to an immense height, and at its side, beneath, or at its bottom, a dark cave opens itself; within which there is a horrible precipice, that descends abruptly to a vast depth: it contains a mighty quantity of water, which is incommensurable; and when any body lets down any thing to measure the depth of the earth beneath the water, no length of cord is sufficient to reach it. Now the fountains of Jordan rise at the roots of the mountain, and carry onNaray; and, as some think, this is the utmost origin of Jordan: but we shall speak of that matter more accurately in our following history.

4. But the king erected other places at Jericho also, between the citadel Cypros and the former palace, such as were better and more useful than the former for travellers, and named them from the same friends of his. To say all at once, there was not any place of his kingdom fit for the purpose, that was permitted to be without somewhat that was for Caesar's honour; and when he had filled his own country with temples, he poured out the like plentiful marks of his esteem into his province, and built many cities which he called Cesareas.

5. And when he observed that there was a city by the sea-side that was much decayed (its name was Strato's Tower) but that the place, by the happiness of its situation, was capable of great improvements from his liberality, he rebuilt it all with white stone, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces, wherein he especially demonstrated his magnanimity; for the case was this, that all the sea-shore between Dora and Joppa, in the middle, between which this city is situated, had no good haven, insomuch that every one that sailed from Phoenicia for Egypt was obliged to lie in the stormy sea, by reason of the south winds that threatened them; which wind, if it blew but a little fresh, such vast waves are raised, and dash upon the rocks, that upon their retreat, the sea is in a great ferment for a long way. But the king, by the expenses he was at, and the liberal disposal of them, overcame nature, and built a haven larger than was the Pyr-
recum at Athens; and in the inner retirements of the water he built another deep station (for the ships also). 3

6. Now, although the place where he built was greatly opposite to his purposes, yet did he so fully struggle with that difficulty, that the firmness of his building could not easily be conquered by the sea; and the beauty and the ornament of the work were such, as though he had not had any difficulty in operation; for when he had measured out as large a space as we have before mentioned, he let the stones into twenty-fathom water, the greatest of which were fifty feet in length, and rise a depth, and ten in breadth, and some still larger. But when the haven was filled up to that depth, he enlarged that wall which was thus already out above the entry, till it was two hundred feet wide, one hundred of which had buildings before it, in order to break the force of the waves, where a was called Prouemutia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the rest of the space was under the wall that ran round it. On this wall were high towers, the principal and most beautiful of which was called Drusium, from Drusus, who was a so-

7. In the mouth of the haven were on each side three great Colossi, supported by pillars, where the Colossi that are on your left hand as you sit in the port, are supported by a solid tower; but on the right hand are supported by two great stones joined together, which stones were larger than that tower which was on the other side of the entrance. Now there were continual vessels going to the haven, which were also themselves of great stones, as this haven did not want streets of the city lead, and were built at equal distances from another. And over-against the mouth of the haven, upon an elevation, there was a temple to Caesar, which was excellent both for beauty and largeness; and therein was a Colossus of Ceres not less than that of Jupiter Olympius, which was made to resemble. The other Colossus of Rom, was equal to that of Juno at Argos. So he decorated the city to the province, and the haven to the sailors there; but the honour of the building is ascribed to Caesar, and it is called Cesarea accordingly.

8. He also built the other edifices, the amphitheatre, and theatre, and market-place, in a manner agreeable to that denomination; and appointed games every fifth year, and called them in the manner, Caesar's Games; and he first himself proposed the largest prizes upon the hundred and fifty second Olympiad: in which not only the victors themselves, but these that came next to them, as even those that came in the third place, were the recipients of his royal bounty. He also rebuilt Aem-
don, a city that lay on the coast, and had been demolished in the wars, and named it Agrippia. Moreover, he had so very great a kindness for his friend Agrippia, that he had his name engraved upon that gate which he had himself erected in the temple.

9. Herod was also a lover of his father, if any other person ever was so; for he made a monument for his father, even that city which he built in the finest plain that was in his kingdom, and which had...
WARS OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE MURDER OF ARISTOBULUS AND HYRCANUS, THE HIGH-PRIESTS; AS ALSO OF MARIAMNE THE QUEEN.

§ 1. However, fortune was avenged on Herod in his external great successes, by raising him up domestic troubles; and he began to have wild disorders in his family, on account of his wife, of whom he was so very fond; for when he came to the government, he sent away her whom he had before married when he was a private person, and who was born at Jerusalem, whose name was Doris, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; on whose account disturbances arose in his family, and that in part very soon, but chiefly after his return from Rome; for, first of all, the king in Syria, did not he pave it with polished marble, though it were twenty furlongs long; and this when it was shunned by all men before, because it was full of dirt and filthiness; when he besides adorned the same place with a cloister of the same length.

12. It is true a man may say, these were favours peculiar to those particular places on which he bestowed his benefits; but then what favours he bestowed on the Eleans, was a donation not only in common to all Greece, but to all the inhabitable earth, as far as the glory of the Olympic games reached; and when he perceived that they were come to nothing, for want of money, and that the only remains of ancient Greece were in a manner gone, he not only became one of the combatants in that return of the fifth year games, which in his sailing to Rome he happened to be present at, but he settled upon them revenues of money for perpetuity, insomuch that his memorial as a combatant there can never fail. It would be an infinite task if I should go over his payments of people's debts, or tributes, for them, as he eased the people of Phaselis, of Batanea, and of the small cities about Cilicia; of those annual pensions they before paid. However, the fear he was in much disturbed the greatness of his soul, lest he should be exposed to envy, or seem to hunt after greater things than he ought, while he bestowed more liberal gifts upon those cities than did their owners themselves.

13. Now Herod had a body suited to his soul, and was ever a most excellent hunter, where he generally had good success, by means of his great skill in riding horses; for in one day he caught forty wild beasts; and by this, he brought a quantity of water from a great distance, and vast charges, and raised an ascent to it of two hundred steps of the whitest marble, for the hill was itself moderately high, and entirely factitious. He also built other palaces about the roots of the hill, sufficient to receive the furniture that was put into them, with his friends also, insomuch that on account of its containing all necessaries, the fortress might seem to be a city, but, by the bounds it had, a palace only.

14. And when he had built so much, he showed the greatness of his soul to no small number of foreign cities. He built palaces for exercise at Tripoli, and Damascus, and Ptolemais; he built a wall about Byblus, as also large rooms, and cloisters, and temples, and market-places at Berytus and Tyre, with theatres at Sidon and Damascus. He also built aqueducts for those Laodiceans who lived by the sea-side; and for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains, as also cloisters around a court, that were admirable both for their workmanship and largeness. Moreover, he dedicated friends, and in the city he built a temple to Cybele; for a few cities there were who had lands of his donation, as if they were parts of his own kingdom. He also bestowed annual revenues, and those for ever also, on the settlements for exercises, and appointed for them, as well as for the people of Cos, that such rewards should never be wanting. He also gave born to all such as wanted it, and conferred upon Rhodes large sums of money for building ships; and this he did in many places, and frequently also. And when Apollo's temple had been burnt down, he rebuilt it at his own charges, after a better manner than it was before. What need I speak of the presents he made to the Lycians and Samnians; or of his great liberality through all Ionia; and that according to every body's wants of them. And are not the Athenians, and Laconomaniacs, and Nicopolitans, and that Pergamus which is in Myssia, full of donations that Herod presented them withal! And as for that large open place belonging to An-
he expelled Antipater the son of Doris, for the sake of his sons by Mariamne, out of the city, and permitted him to come thither at no other times than at the festivals. After this he slew his wife’s grandfather, Hyrcanus, when he was returned out of Parthia to him, under this pretence, that he suspected him of plotting against him. Now this Hyrcanus had been carried captive to Barzapharnes, when he overran Syria; but those of his own country beyond Euphrates were desirous he would stay with them, and this out of the commiseration they had for his condition; and had he complied with their desires, when they exhorted him not to go over the river to Herod, he had not perished: but the marriage of his grand-daughter [to Herod] was his temptation; for as he relied upon him, and was over fond of his own country, he came back to it. Herod’s provocation was this:—not that Hyrcanus made an attempt to gain the kingdom, but that it was fitter for him to be their king than for Herod.

2. Now of the five children which Herod had by Mariamne, two of them were daughters and three were sons; and the youngest of these sons was educated at Rome, and there died; but the two eldest he treated as those of royal blood, on account of the nobility of their mother, and because they were not born till he was king; but then what was stronger than all this, was the love that he bare to Mariamne, and which inflamed him every day to a great degree, and so far conspired with the other motives, that he felt no other troubles, on account of her he loved so entirely; but Mariamne’s hatred to him was not inferior to his love to her. Her boldness proceeded from a cause of indignation, from what he had done, while heralded with what he had done to her granddaughter Hyrcanus, and to her brother Aristobulus, for he had not spared this Aristobulus, though he were but a child; for when he had given him the high-priesthood at the age of seventeen, he slew him quickly after he had conferred that dignity upon him; but when Aristobulus had put on the holy vestments, and had approached to the altar at a festival, the multitude, in great crowds, fell into tears; whereupon the child was snatched from him, and was there dipped by the Gallus, at Herod’s command, in a pool till he was drowned.

3. For these reasons Mariamne reproached Herod, and his sister and mother, after a most conterminous manner, while he was dumb on account of his affection for her; yet had the women great indignation at her, and raised a calumny against her, that she was false to his bed; which thing they thought most likely to move Herod to anger. They also contrived to have many other circumstances believed, in order to make the thing more credible, and accused her of having sent her picture into Egypt to Antony, and that her lust was so extravagant, as to have thus shown herself, though she was absent to a man that ran mad after women, and to a man that had it in his power to use violence to her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and put him into disorder; and that especially, because his love to her occasioned him to be jealous, and because he considered with himself that Cleopatra was a shrewd woman, and that on her account Lyanaus the king was taken off as well as Malichus the Arabian, for his fear did not only extend to the dissolving of his marriage, to the danger of his life.

4. When therefore he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed his wife to Joseph, his son Salome’s husband, as to one who would be fidel to him, and bare him good-will on account of his kindred: he also gave him a secret injunction, that if Antony slew him, he should slay her; for Joseph, without any ill design, and only in order to demonstrate the king’s love to his wife, is he could not bear to think of being separated from her, even by death itself, discovered this secret to her; upon which, when Herod was come back, and as they talked together, and he confirmed his love to her by many oaths, and assured her that he had never such an affection for any wise woman as he had for her,—Yes,” says she, “thou didst, to be sure, demonstrate thy love to me by the injunctions thou gavest Joseph, of thou commandedst him to kill me.”

5. When he heard that this grand secret was discovered, he was like a distracted man, and rise that Joseph would never have disclosed that in junctiion of his, unless he had denounced her. His passion also made him stark mad, and he ran out of his bed, he ran about the palace after a wild manner; at which time his sister Salome took the opportunity also to blast her reputation, and confirmed his suspicion about Joseph; whereas out of his ungovernable jealousy and rage, he com- manded both of them to be slain immediately; but as soon as ever his passion was over, he repented of what he had done, and as soon as his rage was worn off, his affections were kindly again; and indeed the fame of his love for her was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead, but would appear, under his disorders, to speak to her, as if she was still alive, till he were better inclined by time, when his grief and trouble, now she was dead, appeared as great as his affection had been for her while she was living.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CALUMNIES AGAINST THE SONS OF MARIAMNE. ANTIPATER IS PREPARED BEFORE THEM. THEY ARE ACCUSED BEFORE CESAR, AND HEROD IS RECONCILED TO THEM.

§ 1. Now Mariamne’s sons were heirs to that heritage which had been borne their mother; and when they considered the greatness of Herod’s power towards her, they were suspicious of him as of an enemy of theirs; and this first while they were educated at Rome, but still more when they were returned to Judea. This temper of theirs increased upon them as they grew up to be men; and what they were come to an age fit for marriage, the sons of them married their aunt Salome’s daughter, which Salome had been the acquirer of their mother; the other married the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And now they used boldness in speaking, as well as bare hatred in their minds. Now those that calumniated them took a hand.

Here is either a defect or a great mistake, in Josephus’s parsing of or merely for Mariamne’s daughter Antipater as the subject of his first injunction to Joseph to kill her, if he himself was about to be slain, but that he had given the like command to Josephus also, when he was afraid of being slain by Antony. And in the b. vi. ch. ii. sect. 2.
from such their boldness, and certain of them spake now more plainly to the king, that there were treacherous designs laid against him by both his sons; and he that was son-in-law to Archelaus, relying upon his father-in-law, was preparing to fly away, in order to accuse Herod before Caesar; and when Herod's head had been long enough filled with these calumnies, he brought Antipater, whom he had by Doris, into favour again, as a defence to him against his other sons, and began all the ways he possibly could to prefer him before them.

2. But these sons were not able to bear this charge in their affairs; for when they saw him that was born of a mother of no family, the nobility of their birth made them unable to contain their indignation; but whenever they were uneasy, they showed the anger they had at it; and as these sons did day after day improve in that their anger, Antipater already exercised all his own abilities, which were very great, in flattering his father, and in contriving many sorts of calumnies against his brethren, while he told some stories of them himself, and put upon others propallasons to raise other stories against them; till at length he entirely cut his brethren off from all hopes of succeeding to the kingdom; for he was already publicly put into his father's will as his successor. Accordingly he was sent with royal ornaments, and other marks of royalty, to Caesar, excepting the diadem. He was also able in time to introduce his mother again into Mariamne's bed. The two sorts of weapons he made use of against his brethren, wereattery and calumny, whereby he brought matters privately to such a pass, that the king had thought of that he would have done it, that he cut off their brethren from the kingdom; he was also enabled also to justify himself, not only by a clear conscience, which he carried within him, but by his eloquence; for he was a shrewd man in making speeches. And upon his saying at last, that if his father objected this crime to them, it was in his power to put them to death, he made all the audience weep; and he brought Caesar to that pass, as to reject the accusations, and to reconcile their father to them immediately. But the conditions of this reconciliation appeared such in all sorts as he offered them to his father, and that he should have ever to leave the kingdom to which of them he pleased.

4. After this the king came back from Rome, and seemed to have forgiven his sons upon these accusations; but still so, that he was not without his suspicions of them. They were followed by Antipater, who was the fountain-head of those accusations; yet did not he openly discover his hatred to them, as revering him that had reconciled them. But as Herod sailed by Citica, he touched at Eleusis, where Archelaus treausted them in the

most obliging manner, and gave him thanks for the deliverance of his son-in-law, and was much pleased at their reconciliation; and this the more, because he had formerly written to his friends at Rome that they should be assisting to Alexander at his trial. So he conducted Herod as far as Zaphyrion, and made him presents to the value of thirty talents.

5. Now when Herod was come to Jerusalem, he gathered the people together, and presented to them his three sons, and gave them an apologetic account of his absence, and thanked God greatly, and thanked Caesar gratefully also, for setting his house when it was under disturbances, and had procured concord among his sons, which was of greater consequence than the kingdom itself,—

"and which I will render still more firm; for Caesar hath put into my power to dispose of the government, and to appoint my successor. Accordingly, in way of requital for his kindess, and in order to provide for mine own advantage, I do declare that these three sons of mine shall be kings. And, first, in the first place, I pray for the approbation of God to what I am about; what I am about now, I desire your approbation also. The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two, shall procure them the succession. Nay, indeed, my kingdom is so large, that it may be sufficient for more kings. Now do you keep those in their places whom Caesar hath joined and their father hath appointed; and do not you pay undue or unequal respects to them, but to every one according to the prerogative of their births; for he that pays such respects unduly, will thereby not make him that is honoured beyond what his age requires, so joyful as he will make him that is dishonoured.

As for the kindred and friends that are to converse with them, I will appoint them to each of them, and will so constitute them, that they may be securities for their concord; as well knowing that the ill tempers of those with whom they converse, will produce quarrels and contentions among them; but that, if these with whom they converse be of good temper, they will preserve their natural affections for one another. But still I desire, that not these only, but all the captains of my army have for the present their horses placed by one alone; for I do not give away my kingdom to these my sons, but give them royal honours only; whereby it will come to pass that they will enjoy the sweet parts of the government as rulers themselves, but that the burden of administration will rest upon myself whether I will or not. And let every one consider what age I am of; how I have conducted my life, and what pietiy I have exercised; for my age is not so great, that men may soon expect the end of my life; nor have I indulged such a luxurious way of living as any cut men who are young; and we have been so religious towards God, that we [have reason to hope we] may arrive at a very great age. But for such as cultivate a friendship with my sons, so as to aim at my destruction, they shall be punished by me on their account. I am not one who envy my own children, and therefore forbid men to pay them great respect; but I know that such [extravagant] respects are the way to make them insolent. And if every one that comes near them does but revolve this in his mind, that if he proves a good man, he shall
receive a reward from me, but that if he prove seditious, his ill-intended complaisance shall get him nothing from him to whom it is shown, I suppose they will all be of my side, that is, of my sons’ side; for it will be for their advantage that I reign, and that I be at concord with them. But do you, O my good children, reflect upon the holiness of nature itself, by whose means natural affection is preserved, even among wild beasts; in the next place, reflect upon Caesar, who hath made this reconciliation among us; and, in the third place, reflect upon me, who entreat you to do what I have power to command you,—continue brethren. I give you royal garments, and royal honours; and I pray to God to preserve what I have determined, in case you be at concord one with another.” When the king had thus spoken, and had saluted every one of his sons after an obliging manner, he dismissed the multitude; some of whom gave their assent to what he said, and wished it might take effect accordingly; but those who wished for a change of affairs, they pretended they did not so much as hear what he said.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE MALICE OF ANTIPATER AND DORIS. ALEXANDER IS VERY UNEASY ON GLAPHYRA’S ACCOUNT. HEROD PARDONS PHERORAS, WHOM HE SUSPECTED, AND SALOME, WHOM HE KNEW TO MAKE MISCHIEF AMONG THEM. HEROD’S EUNUCHS ARE TORTURED, AND ALEXANDER IS BOUND.

§ 1. But now the quarrel that was between them still accompanied these brethren when they parted, and the suspicions they had one of the other grew worse. Alexander and Aristobulus were much grieved that the privilege of the first-born was confirmed to Antipater; as was Antipater very angry at his brethren, that they were to succeed him. But then the last being of a disposition that was mutable and politic, he knew how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and thereby concealed the hatred he bore to them; while the former, depending on the nobility of their births, had every thing upon their tongues which was in their minds. Many also there were who provoked them farther, and many of their [seeming] friends insinuated themselves into their acquaintance, to spy out what they did. Now every thing that was said by Alexander was presently brought to Antipater, and from Antipater it was brought to Herod with additions. Nor could the young man say any thing in the simplicity of his heart, without giving offence, but what he said was still turned to calumny against him. And if he had been at any time a little free in his conversation, great imputations were forged from the smallest occasions. Antipater also was perpetually setting some to provoke him to speak, that the lies he raised of him might seem to have some foundation of truth; and if, among the many stories that were given out, but one of them could be proved true, that was supposed to imply the rest to be true also. And as to Antipater’s friends, they were all either naturally cautious in speaking, or had been so far bribed to conceal their thoughts, that nothing of these grand secrets got abroad by their means. Nor should one be mis-

taken if he called the life of Antipater a mystery of wickedness; for he either corrupted Alexander’s acquaintance with money, or got into their fame by flatteries; by which two means he gained all his designs, and brought them to betray their master, and to steal away, and reveal what he sike did or said. Thus did he act a part very cunningly in all points, and wrought himself a passage by innumerable with the greatest shrewdness; but put on a face as if he were a kind brother to Alexander and Aristobulus, but suborned other men to inform of what they did to Herod. And when any thing was told against Alexander, he would come in and pretend [to be of his side], and would begin to contradict what was said; but would afterwards contrive matters so privately, that the king should have an indignation at him. His general sum was this:—To lay a plot, and to make it he believed that Alexander lay in wait to kill his father; for nothing afforded so great a confirmation of these calumnies as did Antipater’s apology for him.

2. By these methods Herod was inflamed, and, as much as his natural affection to the young did every day diminish, so much did it increase towards Antipater. The courtiers also inclined to the same conduct; some of their own accord, and others by the king’s injunction, as particularly Ptolemy, the king’s dearest friend, as also the king’s brethren, and all his children; for Antipater was all in all; and what was the bitterest part of all to Alexander, Antipater’s mother was also all in all; she was one that gave counsel against them, and was more harsh than a step-mother, and one that hated the queen’s sons more than is usual to her sons-in-law. All men did therefore already put their respects to Antipater, in hopes of advantage; and it was the king’s command which alienated every body [from the brethren], he having given the charge to his most intimate friends, that they should not come near, nor pay any regard, to Alexander, or to his friends. Herod also was more terrible, not only to his domestics about the court, but to his friends abroad, and those who had given such a privilege to no other king as he had given to him, which was this:—that he might fetch back any one that fled from him, even out of a city that was not under his own jurisdiction. Now the young men were not acquainted with the calumnies raised against them; for which reason they could not guard themselves against them, but fell under them; for their father did not make any public complaints against either of them; though in a little while they perceived how things were, by his coldness to them, and by the great uneasiness he showed upon any thing that concerned his son; and that he had both their uncle Pheroras to be their enemy, as well as their aunt Salome, while he was always talking with her as with a wife, and irrigating her against them. Moreover, Alexander’s wife, Glaphyra, alleged this hatred against them, by deriving her nobility and genealogy [from great persons], and pretending that she was a lady superior to all others in the kingdom, as being derived by her father’s side from Temenus, and by her mother’s side from Dorus, the son of Hystaspes. She also frequently reproached Herod’s sister and wives with the indolency of their descent; and that they were every one chosen by him for their beauty, but not for their family. Now those wives of his were not a few; it being of old permitted to the Jews to marry many
wives,—and this king delighting in many; all whom hated Alexander, on account of Giaaphrya's boasting and reproaches.

3. Nay, Aristobulus had raised a quarrel between himself and Salome, who was his mother-in-law, besides the anger she had conceived at Giaaphrya's reproaches; for he perpetually upbraided his wife with the meanness of her family, and complained that as he had married a woman of a low family, so had his brother Alexander married one of royal blood. At this Salome's daughter wept, and told it her with this addition, that Alexander threatened the mothers of his other brethren, that when he should come to the crown, he would make them weave with their maidens, and would make those brothers of his country schoolmasters; and brake this jest upon them, that they had been very carefully instructed, to fit them for such an employment. Hereupon Salome could not contain her anger, but told all to Herod; nor could her testimony be suspected, since it was against her own son-in-law.

There was also another calumny that ran abroad, and inflamed the king's mind; for he heard that these sons of his were perpetually speaking of their mother, and, among their lamentations for her, did not abstain from cursing him; and that when he made presents of any of Mariamme's garments to his later wives, these threatened, that in a little time, instead of royal garments, they would clothe them in no better than hair-cloth.

4. Now upon these accounts, though Herod was somewhat afraid of the young men's high spirit, yet did he not despair of reducing them to a better mind; but before he went to Rome, whither he was now going by sea, he called them to him, and partly threatened them a little, as a king; but for the main, he admonished them as a father, and exhorted them to love their brethren; and told them that he would pardon their former offences, if they would amend for the time to come. But they refuted the calumnies that had been raised of them, and said they were false, and alleged that their brothers were their ready accusers who said withal, that he himself ought to shut his ears against such tales, and not to be too easy in believing them, for that there would never be wanting those that would tell lies to their disadvantage, as long as any would give ear to them.

5. When they had thus soon pacified him, as being their father, they got clear of the present fear they were in. Yet did they see occasion for sorrow some time afterwards; for they knew that Salome, as well as their uncle Pheroras, were their enemies; who were both of them heavy and severe persons, and especially Pheroras was a great wary one, as he was so lately with Herod in all the affairs of the kingdom, excepting his diadem. He had also a hundred talents of his own revenue, and enjoyed the advantage of all the land beyond Jordan, which he had received as a gift from his brother, who had asked of Cesar to make him a tetrarch, as he was made accordingly. Herod had also given him a wife out of the royal family, who was no other than his own wife's sister;

6. and after her death, had solemnly espoused to him his own eldest daughter, with a dowry of three hundred talents; but Pheroras refused to consummate this royal marriage, out of his affection to a maid-servant of his. Upon which account Herod was very angry, and gave that daughter in marriage to a brother's son of his [Joseph], who was slain afterwards by the Parthians; but in some time he laid aside his anger against Pheroras, and pardoned him, as one not able to overcome his foolish passion for the maid-servant.

6. Nay, Pheroras had been accused long before, while the queen [Mariamme] was alive, as if he were in a plot to poison Herod; and there came so great a number of informers, that Herod himself, though he was an exceeding lover of his brethren, was brought to believe what was said, and to be afraid of it also; and when he had brought many of those that were under suspicion to the torture, he came at last to Pheroras's own friends; none of whom did openly confess the crime, but they owned that he had made preparation to take her whom he loved, and run away to the Parthians. Costobarus also, the husband of Salome, to whom the king had given her in marriage, after her former husband had been put to death for adultery, was instrumental in bringing about this contrivance and flight of his. Nor did Salome escape all calumny upon herself; for her brother Pheroras accused her, that she had made an agreement to marry Sylleus, the procurator of Oboas, king of Arabia, who was at that time in arms with Herod, but when she was convicted of this, and of all that Pheroras had accused her of, she obtained her pardon. The king also pardoned Pheroras himself the crimes he had been accused of.

7. But the storm of the whole family was removed to Alexander; and all of it rested upon his head. There were three eunuchs who were in the highest esteem with the king, as was plain by the offices they were in about him; for one of them was appointed to be his butler, another of them got his bed, and the third put him to bed, and lay down by him. Now Alexander had prevailed with these men, by large gifts, to let him use them after an obscene manner; which when it was told the king, they were tortured, and found guilty, and presently confessed the criminal conversation he had with them. They also discovered the promises by which they were induced so to do, and how they were deluded by Alexander, who had told them that they ought not to fix their hopes upon Herod, an old man, and one so shameless as to colour his hair, unless they thought that would make him young again, but that the old man was only precaution to him who was to be his successor in the kingdom, whether he would or not; and who in no long time would avenge himself on his enemies, and make his friends happy and blessed, and themselves in the first place; and the men of power did already pay respects to Alexander privately, and that the captains of the soldiery, and the officers, did secretly come to him.

8. These confessions did so terrify Herod that he durst not immediately publish them; but he sent spies abroad privately, by night and by day, who would make a report of all that was done and said; and when any were but suspected [of treason] he put them to death, insomuch that the palace was full of horribly unjust proceedings; for every body forged calumnies, as they were
themselves in a state of enmity or hatred against others; and many there were who abused the king’s bloody passion to the disadvantage of those with whom they had quarrels, and lies were easily believed, and punishments were inflicted sooner than the calumnies were forged. He who had just then been accusing another, was accused himself, and was led away to execution together with him whom he had convicted; for the danger the king was in of his life made examinations very short. He also proceeded to such a degree of bitterness, that he could not look on any one of those that were not accused with a pleasant countenance, but was in the most barbarous disposition towards his friends. Accordingly, he forbade a great many of them to come to the court, and to those whom he had not power to punish actually, he spoke harshly; but for Antipater, he insulted Alexander, now he was under his misfortunes, and got a stout company of his kindred together, and raised all sorts of calumny against him; and for the king, he was brought to such a degree of terror by those prodigious slanders and contrivances, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword in his hand. So he caused him to be seized upon immediately and bound, and fell to examining his friends by torture, many of whom died [under the torture], but would discover nothing, nor say any thing against their consciences; but some of them, being forced to speak falsely by the pain they endured, said that Alexander, and his brother Aristobulus, plotted against him, and waited for an opportunity to kill him as he was hunting, and then fly away to Rome. These accusations, though they were of an incredible nature, and only framed upon the great distress they were in, were readily believed by the king, who thought it some comfort to him, after he had bound his son, that it might appear he had not done it unjustly.

CHAPTER XXV.

ARCHELAUS PROCURES A RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ALEXANDER, PHERORAS, AND HEROD.

§ 1. Now as to Alexander, since he perceived it impossible to persuade his father [that he was innocent], he resolved to meet his calamities, how severe soever they were; so he composed four books against his enemies, and confessed that he had been in a plot; but declared whithal that the greatest part of the courtiers were in a plot with him, and chiefly Pheroras and Salome: nay, that Salome once came and forced him, with her in the night-time, whether he would or no. These books were put into Herod’s hands, and made an great clamour against the men of power. And now it was that Archelaus came hastily into Judæa, as being affrighted for his son-in-law and his daughter; and he came as a proper assistant, and in a very prudent manner, and by a stratagem he obliged the king not to execute what he had threatened; for when he was come to him, he cried out, “Where in the world is this wretched son-in-law of mine? Where shall I see the head of him who has contriv’d to murder his father, who has put together with my own hands! I will do the same also to my daughter, who hath such a fine husband; for although she be not a partner in the plot, yet,

by being the wife of such a creature, she is pitied. And I cannot but admire at thy patience against whom this plot is laid, if Alexander be alive; for as I came with what haste I could from Cappadocia, I expected to find him put to death for his crimes long ago; but still in order to make an examination with thee about my daughter, whom, out of regard to thee, and thy dignity, I proposed to him in marriage, but now we must have council about them both, and if thy paternal affection be so great, that thou canst not punish him, who hath plotted against thee, let us charge our right hands, and let us succeed one to the other, expressing our rage upon this occasion.”

2. When he had made this pompous declaration, he got Herod to remit of his anger, though he was in disorder, who thereupon gave him the books which Alexander had composed to be read by him, and as he came to every head, he considered of the same together with Herod. So Archelaus took the occasion for that stratagem which he had made use of, and by degrees he laid the blame on some men whose names were in these books, and especially upon Pheroras; and when he saw that the king believed him to be earnest, he said, “We must consider whether the young man be not himself plotted against by such a number of wretches, and not thou plotted against by the young men; for I cannot see any occasion for his coming into so horrid a crime, since he enjoys the advantages of royalty already, and has the expectation of being one of thy successors; I mean his, unless there were some persons that persuaded him to it, and such persons as make an ill use of the facility they have there is to persuade young men; for such persons, not only young men are sometimes imposed upon, but old men also; and by these sometimes are the most illustrious families and kingdoms overturned.”

3. Herod assented to what he had said, and by degrees, abated of his anger against Alexander, but was more angry at Pheroras, who persuaded that the king’s inclination changed on seeing, and that Archelaus’s friendship could do everything with him, and that he had no honourable means of preserving himself, he procured his safety by his impudence. So he left Alexander, and had recourse to Archelaus; who told him that he did not see how he could get him excused, now he was directly caught in so many crimes, whereby it was evidently demonstrated that he had plotted against the king, and had been the cause of those misfortunes which the young man was now under, he would moreover leave off his cunning treachery and his denials of what he was charged with, and he told him of his brother, who still had a kindness for him; but that if he would do so, he would afford him all the assistance he was able.

4. With this advice Pheroras complied, and, putting himself into such a habit as might move compassion, he came with black cloth upon his body and tears in his eyes, and threw himself down at Herod’s feet, and begged his pardon for what he had done, and confessed that he had acted very wickedly, and was guilty of every thing that he had been accused of, and lamented that disorder of mind and distraction which had so long lain in him, he said, had brought him to. So when Archelaus had brought Pheroras to accuse and bear witness against himself, he then made an excuse for him, and mitigated his
rod’s anger towards him, and this by using certain domestic examples; for that when he had suffered much greater mischiefs from a brother of his own, he preferred the obligations of nature before the passion of revenge; because it is in kingdoms as it is in gross bodies, where some member or other is ever swelled by the body’s weight; in which case it is not proper to cut off such member, but to heal it by a gentle method of cure.

5. Upon Archelaus’s saying this, and much more to the same purpose, Herod’s displeasure against Phereoras was mollified; yet did he persevere in his own indulgence against Alexander, and said he would not part with his daughter contenently to him from him, and this till he had brought Herod to that pass, that, contrary to his former behaviour to him, he petitioned Archelaus for the young man, and that he would let his daughter continue espoused to him: but Archelaus made him strongly believe that he would permit her to be married to any one else, but not to Alexander; because he looked upon it as a very valuable advantage, that the relation they had contracted by that affinity, and the privileges that went along with it, might be preserved; and when the king said that his son would take it for a great favour done to him if he would not dissolve the marriage, especially since they had already children between the young man and her, and since that wife of his was so well beloved by him, and that as while she remains his wife she would be a great preservative to him, and keep him from offending, as he had formerly done; so if she should be torn away from him, she would be the cause of his falling into despair; because such men’s attempts are best mollified when they are diverted from them by settling their affections at home. So Archelaus mollified what Herod desired, but not without difficulty, and was both himself reconciled to the young man and reconciled his father to him also. However, he said he must, by all means, be sent to Rome to discourse with Caesar, because he had already written a full account to him of this whole matter.

6. Thus a period was put to Archelaus’s stra- tagems, whereby he delivered his son-in-law out of the dangers he was in: but when these reconciliations were over, they spent their time in feasting and agreeable entertainments; and when Archelaus was going away, Herod made him a present of seventy talents, with a golden throne set with precious stones, and some emunctures, and a concubine who was called Pannychia. He also paid due honours to every one of his friends according to their dignity. In like manner did all the king’s kindred, by his command, make glorious presents to Archelaus; and so he was conducted on his way by Herod and his nobility as far as Antioch.

CHAPTER XXVI.
HOW EURYCLUS CALUMNIATED THE SONS OF MARIANNE; AND HOW EUARATUS’S APOLOGY HAD NO EFFECT.

§ 1. Now a little afterward there came into Judæa a man that was much superior to Archelaus’s stra-

gagems, who did not only overturn that reconcilia-
tion that had been so wisely made with Alexander, but proved the occasion of his ruin. He was a Lacedemonian, and his name was Eurycles. He was so corrupt a man, that out of the desire of getting money, he chose to live under a king, for Greece could not suffice his luxury. He presented Herod with splendid gifts as a bait which he laid, in order to compass his ends, and quickly received them back again manifold; yet did he esteem bare gifts as nothing, unless he imbrued the kingdom in blood by his purchases. Accordingly he imposed upon the king by flattering him, and by talking suitably to him, the king being so fond of being sung encomiums which he made upon him: for as he perceived Herod’s blind side, so he said and did every thing that might please him, and thereby became one of his most intimate friends; for both the king and all that were about him, had a great regard for this Spartan, on account of his country.

2. Now as soon as this fellow perceived the rotten parts of the family, and what quarrels the brothers had one with another, and in what disposition the father was towards each of them, he chose to take lodgings in the house of Antipater, but deluded Alexander with a pretence of friendship to him, and falsely claimed to be an old acquaintance of Archelaus; for which reason he was presently admitted into Alexander’s familiarity as a faithful friend. He also soon recommended himself to his brother Aristobulus; and when he had thus made trial of these several persons, he imposed upon one of them by one method, and upon another by another; but he was principally hired by Antipater, and so betrayed Alexander, and this by reproaching Antipater, because, while he was the eldest son, he overlookcd the intrigues of those who stood in the way of his expectations; and by reproaching Alexander, because he who was born of a queen and was married to a king’s daughter, permitted one that was born of a mean woman to lay claim to the succession, and this when he had Archelaus to support him in the most complete manner. Nor was his advice thought to be other than faithful by the young man, because of his pretended friendship with Archelaus: on which account it was, that Alexander lamented to him Antipater’s behaviour with regard to himself, and how he was unkind and ungrateful to him; and how it was no wonder if Herod, after he had killed their mother, should deprive them of her kingdom. Upon this Eurycles pretended to commiserate his condition, and to grieve with him. He also, by a bait that he laid for him, procured Aristobulus to say the same things. Thus did he inveigh both the brothers to make complaints of their father, and then went to Antipater, and carried these grand secrets to him. He also added a fiction of his own, as if his brothers had laid a plot against him, and were almost ready to come upon him with their drawn swords. For this intelligence he received a great sum of money, and on that account he commended Antipater before his father, and at length undertook the work of bringing Alexander and Aristobulus to their graves, and accused them before their father. So he came
to Herod and told him that he would save his life, as a requital for the favours he had received from him, and would preserve his sight [of life] by way of retribution for his kind entertainment; for that a sword had been long whetted, and Alexander's right hand had been stretched out against him; but that he had laid impediments in his way, prevented his speed, and that by pretending to assist him in his design: how Alexander said, that Herod was not contented to reign in a kingdom that belonged to others, and to make dilapidations in their mother's government after he had killed her; but besides all this, that he introduced a spurious successor, and proposed to give the kingdom of their ancestors to that pestilent fellow Antipater:—that he would now appease the ghosts of Hyrcanus and Mariamne, by taking vengeance on him; for that it was not fit for him to take the succession to the government from such a father without bloodshed; that many things happen every day to provoke him so to do, insomuch that he can say nothing at all, but it affords occasion for calumny against him; for that, if any mention be made of nobility or birth, even in other cases, he is abused unjustly, while his father would say that nobody, to be sure, is of noble birth but Alexander, and that his father was inglorious for want of such nobility. If they be at any time hunting, and he says nothing, it gives offence; and if he commends any body, they take it in way of jest: that they always find their father unmercifully severe, and have no natural affection for any of them but for Antipater; on which accounts, if this plot does not take he is very willing to die; but that in case he kill his father he hath sufficient opportunity for saving himself. In the first place he hath Archelaus his father-in-law, to whom he can easily fly; and in the next place, he hath Cæsar, who had never known Herod's character to this day; for that he shall not appear then before him with that dread he used to do when his father was there to terrify him; and that he will not then produce the accusations that concerned him alone, but would, in the first place, openly insist on the calamities of their nation, and how they are taxed to death, and in what ways of luxury and wicked practices that wealth is spent which was gotten by bloodshed; what sort of persons they are that get our riches, and to whom those cities belong, upon whom he bestows his favours; that he would have inquiry made what became of his grandfather [Hyrcanus], and his mother [Mariamne], and would openly proclaim the gross wickedness that was in the kingdom, on which accounts he should not be deemed a paricide.

3. When Euryycles had made this portentous speech, he greatly commended Antipater, as the only child that had an affection for his father, and on that account was an impediment to the other's plot against him. Hereupon the king, who had hardly repressed his anger upon the former accusations, was exasperated to an incurable degree. At which Antipater took another occasion to send in other persons to his father to accuse his brethren, and to tell him that they had privately discovered with Juconidas and Tyrannus, who had once been masters of the horse to the king, but for some offences had been put out of that honourable employment. Herod was in a very great rage at these informations, and presently ordered those men to be tortured: yet did not they confess any thing of what the king had been informed; but a certain letter was produced, as written by Alexander to the governor of a castle, to desire him to receive him and Aristobulus into the castle when he had killed his father, and to give them weapons, and what other assistance he could, upon that occasion. Alexander said that this letter was a forgery of Dionysus. This Dionysus was the king's secretary, a bold man, cunning in counterfeiting any one's hand; and after he had counterfeited a great number, he was at last put to death for it. Herod did also order the governor of the castle to be tortured; but got nothing out of him of what the accusations suggested.

4. However, although Herod found the proofs too weak, he gave order to have his sons kept in custody; till now they had been at liberty. He also called that pest of his family, and forger of all this vile accusation, Euryycles, his saviour and benefactor, and gave him a reward of fifty talents. Upon which he prevented any accurate accounts that could come of what he had done, by going immediately into Cappadocia, and there he got money of Archelaus, having the impudence to pretend that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. He thence passed over into Greece, and used what he had thus wickedly gotten to the like wicked purposes. Accordingly, he was twice accused before Cæsar, that he had filled Aelia with sedition, and had plundered its cities; so he was sent into banishment. And thus was he punished for what wicked actions he had been guilty of about Aristobulus and Alexander.

5. But it will be now worth while to put Eumathus of Cos in opposition to this Spartan; for as he was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and came to him in his travels at the same time that Euryycles came; so the king put the question to him, whether those things of which Alexander was accused were true! He assured him upon oath that he had never heard any such things from the young men; yet did this testimony avail nothing for the acquitting them of mischievous actions; for Herod was only disposed the most readily to hearken to what was made against them, and every one was most agreeable to him that would believe they were guilty, and showed their indignation at them.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HEROD, BY CÆSAR'S DIRECTION, ACCUSES HIS SONS AT HERVUS. THEY ARE NOT PRODUCED BEFORE THE COURT, BUT YET ARE CONDEMNED; AND IN A LITTLE TIME ARE SENT TO BEARBIS, AND STRANGLD THERE.

§ 1. Moreover, Salome exasperated Herod's cruelty against his sons; for Aristobulus was desirous to bring her, who was his mother-in-law and his aunt, into the like dangers with themselves; so he sent her to take care of her own safety, and told her that the king was preparing to put her to death, on account of the accusation that was laid against her, as if when she formerly endeavoured to marry herself to Syllus the Arabian, she had discovered the king's grand secrets to him, who was the king's enemy; and thus it was that came as the last storm, and entirely sunk the young men who were in great danger before; for Salome came running to the king, and informed him of what admonition had been given her; whereas
he could bear no longer, but commanded both the young men to be bound, and kept the one asunder from the other. He also sent Volumnius, the general of his army, to Caesar immediately, as also his friend Olympus with him, who carried the informations in writing along with them. Now, as soon as they had sailed to Rome and delivered the king's letters to Caesar, Caesar was mighty troubled at the case of the young men; yet did not he think he ought to take the power from the father of condemning his son; so he wrote back to him, and appointed him to have the power over his sons; but said withal, that he would do well to make an examination into this matter of the plot against him in a public court, and to take for his assessors his own kinsmen, and the governors of the province; and if those sons be found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appear to have thought of no more than only flying away from him, that he should, in that case, moderate their punishment.

2. With these directions Herod complied, and came to Berytus, where Caesar had ordered the court to be assembled, and got the judicature together. The presidents sat first, as Caesar's letters had appointed, who were Saturninus and Pedaninus, and their lieutenants that were with them, with whom was the procurator Volumnius also; next to them sat the king's kinsmen and friends, with Salome also, and Pheroras; after whom sat the principal men of all Syria, excepting Archelaus; for Herod had a suspicion of him, because he was Alexander's father-in-law. Yet did not he produce his sons in open court; and this was done very cunningly, for he knew well enough that, had they but appeared only, they would certainly have been pitied; and if withal they had been suffered to speak, Alexander would easily have answered what they were accused of; but they were in custody at Platane, a village of the Sidonians.

3. So the king got up, and inveighed against his sons as if they were present; and as for that part of the accusation that they had plotted against him, he urged it but faintly, because he was destitute of proofs; but took it entirely against those who were on the reproaches, and jests, and injurious carriage, and ten thousand the like offences against them, which were heavier than death itself; and when nobody contradicted him, he moved them to pity his case, as though he had been condemned himself, now he had gained a bitter victory over his sons. So he asked every one's sentence; which sentence was first of all given by Saturninus, and was this:—That he condemn the young men, but not to death; for that it was not fit for him, who had three sons of his own present presence, to give his vote for the destruction of the sons of another. The two lieutenants also gave the like vote; some others there were also who followed their example; but Volumnius began to vote on the more melancholy side, and all those that came after him condemned the young men to die; some out of flatery, and some out of hatred to Herod; but none out of indignation at their crimes. And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy; yet did nobody suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to have them all executed; and therefore carried them away to Tyre, and thence sailed to Cesarea, and then he deliberated with himself what sort of death the young men should suffer.

4. Now there was a certain old soldier of the king's, whose name was Tero, who had a son that was very familiar with, and a friend to Alexander, and who himself particularly loved the young men. This soldier was a measure distracted, out of the excess of the indignation he had at what was doing; and at first he cried out aloud, as he went about, that justice was trampled under foot; that truth was perished, and nature confounded; and that the life of man was full of iniquity, and every thing else that passion could suggest to a man who spared not his own life; and at last he ventured to go to the king, and said, "Truly, I think, thou art a most miserable man, when thou hearest to most wicked wretches, against those that ought to be dearest to thee; since thou hast frequently resolved that Pheroras and Salome should be put to death, and yet believest them against thy sons; while these, by cutting off the succession of thine own sons, leave all wholly to Antipater, and there- by choose to have thee such a king as may be thought un <<-properly in thy own power. However, consider whether this death of Antipater's brethren will not make him hated by the soldiers; for there is nobody but commissarises the young men; and of the captains, a great many show their indignation at it openly." Upon his saying this, he named those that had such indignation; but the king order- ed those men, with Tero himself, and his son, to be seized upon immediately.

5. At which time there was a certain barber, whose name was Trypho. This man leaped out from among the people in a kind of madness, and accused himself, and said, "this Tero endeavoured to persuade me also to cut thy throat with my razor when I trimmed thee; and promised that Alexander should give me large presents for so doing." When Herod heard this, he examined Tero, with his son and the barber, by the torture; but as the others denied the accusation, and he said nothing farther, Herod gave order that Tero should be racked more severely: but his son, out of pity to his father, promised to discover the whole to the king, if he would grant that his father should be no longer tortured. When he had agreed to this, he said, that his father, at the persuasion of Alex- ander, had an intention to kill him. Now some said this was forged, in order to free his father from his torments; and some said it was true.

6. And now Herod accused the captains and Tero in an assembly of the people, and brought the people together in a body against them; and accordingly there were they put to death, together with [Trypho] the barber; they were killed by the pieces of wood and the stones that were thrown at them. He also sent his sons to Sebaste, a city not far from Cesarea, and ordered them to be there strangled; and as what he had ordered was exe- cuted immediately, so he commanded that their dead bodies should be brought to the fortress Alex- andrium, to be buried with Alexander their grand- father by the mother's side. And this was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.
CHAPTER XXVIII.

NOW ANTIPATER IS HATED OF ALL MEN; AND HOW THE KING ESPONES THE SONS OF THOSE THAT HAD BEEN SLAIN TO HIS KINDRED; BUT THAT ANTIPATER MADE HIMSELF CHARGEFUL FOR OTHER WOMEN, OF HEROD'S MARRIAGES AND CHILDREN.

§ 1. But an intolerable hatred fell upon Antipater from the nation, though he had now an indisputable title to the succession; because they all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calamities against his brethren. However, he began to be in a terrible fear, as he saw the posterity of those that had been slain growing up; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra, Tigranes and Alexander; and Aristobulus had Herod, and Agrippa, and Aristobulus, his sons, with Herodias and Marianna, his daughters; and all by Bernice, Salome's daughter. As for Glaphyra, Herod, as soon as he had killed Alexander, sent her back, together with her portion, to Capadocia. He married Bernice, Aristobulus' daughter, to Antipater's uncle by his mother, and it was Antipater who, in order to reconcile her to him, when she had been at variance with him, contrived this match; he also got into Herod's favour, and into the favour of Cæsar's friends, by presents, and other ways of obsequiousness, and sent so small sums of money to Rome; Saturninus also, and his friends in Syria, were all well replenished with the presents he made them; yet, the more he gave the more he was hated, as not making these presents out of generosity, but spending his money out of fear. Accordingly so fell out that the receivers bore him no more good-will than before, but that those to whom he gave nothing were his most bitter enemies. However, he bestowed his money every day more and more profusely, on observing that, contrary to his expectations, the king was taking care about the orphans, and discovering at the same time his repentance for killing their fathers, by his commiseration of those that sprang from them.

2. Accordingly, Herod got together his kindred and friends, and set before them the children, and with his eyes full of tears, said thus to them: "It was an unlucky fate that took away from me these children's fathers, which children are recommended to me by that natural commiseration which their orphan condition requires; however, I will endeavour, though I have been a most unfortuniate father, to appear a better grandfather, and to leave these children such curators after myself as are dearest to me. I therefore bestrath thy daughter, Pheroiras, to the elder of these brethren, the children of Alexander, that thou mayest be obliged to take care of them. I also bestrath thy son, Antipater, the daughter of Aristobulus; be thou therefore a father to that orphan; and my son Herod [Philip] shall have her sister, whose grandfather, by the mother's side, was high-priest. And let every one that loves me be of my sentiments in these dispositions, whereas none that hath an affection for me will abrogate. And I pray God that he will join these children together in marriage to the advantage of my kingdom, and of my posterity; and may he look down with eyes more serene upon them than he looked upon their fathers!"

3. While he spake these words, he wept, and joined the children's right hands together; after which he embraced them every one after an affectionate manner, and dismissed the assembly. Up this Antipater was in great disorder immediately; and lamented publicly as what was done; for he supposed that this dignity, which was conferred on these orphans, was for his own destruction, and his father's life-time, and that he should run another risk of losing the government if Alexander's sons should have both Archelaus [a king], and Pheroras a tetrarch, to support them. He also considered how he was himself hated by the same, and how they pitied these orphans: how great a fection the Jews bare to those brethren of whose they were alive, and how gladly they remembered them, now they had perished by his means. So he resolved by all the ways possible to get them espousals dissolved.

4. Now he was afraid of going suddenly about this matter with his father, who was hard to be pleased, and was presently moved upon the least suspicion: so he ventured to go to him directly, and to beg of him before his face, not to deprive him of that dignity which he had been pleased to bestow upon him; and that he might not have the bare name of a king, while the power was in one person; for that he should never be able to keep the government, if Alexander's sons were to possess both his grandfather Archelaus and his father by his curatals of them; he was assured, that there were so many of the royal family alive, that he would change those [intended] marriages. The king had nine wives,* and children by seven of them; Antipater was himself born of Doris, and Herod [Philip] of Marianna, the high-priest's daughter; Antipas also and Archelaus were by Malthace, the Samaritan, as was his brother Olympias, which his brother Joseph's son married. By Cleopatra of Jerusalem he had Had and Philip; and by Pallas, Phasaelus; he had also two daughters, Roxana and Salome, the daughter of Phedra, and the other by Elpis; he had also two wives who had no children, the one his first cousin, and the other his niece; and besides these he had two daughters, the sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus, by Marianna. Since, therefore, the royal family was so numerous, Antipater prayed his father to change these intended marriages.

5. When the king perceived what disposition he was in towards the orphans, he was angry at his suspicion, and formed a suspicion into his mind as to whom he had put to death, whether that had been brought about by the false tales of Antipater, so at that time he made Antipater a long and peremptory answer, and bade him begone. Yet was he afterwards prevailed upon cunningly by his father, and changed the marriages; he married Aristobulus' daughter to him, and his son to Phereor's daughter.

6. Now one may learn, in this instance, how very much this flattering Antipater could do—even what Salome in the like circumstances could not do; for when she, who was his sister, by the means of Julia, Cæsar's wife, earnestly desired it would not.*

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*A new Alrich takes notice here, that these nine wives of Herod were alive at the same time, and that if the celebrated Marianna was ever dead, he was indubitable, those wives were in all ways, because her children had more than fifteen children by them all. 1: To prove this, it may be observed, that three and four traditions appear to differ in the names of Marianna. 2. Joseph, Herod's son, in his history, draws at different places, on some account. 3. Joseph, Herod's brother, in his battle against Antigonus. 4. Joseph, Herod's nephew, the son of Olympias, mentioned in this place.
CHAPTER XXIX.

ANTIPATER BECOMES INTOLERABLE. HE IS SENT TO ROME, AND CARRIES HEROD'S TESTAMENT WITH HIM. PHERORAS LEAVES HIS BROTHER, THAT HE MAY KEEP HIS WIFE. HE DIES AT HOME.

§ 1. Now when Antipater had cut off all the hopes of the orphans, and had contracted such affinities as would be to his own advantage, he proceeded briskly, as having a certain expectation of the kingdom; and as he had now assurances added to his wickedness, he became intolerable; for not being able to avoid the hatred of all people, he built his security upon the terror he struck into them. Pheroras also assisted him in his designs, looking upon him as already fixed in the kingdom. There was also a company of women in the court, who excited new disturbances; for Pheroras's wife, together with her mother and sister, as also Antipater's mother, grew very impudent in the palace. She also was so insolent as to affront the king's two daughters, on which account the king hated her to a great degree; yet although these women were hated by him, they domineered over others: there was only Salome who opposed their good agreement, and informed the king of their meetings, as not being for the advantage of his affairs; and when those women knew what calamities she had raised against them, and how much Herod was displeased, they left off their public meetings and friendly entertainments of one another; nay, on the contrary, they pretended to quarrel one with another, when the king was within hearing. The like dissimula
dion did Antipater make use of; and when matters were public, he opposed Pheroras: but still they had private cabals, and merry meetings in the night-time; nor did the observation of others do any more than confirm their mutual agreement. How
ever, Salome knew every thing they did, and told every thing to Herod.

2. But he was inflamed with anger at them, and chiefly at Pheroras's wife; for Salome had principally accused her. So he got into a passion of his friends and kindred together, and there accused this woman of many things, and particularly of the afront she had offered his daughters; and that she had supplied the Pharisees with money, by way of rewards for what they had done against him, and had procured his brother to become his enemy, by giving him love-potions. At length he turned his speech to Pheroras, and told him that he would give his choice of these two things:—Whether he would keep in with his brother, or with his wife? And when Pheroras said that he certainly would

die rather than forsake his wife,—Herod, not knowing what to do farther in this matter, turned his speech to Antipater, and charged him to have no intercourse either with Pheroras's wife, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her. Now, though Antipater did not transgress that his injunction publicly, yet did he in secret come to their night-meetings: and because he was afraid that Salome observed what he did, he procured, by the means of his Italian friends, that he might go and live at Rome; for when they wrote that it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Caesar for some time, Herod made no delay, but sent him, and that with a splendid attendance, and a great deal of money, and gave him his testament to carry with him,—wherein Antipater had the kingdom bequeathed to him, and wherein Herod was named for Antipater's successor; that Herod, I mean, who was the son of Mariamne, the high-priest's daughter.

3. Sylene also, the Arabian, sailed to Rome, without any regard to Caesar's injunctions, and this in order to oppose Antipater with all his might, as to that law-suit which Nicodemus had settled with him before. This Sylene had also a great content with Herod, and was the king's own son; for he had slain many others of Aretas's friends, and particularly Sohemus, the most potent man in the city Petra. Moreover he had prevailed with Phabantus, who was Herod's steward, by giving him a great sum of money, to assist him against Herod; but when Herod gave him more, he induced him to leave Sylene, and by his means he demanded of him all that Caesar had required of him to pay; but when Sylene paid nothing of what he had to do, and did also accuse Phabantus to Caesar, and said that he was an enemy to Caesar's advantage, but for Herod's, Phabantus was angry at him on that account, but was still in very great esteem with Herod, and discovered Sylene's grand secrets, and told the king that Sylene had corrupted Corinthus, one of the guards of his body, by bribing him, and of whom he must therefore have a care. Accordingly the king com
piled; for this Corinthus, though he was brought up in Herod's kingdom, yet was by birth an Arabian; and since the king ordered him to be taken up immediately, and not only him, but two other Arashis, who were caught with him; the one of them was Sylene's friend, the other the head of a tribe. These last, being put to the torture, confessed that they had prevailed with Corinthus, for a large sum of money to kill Herod; and when they had been farther examined before Saturninus, the president of Syria, they were sent to Rome.

4. However, Herod did not leave off importuning Pheroras, but proceeded to force him to put away his wife; yet could he not devise any way by which he could bring the woman herself to punishment, although he had many causes of hatred to her; till at length he was in such great uneasiness at her, that he cast both her and his brother out of his kingdom. Pheroras took this injury very much, and went away into his own territory [Perea, be-
CHAPTER XXX.

WHEN HEROD MADE INQUIRY ABOUT PHERORAS'S DEATH, A DISCOVERY WAS MADE THAT ANTIPATER HAD PREPARED A POISONOUS DRUG FOR HIM. HEROD CASTS DORIS AND HER ACCOMPLICES, AS ALSO MARIAMNE, OUT OF THE PALACE AND SLOTS HER SON HEROD OUT OF HIS TESTAMENT.

§ 1. But now the punishment was transferred unto the original author, Antipater, and took its rise from the death of Phæronas; for certain of his freed-men came with a sad countenance to the king, and told him that his brother had been destroyed by poison, and that his wife had brought him somewhat that was prepared after an unusual manner, and that upon his eating it, he presently fell into his dis-temper; that Antipater's mother and sister, two days before, brought a woman out of Arabia that was skilful in mixing such drugs, that she might prepare a love potion for Phæronas; and that instead of a love potion, she had given him deadly poison; and that this was done by the management of Syphillus, who was acquainted with that woman.

2. The king was deeply affected with so many suspicions, and had the maid-servants and some of the free women also tortured; one of whom cried out in her agonies, "May that God that governs the earth and the heaven, punish the author of all these our miseries, Antipater's mother!" The king took a handle from this confession, and proceeded to inquire farther into the truth of this matter. So this woman discovered the friendship of Antipater's mother to Phæronas and Antipater's women, as also their secret meetings, and that Phæronas and Antipater drank with them for a whole night together as they returned from the king, and would not suffer any body, either man-servant or maid-servant, to be there; while one of the free women discovered the whole of the matter.

3. Upon this, Herod tortured the maid-servants, every one by themselves separately; who all unanimously agreed in the foregoing discoveries, and that accordingly by agreement they went away, Antipater to Rome, and Phæronas to Perea; for that they oftentimes talked to one another thus:

That after Herod had slain Alexander and Aristobulus, he would fall upon them, and upon his wives, because, after he had not spared his sons and his children, he would spare nobody; and that for this reason it was best to get as far as the wild beasts as they were able:— and that Antipater oftentimes lamented his own case before his mother; and said to her, that he had already plucked hairs upon his head, and that his father gave younger again every day, and that perhaps would overtake him before he should begin in a king in earnest; and that in case Herod died, which yet nobody knew when it would be, the enjoyment of the succession could never be long for a little time; so for a long time his case was to him grievous. The sons of Alexander and Aristobulus were going up: that he was deprived by his father of the hope of being succeeded by his children, for the his successor after his death was not to be any of his own sons, but Herod the son of Maramia:— that in this point Herod was plainly disinclined to think that his testament should throw his place; for he would take care that none of his posterity should remain, because he was, of all his children, the greatest hater of his children.

4. These things were said by the women to the torture: as also that Phæronas resolved to go with them to Perea. Now Herod gave credit to all they said, on account of the affair of the hundred talents; for he had had no discourse with any body about them, but only with Antipater. So he went to his anger first of all against Antipater's mother, and took away from her all the ornaments that he had given her, which cost a great many talents, and cast her out of the palace a second time. He also took care of Phæronas's women after their tortures, and being now reconciled to them; but he was in great consternation himself, and inflamed upon every suspicion, and had many innocent persons led to the torture, out of his fear, lest he should perhaps leave any guilty person untortured.

5. And now it was that he betook himself to examine Antipater of Samaria, who was the steward of [his son] Antipater; and upon torturing him, he learnt that Antipater had sent for a potion of deadly poison for him out of Egypt, by Antipater, a companion of his; that Theodos, the uncle of Antipater, had it from him, and delivered it to Phæronas; for that Antipater had charged him to take his father off while he was at Rome, and free him from the suspicion of doing it himself; that Phæronas also committed this potion to his wife. Then did the king send for her, and told her bring to him what she had received immediately. So she came out of her house as if she would bring it with her, but threw herself down from the top of the house, in order to prevent her examination and torture from the king. However, it came to pass, as it seems by the provisions of
God, when he intended to bring Antipater to punish-
ment, that she fell not upon her head but upon
other parts of her body, and escaped. The king,
when she was brought to him, took care of her (for
she was at first quite senseless upon her fall), and
asked her why she had thrown herself down; and
gave her his oath, that if she would speak the real
truth, he would excuse her from punishment; but
that if she concealed any thing, he would have her
body torn to pieces by torments, and leave no part
of it to be buried.

6. Upon this the woman paused a little, and then
said, "why do I spare to speak of these grand se-
crets, now Pheroras is dead! that would only tend
to save Antipater, who is all our destruction. I hear,
then, O king, and be thou, and God himself, who
cannot be deceived, witnesses to the truth of
what I am going to say. When thou didst sit weeping
by Pheroras as he was dying, then it was
that he called me to him, and said,—" My dear
wife, I have been greatly mistaken as to the dispo-
sition of my brother towards me, and have hated
him that is so affectionate to me, and have con-
trolled to kill him who is in such disorder for me
been given up. As for myself, I receive the
recompense of my impious; but do thou bring
what poison was left with us by Antipater, and
which thou keepest, in order to destroy him, and
consume it immediately in the fire in my sight,
that I may not be liable to the avenger in the
invisible world." This I brought as he bade me, and
emptied the greatest part of it into the fire, but re-
served a little of it for my own use against uncer-
tain futurity, and out of my fear of thee."

7. When she had said this, she brought the box,
which had a small quantity of this potion in it: but
the king let her alone, and transferred the tortures
to Antiphat's mother and brother; who both con-
fessed that Antiphatus brought the box out of
Egypt, and that they had received the potion from a
brother of his, who was a physician at Alexan-
dria. Then did the ghosts of Alexander and Ari-
stobulus go round all the palace, and became the
inquirers and discoverers of what could not other-
wise have been found out, and brought such as
were the freest from suspicion to be examined;
whereby it was discovered that Mariamne, the
high-prince's daughter, was conscious of this plot;
and her very brothers, when they were tortured,
declared it so to be. Whereupon the king avenged
this insolent attempt of the mother upon the son,
and blotted Herod, whom he had by her, out of
his testament, who had been before named therein
as successor to Antipater.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ANTIPATER IS CONVICTED BY BATHYLLUS; BUT HE
STILL RETURNS FROM ROME, WITHOUT KNOWING
IT. HEROD BRINGS HIM TO HIS TRIAL.

§ 1. After these things were over, Bathyllus came
under examination, in order to convict Antipater,
who proved the concluding attestation to Antipa-
ter's designs; for indeed he was no other than his
free-man. This man came, and brought another
deadly poison, the poison of asps and the juices of
other serpents, that if the first potion did not do
the business, Pheroras and his wife might be armed
with this also to destroy the king. He brought
also an addition to Antipater's insolent attempts
against his father, which was the letters which he
wrote against his brethren, Archelaus and Philip,
who were the king's sons, and educated at Rome,
being yet youths, but of generous dispositions.
Antipater set himself to get rid of these as soon as
he could, that they might not be prejudicial to
his hopes; and to that end he forged letters against
them, in the name of his friends at Rome. Some
of these he corrupted by bribes, to write how they
grossly reproached their father, and did openly
beware Alexander and Aristobulus, and were uneasy
at their being received; for their father had already
sent for them, which was the very thing that trou-
bled Antipater.

2. Nay indeed, while Antipater was in Iudaeas,
and before he was upon his journey to Rome, he
gave money to have the like letters against them
sent from Rome, and then came to his father, who
yet had no suspicion of him, apologised for his
brethren, and alleged on their behalf, that some of
the things contained in those letters were false, and
others of them were only youthful errors. Yet at
the same time that he expended a great deal of his
money, by making present to such as wrote the
letters to his brethren, did he aim to bring his accounts into
confusion, by buying costly garments, and carpets of
various contexts, with silver and gold cups, and
a great many more curious things, that so,
among the very great expenses laid out upon such
furniture, he might conceal the money he had used
in hiring men [to write the letters]; for he brought in
an account of his expenses, amounting to two
hundred talents, his main pretence for which was
that he was the victim of some misfortunes in Iudaeas,
while all his roggeries, even those of a lesser sort,
were covered by his great villany, while all the ex-
aminations by torture proclaimed his attempt to
murder his father, and the letters proclaimed his
second attempt to murder his brethren,—yet did no
one of those that came to Rome inform him of his
misfortunes in Iudaeas, although seven months had
intervened between his conviction and his return,—
so great was the hatred which they all bore to him.
And perhaps they were the ghosts of those brethren
of his that had been murdered, that stopped the
mouths of those that intended to have told him.
He then wrote from Rome, and informed his
friends] that he would soon come to them, and
how he was dismissed with honour by Caesar.

3. Now the king being desirous to get this plot-
er against him into his hands, and being also afraid
lest he should some way come to the knowledge how
his affairs stood, and be upon his guard, he dissem-
bled his anger in his epiteto him, as in other
points he wrote kindly to him, and desired him to
make haste, because, if he came quickly, he would
then lay aside the complaints he had against his
mother; for Antipater was not ignorant that his
mother had been expelled out of the palace. How-
ever he had before received a letter, which con-
tained an account of the death of Pheroras, at Ta-
rentum,—and made great lamentations at it; for
which some commended him, as being for his own
uncle; though probably this confusion arose on
account of his having thereby failed in his plot [on
his father's life]; and his tears were more for the
loss of him that was to have been subeervent
therein, than for [an uncle] Pheroras: moreover, a sort of fear came upon him as to his designs, lest the poison should have been discovered. However, when he was in Cilicia he received the forementioned epistle from his father, and made great haste accordingly. But when he had sailed to Calederis, a suspicion came into his mind relating to his mother’s misfortunes; as if his soul forebode some mischief to itself. Those therefore of his friends who were the most considerate, advised him not rashly to go to his father, till he had learned what were the occasions why his mother had been ejected, because they were afraid that he might be involved in the calamities that had been cast upon his mother; but those that were less considerate, and had more regard to the present danger than to Antipater’s safety, persuaded him to make haste home, and not, by delaying his journey, afford his father ground for an ill suspicion, and give a handle to those that raised stories against him; for that in case any thing had been moved to his disadvantage, it was owing to his absence, which durst not have been done had he been present: and they said it was absurd to deprive himself of certain happiness, for the sake of an uncertain suspicion, and not rather to return to his father with the royal authority upon him, which was in a state of fluctuation on his account only. Antipater complied with this last advice; for Providence hurried him on [to his destruction]. So he passed over the sea, and landed at Sebastus, the haven of Cesarea.

4. And here he found a perfect and unexpected solitude, while every body avoided him, and nobody durst come at him; for he was equally hated by all men; and now that hatred had liberty to show itself, and the dread men were in of the king’s anger made men keep from him; for the whole city [of Jerusalem] was filled with the rumours about Antipater, and Antipater himself was the only person who was ignorant of them; for as no man was dismissed more magnificently when he began his voyage to Rome, so was no man now received back with greater ignominy. And indeed he began already to suspect what misfortunes there were in Herod’s family; yet did he cunningly conceal his suspicion; and while he was inwardly ready to die for fear, he put on a forced boldness of countenance. Nor could he now fly any whither, nor had he any way of escaping out of the dangers of which encompassed him; nor indeed had he there any certain intelligence of the affairs of the royal family, by reason of the threats the king had given out; yet had he some small hopes of better tiding, for perhaps nothing had been discovered; or, if any discovery had been made, perhaps he should be able to clear himself by impudence and artful tricks, which were the only things he relied upon for his deliverance.

5. And with these hopes did he screen himself, till he came to the palace, without any friends with him; for these were affrighted, and shut out at the first gate. Now Varus, the president of Syria, happened to be in the palace [at this juncture]; so Antipater went in to his father, and, putting on a bold face, he came near to salute him. But Herod stretched out his hands, and turned his head away from him, and cried out, “Even this is an indication of a paricide, to be desirous to get me into his arms, when he is under such heinous accusations. Get confound thee, thou vile wretch; do not thou touch me till thou hast cleared thyself of these crimes that are charged upon thee. I appoint thee a court where thou art to be judged: and this Varus, who is very seasonably here, to be thy judge; and let thou thy defence ready against to-morrow, for I will give thee so much time to prepare suitable excuse for thyself.” And as Antipater was so confounded that he was able to make no answer to this charge, he went away; but his mother and wife came to him, and told him all the evidence they had gotten against him. Hereupon he recollected himself, and considered what defence he should make against the accusations.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ANTIPATER IS ACCUSED BEFORE VARUS, AND IS CONVICTED OF LYEING A PLOT [AGAINST HIS FATHER] BY THE STRONGEST EVIDENCE. HEROD PUTS OFF HIS PUNISHMENT TILL HE SHOULD BE RECOVERED, AND IN THE MEANTIME ALTERS HIS TESTAMENT.

§ 1. Now the day following, the king assembled a court of his kinsmen and friends, and called in Antipater’s friends also. Herod himself, with Varus, were the presidents; and Herod called for all the witnesses, and ordered them to be brought in; among whom some of the domestic servants of Antipater’s mother were brought in also, who had but a little while before been cast out, as they were carrying the following letter from her to her son:—“Since all those things have been already discovered to thy father, do not thou come to him, unless thou canst procure some assistance from Caesar.” When this and the other witnesses were introduced, Antipater came in, and falling on his face before his father’s feet, he said, “Father, I beseech thee, do not thou condemn me beforehand, but let thy ears be unbiased, and attend to my defence; for if thou wilt give me leave, I will demonstrate that I am innocent.”

2. Hereupon Herod cried out to him to hold his peace, and spake thus to Varus:—“I cannot but think that thou, Varus, and every other upright judge, will determine that Antipater is a vile wretch. I am also afraid that thou wilt abhor my ill fortune, and judge me also myself worthy of all sorts of calamity for begeting such children; while yet I ought rather to be pitied, who have been so affectionate a father to such wretched sons; for when I had settle the kingdom on my former sons, even when they were young, and when, besides the charges of their education at Rome, I had made them the friends of Caesar, and made them envied by other kings, I found them plotting against me. These have been put to death, and that, in a great measure, for the sake of Antipater; for as he was then young, and appointed to be my successor, I took care chiefly to secure him from danger: but this prodigal wild beast, when he had been over and over acquainted with that patience which I showed him, he made use of that abundance I had given him against myself: for I seemed to him to live too long, and he was very uneasy at the old age I had arrived at; nor could he stay any longer, but would be a king by paricide. And justly I am served by him for bringing him back out of the country to court, when he was of no esteem before, and for thrusting out those sons of mine that were
born of the queen, and for making him a successor to my dominions. I confess to thee, O Varus, the great folly I was guilty of; for I provoked those sons of mine to act against me, and cut off their just expectations for the sake of Antipater; and indeed what kindness did I do to them, that could equal what I have done to Antipater! I have, in a manner, yielded up my personal authority while I am alive, and whom I have openly named for the successor to my dominions in my testament, and given him a yearly revenue of his own of fifty talents, and supplied him with money to an extravagant degree out of my own revenue; and when he was about to sail to Rome, I gave him three hundred talents, and recommend him to him, and alone of all my children, to Caesar, as his father's deliverer. Now what crimes were these other sons of mine guilty of like those of Antipater! and what evidence was there brought against them so strong as there is to demonstrate this son to have plotted against me! Yet does this parricide presume to speak for himself, and hopes to obscure the truth by his cunning tricks. Thou, O Varus, must guard thyself against him; for I know the wild beast, and I foresee how pleasurably he will talk, and his counterfeit lamentation. This was he who exorted me to have a care of Alexander, when he was alive, and not to intrust my body with all men! This was he who came to my very bed, and looked about, lest any one should lay snares for me! This was he who took care of my sleep, and secured me from any fear of danger, who comforted me under the trouble I was in upon the slaughter of my sons, and looked to see what affection my surviving brethren bore me! This was my protector, and the guardian of my body! And when I call to mind, O Varus, his craftiness upon every occasion, and his art of dissembling, I can hardly believe that I am still alive, and I wonder how I have escaped such a deep plotter of mischief! However, since some wise or other makes my house desolate, and perpetually raises up those that are against me, I will, with tears, lament my hard fortune, and privately groan under my lonesome condition; yet am I resolved that no one who thirsts after my blood shall escape punishment, although the evidence should extend itself to all my sons."

3. Upon Herod's saying this, he was interrupted by the confusion he was in; but ordered Nicolaus, one of his friends, to produce the evidence against Antipater. But in the meantime Antipater lifted up his head (for he lay on the ground before his father) and cried out aloud, "Let him that hath made me apology for me; for how can I be a parricide, whom thou thyself confessest to have always had for thy guardian! Thou callest my filial affection prodigious lies and hypocrisy! how then could it be that I, who was so subtle in other matters, should here be so mad as not to understand that it was not easy that he who committed so horrid a crime should be concealed from men, but impossible that he should be concealed from the Judge of Heaven, who sees all things, and is present every where!" and this was true, and arrived at! and this came to, on whom God inflicted so great a punishment for their evil designs against thee! And indeed what was there that could possibly provoke me against thee! Could the hope of being a king do it I was a king already. Could I suspect hatred from thee! No: was I not beloved by thee! and what other fear could I have! Nay, by pro-
whole palace with wickedness; and when he had insisted on many other accusations, and the proofs of them, he left off.

5. Then Varus bade Antipater make his defence; but he lay long in silence, and said no more but this:—"God is my witness that I am entirely innocent." So Varus asked for the potion, and gave it to be drank by a condemned malefactor, who was then in prison, who died upon the spot. So Varus, when he had had a very private discourse with Herod, and had written an account of this assembly to Caesar, went away, after a day's stay. The king also bound Antipater, and sent away to inform Caesar of his misfortunes.

6. Now after this, it was discovered that Antipater had laid a plot against Salome also; for one of Antiphanes's domestic servants came, and brought letters from Rome, from the maid-servant of Julia, [Cesar's wife], whose name was Acme. By her a message was sent to the king, that she had found a letter written by Salome, among Julia's papers, and had sent it to him privately, out of her good-will to him. This letter of Salome contained the most bitter reproaches of the king, and the highest accusation against him. Antipater had forged this letter, and had corrupted Acme, and persuaded her to send it to Herod. This was proved by her letter to Antipater, for thus did this woman write to him:—"As thou desirest, I have written a letter to thy father, and have sent that letter; and I am persuaded that the king will not spare his sister when he reads it. Thou wilt do well to remember what thou hast promised, when all is accomplished." 7. When this epistle was discovered, and what the epistle forged against Salome contained, a suspicion came into the king's mind, that perhaps the letters against Alexander were also forged: he was moreover greatly disturbed, and in a passion because he had almost slain his sister on Antipater's account. He did no longer delay therefore to bring him to punishment for all his crimes; yet when he was eagerly pursuing Antipater, he was restrained by a severe distemper he fell into. However, he sent an account to Caesar about Acme, and the contrivances against Salome: he sent also for his testament, and altered it, and therein made Antipas king, as taking no care of Archelaus and Philip, because Antipater had blasted their reputation with him; but he bequeathed to Caesar, besides other presents that he gave him, a thousand talents; as also to his wife, and children, and friends, and freedmen about five hundred: he also bequeathed to all others a great quantity of land, and of money, and showed his respects to Salome his sister, by giving her her splendid gifts. And this was what was contained in his testament, as it was now altered.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE GOLDEN EAGLE IS CUT TO PIECES. HEROD'S BARBARITY WHEN HE WAS READY TO DIE. HE ATTEMPTS TO KILL HIMSELF. HE COMMANDS ANTIPATER TO BE SLAIN. HE SURVIVES HIM FIVE DAYS, AND THEN DIES.

§ 1. Now Herod's distemper became more and more severe to him, and this because these his disorders fell upon him in his old age, and when he was in a melancholy condition; for he was already almost seventy years of age, and had been brought low by the calamities that happened to him about his children, whereby he had lost all pleasure in life, even when he was in health; the grief and shame of Antipater was still alive, and agitated his diseases; whom he resolved to put to death now, not at random, but as soon as he should be well again, and resolved to have him slain [in a public manner].

2. There also now happened to him among his other calamities, a certain popular sedition. There were two men of learning in the city [Jerusalem], who were thought the most skilful in the laws of their country, and were on that account had in very great esteem all over the nation; they were the one Judas, the son of Simon, the other Matthias, the son of Margalus. There was a concourse of young men came to these men who expounded the laws, and there got together every day a kind of an army such as were growing up to be men. Now when these men were informed that the king was wearing away with melancholy, and with a distemper, they dropped words to their acquaintance, how it was now a very proper time to defend the cause of God, and to pull down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country; for it was unlawful there should be any such thing in the temple as images, or the like representation of any animal whatsoever. Now the king had put up a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple, which these learned men exhorted them to cut down: and told them that if there should any danger arise, it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country, because that the soul was immortal, and that an eternal enjoyment of happiness died away such as died on that account; while the mean-spirited, and those that were not strong enough to show a right love of their souls, preferred death by a disease, before that which is the result of a virtuous behaviour.

3. At the same time that these men made this speech to their disciples, a rumour was spread abroad that the king was dying, which made the young men set about the work with greater boldness; they therefore let themselves down from the top of the temple with thick cords, and this at mid-day, and while a great number of people were in the temple, and cut down that golden eagle with axes. This was presently told to the king's captain of the temple, who came running with a great body of soldiers, and caught about five hundred of these young men, and brought them to the king. And when he asked them, first of all, whether they had been so hardy as to cut down the golden eagle, they confessed they had done so; and when he asked them by whose command they had done it, they replied at the command of the law of their country; and when his father asked them how they could be so joyful when they were to be put to death, they replied, because they should enjoy greater happiness after they were dead.
4. At this the king was in such an extravagant passion, that he overcame his disease for the time, and went out, and spake to the people; wherein he made a terrible accusation against those men, as being guilty of sacrilege, and as making greater attempts under pretence of their law; and he thought they deserved to be punished as impious persons. Whereupon the people were afraid lest a greater number should be found guilty, and desired that when he had first punished those that put them upon this work, and then those that were caught in it, he would leave off his anger as to the rest. With this the king complied, though not without difficulty; and ordered those that had let themselves down, together with their rabbins, to be burnt alive; but delivered the rest that were caught to the proper officers, to be put to death by them.

5. After this the distemper seized his whole body, and greatly disordered all its parts with various symptoms; for there was a gentle fever upon him, and an intolerable itching over all the surface of his body, and continual pains in his colon, and dropical tumours about his feet, and an inflammation of the abdomen,—and a putrefaction of his privy member, that produced worms. Besides which he had a difficulty of breathing upon him, and could not breathe but when he sat upright, and had a convulsion of all his members; insomuch that the diviners said those diseases were a punishment upon him for what he had done to the rabbins. Yet did he struggle with his numerous disorders, and still had a desire to live, and hoped for recovery, and considered several methods of cure. Accordingly, he went over Jordan, and made use of those hot baths at Callirrhoe, which run into the lake Asphaltitis, but are themselves sweet enough to be drank. And here the physicians thought proper to bathe his whole body in warm oil, by letting it down into a large vessel full of oil; whereupon his eyes failed him, and he came and went as if he were dying; and as a tumult was then made by his servants, at their prayers, he was brought in a little hope of recovery, and gave orders that each soldier should have fifty drachmas a-piece, and that his commanders and friends should have great sums of money given them.

6. He then returned back and came to Jericho, in such a melancholy state of body as almost threatened him with present death, when he proceeded to attempt a horrid wickedness; for he got together the most illustrious men of the whole Jewish nation; out of every village, into a place called the Hippodrome, and there shut them in. He then called for his sister Salome, and her two companions, and band Alexas, and made this speech to them:—"I know well enough that the Jews will keep a festival upon my death; however, it is in my power to be mourned for on other accounts, and to have a splendid funeral, if you will but be subservient to my commands. Do you but take care to send soldiers to encompass these men that are now in custody, and slay them immediately upon my death, and then all Judea, and every family of them, will weep at it whether they will or no."

7. These were the commands he gave them: when there came letters from his ambassadors at Rome, whereby information was given that Aemus was put to death at Caesar's command, and that Antipater was condemned to die; however, they write withal, that if Herod had a mind rather to banish him, Caesar permitted him so to do. So he for a little while revived, and had a desire to live; but presently after he was overborne by his pains, and was disordered by want of food, and by a convulsive cough, and endeavoured to prevent a natural death; so he took an apple, and asked for a knife, for he used to pare apples and eat them; he then looked round about to see that there was nobody to hinder him, and lifted up his right hand as if he would stab himself; but Achiabus, his first cousin, came running to him, and held his hand, and hindered him from so doing; on which occasion a very great lamentation was made in the palace as if the king were expiring. As soon as ever Antipater heard that, he took courage, and with joy in his looks, besought his keepers, for a sum of money, to loose him and let him go; but the principal keeper of the prison did not only obstruct him in his intention, but ran and told the king what his design was; hereupon the king cried out louder than his distemper would well bear, and immediately sent some of his guards and slew Antipater; he also gave order to have him buried at Hyrcanium, and altered his testament again,—and therein made Archelaus, his eldest son, and the brother of Antipas, his successor; and made Antipas tetrarch.

8. So Herod, having survived the slaughter of his son five days, died, having reigned thirty-four years, since he had caused Antigonus to be slain, and obtained his kingdom; but thirty-seven years since he had been made king by the Romans. Now, as for his fortune, it was prosperous in all other respects, if ever any other man could be so; since, from a private man, he obtained the kingdom, and kept it so long, and left it to his own sons; but still in his domestic affairs, he was a most unfortunate man. Now before the soldiers knew of his death, Salome sent a messenger to report what was done; but his messenger had missed those that were in bonds, whom the king had commanded to be slain, and told them he had altered his mind, and would have every one of them sent to their own homes. When these men were gone, Salome told the soldiers [the king was dead], and got them and the rest of the multitude together to an assembly, in the amphitheatre at Jericho, where Ptolemy, who was intrusted by the king with his signet-ring, came before them, and spoke of the happiness the king had attained, and comforted the multitude, and read the epistle which had been left for the soldiers, wherein he desired them to bear good-will to his successor; and after he had read the epistle, he opened and read his testament, wherein Philip was to inherit Trachonitis, and the neighbouring countries, and Antipas was to be tetrarch, as we said before, and Archelaus was made king. He had also been commanded to carry Herod's ring to Caesar, and the settlements he had made, sealed up, because Caesar was to be lord of all the settlements he had made; and was to confirm his testament; and he ordered that the dispositions he had made were to be kept as they were in his former testament.

9. So there was an acclamation made to Archelaus, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and the soldiers, with the multitude, went round about in troops, and promised him their good-will, and
besides, prayed God to bless his government. After this, they betook themselves to prepare for the king’s funeral; and Archelaus omitted nothing of magnificence therein, but brought out all the royal ornaments to augment the pomp of the deceased. There was a bier all of gold, embroidered with precious stones, and a purple bed of various contexture with the dead body upon it, covered with purple; and a diadem was put upon his head, and a crown of gold above it, and a sceptre in his right hand; and near to the bier were Herod’s sons, and a multitude

of his kindred; next to whom came his guards, and the regiment of Thracians, the Germans also, and Gauls, all accoutred as if they were going to war; but the rest of the army went foremost, armed, and following their captains and officers in a regular manner: after whom, five hundred of his domestic servants and freed-men followed, with sweet songs in their hands; and the body was carried two hundred furlongs, to Herodion, where he had given order to be buried. And this shall suffice for the conclusion of the life of Herod.

CHAPTER I.

ARCHELAUS MAKES A FUNERAL FEAST FOR THE PEOPLE, ON ACCOUNT OF HEROD, AFTER WHICH A GREAT TUMULT IS RAISED BY THE MULTITUDE, AND HE SENDS THE SOLDIERS OUT UPON THEM, WHO DESTROY ABOUT THREE THOUSAND OF THEM.

§ 1. Now the necessity which Archelaus was under of taking a journey to Rome was the occasion of new disturbances; for when he had mourned for his father seven days, and had given a very expensive funeral feast to the multitude (which custom is the occasion of poverty to many of the Jews, because they are forced to feast the multitude; for if any one omits it, he is not esteemed a holy person), he put on a white garment, and went up to the temple, where the people accosted him with various exclamations. He also spake kindly to the multitude, from an elevated seat and a throne of gold, and returned them thanks for the zeal they had shown about his father’s funeral, and the submission they had made to him, as if he were already settled in the kingdom; but he told them withal, that he would not at present take upon him either the authority of a king, or the names thereto belonging, until Caesar, who is made lord of this whole affair by the testament, confirms the succession; for that when the soldiers would have set the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of it; but that he would make abundant requisitions, not to the soldiers only, but to the people, for their alacrity and good-will to him, when the superior lords [the Romans] should have given him a complete title to the kingdom; for that it should be his study to appear in all things better than his father.

2. Upon this the multitude was pleased, and presently made a trial of what he intended, by asking great things of him; for some made a clamour that he would ease them in their taxes; others, that he would take off the duties upon commodities; and some, that he would loose those that were in prison; in all which cases he answered readily to their satisfaction, in order to get the good-will of the multitude; after which he offered [the proper] sacrifices, and feasted with his friends. And here it was that a great many of those that desired innovations came in crowds towards evening, and began then to return on their own account, when the public mourning for the king was over. These lamented those that were put to death by Herod, because they had cut down the golden eagle that had been over the gate of the temple. Nor was this mourning of a private nature, but the lamentations were very great, the mourning solemn, and the weeping such as was loudly heard all over the city, as being for those men who had perished for the laws of their country, and for the temple. They cried out, that a punishment ought to be inflicted for these men upon those that were honoured by Herod; and that, in the first place, the man whose he had made high-priest should be deprived; and that it was fit to choose a person of greater purity than he was.

3. At these clamours Archelaus was provoked; but restrained himself from taking vengeance on the authors, on account of the haste he was in of going to Rome, as fearing lest, upon his making war on the multitude, such an action might detain him at home. Accordingly, he made trial to quell the innovators by persuasion rather than by force, and sent his general in a private way to them, and by him exhort them to be quiet. But the seditions threw stones at him, and drove him away, as he came into the temple, and before he could say anything to them. The like treatment they showed to others, who came to them after him, many of
immediately went on to Jerusalem, and seized upon the palace; and when he had called for the governors of the citadels, and the stewards [of the king's private affairs], he tried to sift out the accounts of the money, and to take possession of the citadels. But the governors of those citadels were not unmindful of the commands laid upon them by Archelaus, and continued to guard them, and said, the custody of them rather belonged to Caesar than to Archelaus.

3. In the meantime Antipas went also to Rome, to strive for the kingdom, and to insist that the former testament, wherein he was named to be king, was valid before the latter testament. So when he had also promised to assist him, as had many of Archelaus's kindred, who sailed along with Archelaus himself also. He also carried along with him his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus, who seemed one of great weight, on account of the great trust Herod put in him, he having been one of his most honoured friends. However, Antipas depended chiefly upon Ireneus, the orator; upon whose authority he had rejected such as advised him to yield to Archelaus, because he was his elder brother, and because the second testament gave the kingdom to him. The inclinations of all Archelaus's kindred, who hated him, were removed to Antipas, when they came to Rome; although, in the first place, every one rather desired to live under their own laws [without a king], and to be under a Roman governor; but if they should fail in that point, these desired that Antipas might be their king.

4. Sabinus did also afford these his assistance to the same purpose by the letters he sent, wherein he accused Archelaus before Cesar, and highly commended Antipas. Salome also, and those with her, put the crimes which they accused Archelaus of in order, and put them into Caesar's hands; and after they had done that, Archelaus wrote down the reasons of his claim, and, by Ptolemy, sent in his father's ring, and his father's accounts; and when Cesar had maturely weighed by himself what both had to allege for themselves, as also had considered of the great burden of the kingdom, the largeness of the revenues, and withal the number of children Herod had left behind him, and had moreover read the letters he had received from Varus and Sabinus on this occasion, he assembled the principal persons among the Romans together (in which assembly Caius, the son of Agrippa, and his daughter Julia, but by himself adopted for his own son, sat in the first seat) and gave the pleaders leave to speak.

5. Then stood up Salome's son, Antipater (who of all Archelaus's antagonists was the shrivdest pleader), and accused him in the following speech:

—that Archelaus did in words contend for the kingdom, but that in deeds he had long exercised royal authority, and so did insult Cesar in desiring to be now heard on that account, since he had not staid for his determination about the succession, and since he had subdued certain persons, by their Herod's death, to move for putting the diadem upon his head; since he had set himself down in the throne, and given answers as a king, and altered the disposition of the army, and granted to some higher dignities: that he had also complyed in all things with the people in the requests they had made to him as to their king, and had also dismissed those that had been put into bonds by his father, for most important reasons. Now, after all this,
WAR OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER III.

THE JEWS FIGHT A GREAT BATTLE WITH SIMAIUS; SOLDIERS, AND A GREAT DESTRUCTION IS MADE AT JERUSALEM.

§ 1. Now before Caesar had determined anything about these matters, Maltachus, Archebcanus's son, fell sick and died. Letters also were brought out of Syria from Varus, about a revolt of the Jews. This was foreseen by Varus, who accordingly, the Archebcanus sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrain the promaters of the sedition, since it was manifest that the nation would not be at rest, but that he left one of those legions which he brought with him out of Syria in the city, and went himself to Antioch. But Sabinus came, after he was got, and gave them an occasion of making innovations; for he compelled the keeper of the citadels to deliver them up to him, and made a bitter search after the king's money, as depending not only on the soldiers who were left by Varus, but on the multitudes of his own servants, all whom he armed and used as the instruments of his covetousness. Now on the feast, which was observed after seven days, and which the Jews called Pentecost (i.e. the 5th day) was at hand, its name being taken from the number of the days [after the Passover], the people got together, but not on account of the accustomed divine worship, but of the indignation they had at the present state of affairs. Wherefore an immense multitude ran together, out of Galilee, and Idumea, and Jericho, and Perea that was beyond Jordan; but the people that naturally belonged to Judea itself were above the rest both in number and in the acrimony of the men. So the tribesmen themselves into three parts, and pitched their camps in three places; one at the north side of the temple, another at the south side, by the Hippodrome, and the third part were at the palace on the west. So they lay round about the Romans on every side, and besieged them.

2. Now Sabinus was affrighted, both at their multitude and at their courage, and sent messengers to Varus continually, and besought him to come to his succour quickly, for that, if he delayed his legion would be cut to pieces. As for Sabinus himself, he got up to the highest tower of the fortress, which was called Phasaelus; it is of the same name with Herod's brother, who was destroyed by the Parthians; and then he made signs to the soldiers of that legion to attack the enemy; for his astonishment was so great, that he durst not go down to his own men. Hereupon the soldiers were prevailed upon, and leaped out into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews; in which, while there were none over their heads to interpose, they were too hard for them, by their skill, and the others' want of skill in war; but when many of the Jews were gotten up to the top of the cloisters and threw their darts downwards upon the heads of the Romans, there were a great many of them destroyed. Nor was it easy to avenge themselves upon those that threw their weapons from among all his posterity; and this because of the number of those that seemed to stand in need of support therefrom.
on high, nor was it more easy for them to sustain those who came to fight them hand to hand.

3. Since therefore the Romans were sorely afflicted by both these circumstances, they set fire to the cloisters, which were works to be admired, both on account of their magnitude and costliness. Whereupon those that were above them were presently encompassed with the flame, and many of them perished therein; as many of them also were destroyed by the enemy, who came suddenly upon them; some of them also threw themselves down from the walls backward, and some there were, who, from the desperate condition they were in, prevented the fire, by killing themselves with their own swords; but in so doing, they were burnt out from the walls, and came upon the Romans, were easily mastered by them, by reason of the astonishment they were under; until at last some of the Jews being destroyed, and others dispersed by the terror they were in, the soldiers fell upon the treasure of God, which was now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents, of which sum Sabinus got together all that was not carried away by the soldiers. However, this destruction of the works [about the temple], and of the men, occasioned a much greater number, and those of a more warlike sort, to get together, to oppose the Romans. These encompassed the palace round, and threatened to destroy all that were in it, unless they went their ways quickly; for they promised that Sabinus should come to no harm, if he should go out with his legion. There were also a great many of the king’s party who deserted the Romans, and assisted the Jews; yet did the most warlike body of them all, who were three thousand of the men of Sebaste, go over to the Romans. Rufus also, and Gratus, their captains, did the same (Gratus having the foot of the king’s party under him, and Rufus the horse); each of whom, even without the forces under them, were of great weight, on account of their strength and wisdom, which turns the scales in war. Now the Jews persevered in the siege, and tried to break down the walls of the fortresses, and cried out to Sabinus and his party, that they should go their ways, and not prove a hindrance to them, now they hoped after a long time, to recover that ancient liberty which their forefathers had enjoyed. Sabinus indeed was then contented to get out of the danger he was in; but he distrusted the assurances the Jews gave him, and suspected such gentle treatment was but a bait laid as a snare for them: this consideration, together with the hopes he had of succour from Varus made him bear the siege still longer.

CHAPTER IV.

HEROD’S VETERAN SOLDIERS BECOME TUMULTIOUS. THE ROBBERIES OF JUDAS. SIMON AND ATHRONGUES TAKE THE NAME OF KING UPON THEM.

§ 1. At this time there were great disturbances in the country, and that in many places; and the opportunity that now offered itself induced a great many to set up for kings; and indeed in Idumæa, two thousand of Herod’s veteran soldiers got together, and armed themselves, and fought against those of the king’s party; against whom Achaibas, the king’s first cousin, fought, and that out of some of the places that were the most strongly fortified; but so as to avoid a direct conflict with them in the plains. In Sephoris also, a city of Galilee, there was one Judas (the son of the arch robber Hæskias, who formerly over-ran the country, and had been subdued by king Herod); this man got no small multitude together, and broke open the place where the royal armour was laid up, and armed those about him, and attacked those that were so earnest to gain the dominion.

2. In Pæra also, Simon, one of the servants to the king, relying upon the handsome appearance, and tallness of his body, put a diadem upon his own head also; he also went about with a company of robbers that he had gotten together, and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho, and many other costly edifices besides, and procured himself very easily spoils by rapine, as snatching them out of the fire; and he had soon burnt down all the fine edifices, if Gratus, the captain of the foot of the king’s party, had not taken the Trachelonite archers, and the most warlike of Sebaste, and met the man. His footmen were slain in the battle in abundance; Gratus also cut to pieces Simon himself, as he was flying along a strait valley, when he gave him an oblique stroke upon his neck, as he ran away, and brake it. The royal palaces that were near Jordan, at Betharamphtha, were also burnt down by some other of the seditious that came out of Pæra.

3. At this time it was that a certain shepherd ventured to set himself up for a king: he was called Athusrates. It was his strength of body that made him expect such a dignity, as well as his soul, which despised death; and besides these qualifications, he had four brethren like himself. He put a troop of armed men under each of these his brethren, and made use of them as his generals and commanders, when he made his incursions, while he did himself act like a king, and meddled only with the more important affairs; and at this time he put a diadem about his head, and continued after that to over-run the country for no little time with his brethren, and became their leader in killing both the Romans and those of the king’s party; nor did any Jew escape him, if any gain could accrue to him thereby. He once ventured to encompass a whole body of Romans at Emesa, who were carrying corn and weapons to their legion: his men shot their arrows and darts, and thereby slew their centurion Arius, and forty of the stoutest of his men, while the rest of them, who were in danger of the same fate, upon the coming of Gratus, with those of Sebaste, to their assistance, escaped; and when these men had thus served both their own countrymen and foreigners, and that through this whole war, three of them were after some time subdued: the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by falling into the hands of Gratus and Ptolemeus; but the fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his giving him his right hand for his security. However, this their end was not till afterward, while at present they filled all Judæa with a piratical war.
CHAPTER V.

VARUS COMPRESSES THE TUMULTS IN JUDEA, AND CRUCIFIES ABOUT TWO THOUSAND OF THE REBELLIOUS.

§ 1. Upon Varus's reception of the letters that were written by Sabinus and the captains, he could not avoid being afraid for the whole legion [he had left there]. So he made haste to their relief, and took with him the other two legions, with the four troops of horsemen to them belonging, and marched to Ptolemais—having given orders for the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings and governors of cities to meet him there. Moreover, he received from the people of Berytus, as he passed through their city, fifteen hundred armed men. Now as soon as the other body of auxiliaries were come to Ptolemais, as well as Aretas the Arabian (who, out of the hatred he bore to Herod, brought a great army of horse and foot), Varus sent a part of his army presently to Galilee, which lay near to Ptolemais, and Caesarea, one of his friends, for their captain. This Caesius put those that met him to flight, and took the city Sephoria and burnt it and made slaves of its inhabitants. But as for Varus himself, he marched to Samaria with his whole army, where he did not meddle with the city itself, because he found that it had made no commotion during those troubles, but pitched his camp about a certain village which was called Aries. It belonged to Ptolemy, and on that account was plundered by the Arabians, who were very angry even at Herod's friends also. He thence marched on to the village Sampho, another fortified place, which they plundered, as they had done the other. As they carried off all the money they lighted upon belonging to the public revenues, all was now full of fire and bloodshed, and nothing could resist the plunders of the Arabians. Emaus was also burnt, upon the flight of its inhabitants, and this at the command of Varus, out of his rage at the slaughter of those that were about Aries.

2. Thence he marched on to Jerusalem, and as soon as he was but seen by the Jews, he made their camps disperse themselves: they also went away, and fled up and down the country. But the citizens received him and cleared themselves of having any hand in this revolt, and said that they had raised no commotions, but had only been forced to admit the multitude, because of the festival, and that they were rather besieged together with the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted. There had before this met him Joseph, the first cousin of Archelaus, and Gratus, together with Rufus, who led those of Sebasto, as well as the king's army: there also met them those of the Roman legion, armed after their accustomed manner; for as to Sabinus, he durst not come into Varus's sight, but was gone out of the city before this, to the sea-side. But Varus sent a part of his army into the country, against those that had been the authors of this commotion, and as they caught great numbers of them, those that appeared to have been the least concerned in those tumults he put into custody, but such as were the most guilty he crucified; these were in number about two thousand.

3. He was also informed that there continued in Idomea ten thousand men still in arms; but when he found that the Arabians did not act like auxiliaries, but managed the war according to their own passions, and did mischief to the country other than he intended, and this out of their hatred to Herod, he sent them away, but made haste, with his own legions, to march against those that had revolted; but these, by the advice of Archelaus, delivered themselves up to him before it came to a battle. Then did Varus forgive the mutineers their offences, but sent their captains to Caesar to be examined by him. Now Caesar forgave the rest, but gave orders that certain of the king's relations (for some of those that were among them were Herod's kinsmen) should be put to death, because they had engaged in a war against a king of his own family. When, therefore, Varus had settled matters at Jerusalem after this manner, and had left the former legion there as a garrison, he returned to Antioch.

CHAPTER VI.

THE JEWS GREATLY COMPLAIN OF ARCHELAUS, AND DESIRE THAT THEY MAY BE MADE SUBJECT IN ROMAN GOVERNORS. BUT WHEN HEROD ACTUALLY HAD TO SAY, HE DISTRIBUTED HEROD'S DOMINIONS AMONG HIS SONS, ACCORDING TO HIS OWN PLEASURE.

§ 1. But now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which he was answer to. It was made by those ambassadors before the revolt, had come, by Varus's permission, to plead for the liberty of their country; those that came were fifty in number, but there were more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome who supported them; and when they had assembled a council of the principal Romans in Apollo's temple, they was in the palace (this was what he had himself built and adorned, at a vast expense), the multitude of the Jews stood with the ambassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus, with his friends: but as for the kindred of Archelaus, they stood on neither side; for to stand on Archelaus's side, their hatred to him, and envy at him, would not give them leave; while yet they were sure to be seen by Caesar with his accusers. Besides these, there were present Archelaus's brother, Philip, being sent thither before-hand, out of kindness, by Varus, for two reasons: the one was this, that he might be assisting to Archelaus; and the other was this, that in case Caesar should make a distribution of what Herod possessed among his posterity, he might obtain some share of it.

2. And now, upon the permission that was given the accusers to speak, they, in the first place, went over Herod's breaches of their law, and said that he was not a king, but the most barbarous of all tyrants, and that they had found him to be such by the sufferings they underwent from him: that when a very great number had been slain by him, those that were left had endured such miseries, that they called those that were dead happy men: that he had not only tortured the bodies of his subjects, but entire cities, and had done much harm to the cities of his own country, while he adorned those that belonged to foreigners; and he shed the blood of Jews, in order to do kindness to others.

* This building of a council in the temple of Apollo, in the emperor's palace at Rome, by Augustus, and even the building of this temple itself, are usually attributed to the emperor. It was originally a temple in his father's time, as Ambassador, and Stephanus observe and note, Suidas and Porphyry,
people who were out of their bounds: that he had filled the nation full of poverty, and of the greatest indignity, instead of that happiness and those laws which they had anciently enjoyed; that, in short, the Jews had borne more calamities from Herod, in a few years, than had their forefathers during all that interval of time that had passed since they had come out of Babylon, and returned home in the reign of Xerxes: that, however, the nation was come to so low a condition, by being insulted to hardships, that they submitted to his successor of their own accord, though he brought them into bitter slavery; that accordingly they readily called Alexander, the son of Herod, a tyrant, king, after the decease of his father, and joined with him in mourning for the death of Herod, and in wishing him good success in that his succession; while yet this Archelaus, lest he should be in danger of not being thought the genuine son of Herod, began his reign with the murder of three thousand citizens; as if he had a mind to offer so many bloody sacrifices to God for his government, and to fill the temple with the like number of dead bodies at that festival: that, however, those sacrifices were left to so many weary years, that they had just reason to consider now at last the calamities they had undergone, and to oppose themselves, like soldiers in war, to receive those stripes upon their faces, but not upon their backs as hitherto. Whereupon they prayed that the Romans would have compassion upon them [poor remains of Judea, and not expose what was left of them to such as barbarously tore them to pieces, and that they would join their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own commanders, whereby it would soon be demonstrated that those who are now under the calamity of seditious persons, and lovers of war, know how to bear governors that are set over them, if they be but tolerable ones. So the Jews concluded their accusations with this request. Then rose up Nicolaus, and confuted the accusations that were brought against the kings, and himself accused the Jewish nation, as hard to be ruled, and as naturally disobedient to kings. He also reproached all those kinsmen of Archelaus who had left him, and were gone over to his accusers.

3. So Cæsar, after he had heard both sides, disposed them there for that time; but a little while after, he gave the one half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus, by the name of Ethnarch, and promised to make him king also afterward, if he rendered himself worthy of that dignity; but as to the other half, he divided it into two tetrarchies, and gave them to two other sons of Herod, the one of them to Philip, and the other to that Antipas who contested the kingdom with Archelaus. Under this last was Jericho and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents: but Batanea, and Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and certain parts of Zeno's house, about Jamnia, with a revenue of a hundred talents, were made subject to Philip; while Idumea, and all Judea, and Samaria, were parts of the ethnarchy of Archelaus, although Samaria was eased of one quarter of its taxes, out of regard to their not having revolted with the rest of the nation. He also made subject to him the following cities, viz. Strato's Tower, and Sebaste, and Joppa, and Jerusalem; but as to the Grecian cities Gaza, and Ge-

dara, and Hippos, he cut them off from the kingdom, and added them to Syria. Now the revenue of the country that was given to Archelaus, was four hundred talents. Salome also, besides what the king had left her in his testament, was now made mistress of Jamnia, and Asbod, and Phasselis. Cæsar did moreover bestow upon her the royal palace of Ascalon; by which the hand over a revenue of sixty talents; but he put her house under the ethnarchy of Archelaus; and for the rest of Herod's offspring, they received what was bequeathed to them in his testament; but, besides that, Cæsar granted to Herod's two virgin daughters five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of silver, and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras; but after this family distribution, he gave between them what had been bequeathed to him by Herod, which was a thousand talents, reserving to himself only some inconsiderable presents, in honour of the deceased.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HISTORY OF THE SPURNOUS ALEXANDER. ARCHELAUS IS BANISHED, AND GLYPHEA DIES, AFTER WHAT WAS TO HAPPEN TO BOTH OF THEM HAD BEEN SHOWN THEM IN DREAMS.

§ 1. In the meantime there was a man, who was by birth a Jew, but brought up at Sidon with one of the Roman freed-men, who falsely pretended, on account of the resemblance of their countenances, that he was that Alexander who was slain by Herod. This man came to Rome, in hopes of not being detected. He had one who was his assistant, of his own nation, and who knew all the affairs of the kingdom, and instructed him to say how those that were sent to kill him and Aristobulus had pity upon them, and stole them away, by putting bodies that were like theirs in their places. This man deceived the Jews that were at Crete, and got a great deal of money of them, for travelling in splendour; and thence sailed to Melos, where he was thought so certainly genuine, that he got a great deal more money, and prevailed with those who had treated him to sail along with him to Rome. So he landed, Cicero search for him, and got very large presents from the Jews who dwelt there, and was conducted by his father's friends as if he were a king; nay, the resemblance in his countenance procured him so much credit, that those who had seen Alexander, and had known him very well, would take their oaths that he was the very same person. Accordingly, the whole body of the Jews that were at Rome ran out in crowds to see him, and an innumerable multitude there was who stood in the narrow places through which he was carried; for those of Melos were so far distracted, that they carried him in a sedan, and maintained a royal attendance for him at their own proper charges.

2. But Cæsar, who knew perfectly well the liaisons of Alexander's face, because he had been accused by Herod before him, discerned the fallacy in his countenance, even before he saw the man. However, he suffered the agreeable fame that went of him to have some weight with him, and sent Celadus, one who well knew Alexander, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. But when Cæsar saw him, he immediately discerned a difference in his countenance; and when he had disco-
have thee again, whether thou wilt or no." New Gaphyra hardly survived the narration of this dream of hers two days.

CHAPTER VIII.

ARCHELAUS'S ETHARCHY IS REDUCED INTO A [RE-
MAN] PROVINCE. THE SEDITION OF JUDAS OF
GALILEE. THE THREE SECTS OF THE JEWS.

§ 1. And now Archelaus's part of Judæa was re-
duced into a province, and Cœnopius, one of the
egyptian order among the Romans, was sent as
procurator, having the power of [life and] death
put into his hands by Caesar. Under his ad-
ministration it was that a certain Galilean, whose
name was Judas, prevailed with his countrymen to re-establish
and said they were cowards if they would order
to pay a tax to the Romans, and would, after God,
submit to mortal men as their lords. This man
was a teacher of a peculiar sect of his own, and
was not at all like the rest of those their leaders.

2. For there are three philosophical sects among
the Jews. The followers of the first of whom are
the Pharisees; of the second the Sadducees; and
the third sect, who pretend to a severer discipline,
are called Essenes. These last are Jews by birth,
and seem to have a greater affection for one another
than the other sects have. These Essenes repay
pleasures as an evil, and esteem continence, and
conquest over our passions, to be virtue. They
neglect wedlock, but choose out other persons
children, while they are pliable, and fit for learning;
and esteem them to be of their kindred, and form
them according to their own manners. They do
not absolutely deny the fitness of marriage, and the ac-
cession of mankind thereby continued; but they
guard against the lascivious behaviour of women,
and are persuaded that none of them preserve their
fidelity to one man.

3. These men are despisers of riches, and so very
communicative as raises our admiration. Nor
is there any one to be found among them who has
more than another; for it is a law among them,
that those who come to them must let what they
have be common to the whole order,—insomuch
that among them all there is no appearance of
poverty or excess of riches, but every one's posses-
sions are intermingled with every other's possess-
sions; and so there is, as it were, one patrimony
among all the brethren. They think that oil is a
defilement; and if one of them be anointed without
his own approbation, it is wiped off his body; for
they think to be sweaty is a good thing, as they do
also to be clothed in white garments. They also
have stewards appointed to take care of their com-
mon affairs, who every one of them have no sepa-
rate business for any, but what is for the use of
them all.

4. They have no certain city, but many of them
dwell in every city; and if any of their sect come
from other places, what they have lies open for
them, just as if it were their own; and they go into
such as they never knew before, as if they had been
so long acquainted with them. For which reason they carry nothing with them when they
travel into remote parts, though still they take their
weapons with them, for fear of thieves. Accord-
ingly there is, in every city where they live, not
appointed particularly to take care of strangers, and provide garments and other necessaries for them. But the habit and management of their bodies is such as children use who are in fear of their masters. Nor do they allow of the change of garments, or of shoes, till they be first entirely torn to pieces, or worn out by time. Nor do they either buy or sell any thing to one another; but every one of them gives what he hath to him that wanteth it, and receiveth from him again in lieu of it what may be convenient for himself; and although there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomsoever they please.

5. And as for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary; for before sun rising they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising. After this every one of them is sent away by their curators, to exercise some of those arts wherein they are skilled, in which they labour with great diligence; and when they come together again into one place; and when they have clothed themselves in white veils, they then bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification is over, they every one meet together in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any of another sect to enter; while they go, after a pure manner, into the dining-room, as into a certain holy temple, and quietly set themselves down; upon which the baker lays them leaves in order; the cook also brings a single plate of one sort of food, and sets it before every one of them; but a priest says grace before meat; and it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before grace be said. The same priest when he hath dined, says grace again after meat; and when they begin, and when they end, they praise God, as he that bestows their food upon them; after which they lay aside their [white] garments, and betake themselves to their labours again till the evening; then they return home to supper, after the same manner; and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor is there ever any scramble or disturbance to pollute their house, but they give every one leave to speak in their turn; which silence thus kept in their house, appears to foreigners like some tremendous mystery; the cause of which is that perpetual sobriety they exercise, and some settled measure of meat and drink that is allotted to them, and that it is abundantly sufficient for them.

6. And truly, as for other things, they do nothing but according to the injunctions of their curators; one of the two things are done among them at every one's own free will, and they are, to assure those that want it, and to shew mercy; for they are permitted of their own accord to afford succour to such as deserve it, when they stand in need of it, and to bestow food on those that are in distress; but they cannot give any thing to their kindred without the curators. They dispense their anger after a just manner, and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity, and are the ministers of peace; whatsoever they say also is firmer than an oath; but swearing is avoided by them, and they esteem it worse than perjury; * for they say, that he who cannot be believed without [swearing by] God, is already condemned. They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients, and choose out of them what is most for the advantage of their soul and body; and they inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their distemper.

6. But now, if any one hath a mind to come over to their sect, he is not immediately admitted, but he is prescribed the same method of living which they use for a year, while he continues excluded; and they give, so to speak, a small hatchet, and the fore-mentioned girdle, and the white garment. And when he hath given evidence, during that time, that he can observe their continence, he approaches nearer to their way of living, and is made a partaker of the waters of purification; yet is he not even now admitted to live with them; for after this demonstration of his fortitude, his temper is tried two more years, and if he appear to be worthy, they then admit him into their society. And before he is allowed to touch their common food, he is obliged to abstain from all beasts, and from all venison, and he will exercise piety towards God; and then, that he will observe justice towards all men; and that he will do no harm to any one, either of his own accord, or by the command of others; that he will always hate the wicked, and be assistant to the righteous; that he will ever show fidelity to all men, and especially to those in authority, he will at no time whatsoever abuse his authority, nor endeavour to outrage his subjects, either in his garments, or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to remove those that tell lies; that he will keep his hands clear from theft, and his soul from unlawful gains; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others, now, not though any one should compel him so to do at the hazard of his life. Moreover, he swears to communicate their doctrines to no one any otherwise than as he received them himself; that he will abstain from robbery, and will equally preserve the books belonging to their sect, and the name of the angels [or messengers]. These are the oaths by which they secure their proselytes to themselves.

8. But for those that are caught in any heinous sins, they cast them out of their society; and he who is thus separated from them, does often die after a miserable manner; for as he is bound by the oath he hath taken, and by the customs he hath been engaged in, he is not at liberty to partake of that food that he meets with elsewhere, but is forced to eat grass, and to famish his body with hunger till he perish; for which reason they receive many related in the very next section, to admit some till they take the oaths to be performed by several persons together, in the sight of the people, without suspecting that they break this rule. Not to swear at all, is the same in the Christians as it is learnt from the Apostolical Constitutions, which, although they agree with Christ and St. James, in forbidding to swear in general, ch. v. 15, vi. 23; yet do they explain it elsewhere, by avoiding to swear falsely, and to swear often and in vain, ch. ii. 20; and again by *not swearing at all,* but withal adding, that if that cannot be avoided, to swear truly, ch. xi. 2, which abundantly explain to us the nature of the measure of this general direction.

*This practice of the Essenes, in refusing to swear, and abstaining from swearing, on ordinary occasions, worse than perjury, is delivered here as a parable of the second Person of the Trinity, Colos. iii. 8. As is the prayer to or towards the Sun, for his rising every morning, mentioned before, sect. 2, very like those that much later observations made mention of in the preaching of Peter, 2 Pet. i. 19, in the morning, and of the sun, and not celebrating the new moons, or other festivities in the month of Adar, according to the earlier mention of any regard to the moon's phases in the Jewish calendar, of which the Talmud and later rabbinic talk so much, and upon so very little ancient foundation.

* For they say, that he who cannot be believed without [swearing by] God, is already condemned.
of them again when they are at their last gasp, out of compassion to them, as thinking the miseries they have endured till they come to the very brink of death, to be a sufficient punishment for the sins they had been guilty of.

9. But in the judgments they execute they are most accurate and just; nor do they pass sentence by the votes of a court that is fewer than a hundred. And as to what is once determined by that number, it is unalterable. What they most of all honour, after God himself, is the name of their legislator [Moses]; whom, if any one blaspheme, he is punished capitally. They also think it a good thing to obey their elders, and the major part. Accordingly, if ten of them be sitting together, no one of them will speak while the other nine are against it. They also avoid spitting in the midst of them, or on the right side. Moreover, they are stricter than any other of the Jews in resting from their labours on the seventh day; for they not only get their food ready the day before; but they may not be obliged to kindle a fire on that day, but must and not merely any vessel out of its place, nor go to stool thereon.

Nay, on the other days they dig a small pit, a foot deep, with a paddle (which kind of hatchet is given them when they are first admitted among them); and covering themselves round with their garment, that they may not affront the divine rays of light, they ease themselves into that pit, after which they put the earth that was dug out again into the pit; and even this they do only in the more lonely places, where they choose out for this purpose; and although this easement of the body be natural, yet it is a rule with them to wash themselves after it, as if it were a defilement to them.

10. Now after the time of their preparatory trial is over, they are parted into four classes; and so far are the juniors inferior to the seniors, that if the seniors should be touched by the juniors, they must wash themselves, as if they had intermixed themselves with the company of a foreigner. They are long-lived also; insomuch that many of them live above a hundred years, by means of the simplicity of their diet; and, as I think, by means of the constant use of the Rule which they observe also. This they contend the miseries of life, and are above pain, by the generosity of their mind. And as for death, if it will be for their glory, they esteem it better than living always; and indeed our war with the Romans gave abundant evidences what great souls they had in their trials, wherein, although they were tortured and distroited, burnt and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme their legislator or to eat what was forbidden them, yet could they not be made to stagger from them, nor once to flatter their tormentors, nor to shed a tear; but they smiled in their very pains, and laughed those who scoffed at their tormentions upon them, and resigned up their souls with great alacrity, as expecting to receive them again.

11. For their doctrine is this:—That bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal, and continue for ever; and that they come out of the most subtle air, and are united to their bodies as in prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain invisible enticement; but that when they are not free from the bonds of this flesh, they then, released from a long bondage, rejoice and mount upward. And this is like the opinion of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, or with intense heat, but that this place is such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a west wind, that is perpetually blowing from the ocean; while they all to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den, full of never-ceasing punishments. And indeed the Greeks seem to me to have followed the same notion, when they set the islands of the blessed to their brave men, when they call heroes and demi-gods; and to the souls of the wicked, the region of the ungodly, in Hades, where their fables relate that certain persons, such as Sisyphus, and Tantalus, and Ixion, and Tyndareus, are punished; which is built first on this supposition, that souls are immortal; and thence are these exhortations to virtue, and dehortations from wickedness collected; whereby good men are better in the conduct of their life, by the hope they have of reward after their death, and whereby the revolters and abominations of bad men to vice are restrained, by the forementioned expectation they are in, that although they should lie concealed in this life, they should suffer immortal punishment after death.

These are the divine doctrines of the Essenes about the soul, which lay an unavoidable bait for such as have once had a taste for their philosophy.

12. There are also among them who undertake foretell things to come, by reading the holy books, and using several sorts of purifications, and being perpetually conversant in the discourses of the prophets, and it is but seldom that they miss in their predictions.

13. Moreover, there is another order of Essenes, who agree with the rest as to their way of living, and customs, and laws, but differ from them in the point of marriage, as thinking that by not marrying they cut off the principal part of human life, which is the prospect of succession; nay rather, that if all men should be of the same opinion, the whole race of mankind would fail. However, they try their spouses for three years; and if they find that they have their natural purgations thrice, as trials that they are likely to be fruitful, they then actually marry their wives. But of this, they discourse with their wives when they are with child, as a demonstration that they do not marry out of regard to pleasure, but for the sake of posterity. Now the women go into the baths with some of their garments on, as the men do with somewhat girded about them. And these are the customs of this order of Essenes.

14. But then as to the two other orders at first mentioned; the Pharisees are those who are esteemed most skilful in the exact explanation of their laws, and introduces the first; those ascribe to fate, and to no one but God, yet all that it is right, or the contrary, principally in the power of men, although fate does cooperate in every action. They say that all souls are incorruptible; but that the souls of good men...
are only removed into other bodies,—but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. But the Sadducees are those that compose the second order, and take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil; and they say, that to act what is good, or what is evil, is at men's own choice, and that the one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortality of the soul, and the punishments and rewards in Hades. Moreover, the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and are at exercise of concord and regard for the public. But the behaviour of the Sadducees one towards another is in some degrees wild; and their conversation with those that are of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers to them. And this is what I had to say concerning the philosophic sects among the Jews.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DEATH OF SALOME. THE CITIES WHICH HEROD AND PHILIP BUILT. PILATE OCCASIONS DISTURBANCES. TIBERIUS PUTS AGrippA INTO BONDS, BUT CAIUS FREES HIM FROM THEM, AND MAKES HIM KING. HEROD ANTIPAS IS BANISHED.

§ 1. And now, as the etharchate of Archelaus was fallen into a Roman province, the other sons of Herod, Philip, and that Herod who was called Antipas, each of them took upon them the administration of their own tetrarchies; for when Salome died, she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of Augustus, both her tophiarchy, and dominia, as also her plantation of palm-trees that were in Phasaelis. But when the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years, six months, and two days, both Herod and Philip continued in their tetrarchies; and the latter of them built the city Cesarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Panæas; as also the city Julias, in the lower Gaulonitis. Herod also built the city Tiberias in Galilee, and in Perea [beyond Jordan] another that was called Julias.

2. Now Pilate, who was sent as procurator into Judea by Tiberius, sent by night these images of Caesar that are called Ensigns, into Jerusalem. This excited a very great tumult among the Jews when it was day; for those that were near them were astonished at the sight of them, and the assemblies that their laws were trodden under foot: for those laws do not permit any sort of images to be brought into the city. Nay, besides the indignation which the citizens themselves had at this procedure, a vast number of people came running out of the country. These came zealously to Pilate to Cæsarea, and besought him to carry those ensigns out of Jerusalem, and to preserve them their ancient laws inviolable; but upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down prostrate upon the ground, and continued immovable in that posture for five days and as many nights.

3. On the next day Pilate sat upon his tribunal, in the open market-place, and called to him the multitude, as desirous to give them an answer; and then gave a signal to the soldiers that they should all by agreement at once encompass the Jews with their weapons; so the band of soldiers stood round about the Jews in three ranks. Pilate also said to them, that they should be cut in pieces, unless they would admit of Caesar’s images; and gave intimation to the soldiers to draw their naked swords. Hereupon the Jews, as it was at one signal, fell down in vast numbers together, and exposed their necks bare, and cried out that they were sooner ready to be slain, than that their law should be transgressed. Hereupon Pilate was greatly surprised at their prodigious superstition, and gave orders that the ensigns should be presently carried out of Jerusalem.

4. After this he raised another disturbance, by expending that sacred treasure which is called Corbây upon aqueducts, whereby he brought water from the distance of four hundred furlongs. At this the multitude had great indignation; and when Pilate was come to Jerusalem, they came about his tribunal, and made a clamour at it. Now when he was apprised beforehand of this disturbance, he mixed his own soldiers in their armour with the multitude, and ordered them to conceal themselves under the habits of private men, and not indeed to use their swords, but with staves to beat those that made the clamour. He then gave the signal for the tribunals [to do as he had bidden them]. Now the Jews were so sadly beaten, that many of them perished by the stripes they received, and many of them perished as trodden to death, by which means the multitude was astonished at the calamity of those that were slain, and held their peace.

5. In the meantime Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who had been slain by his father Herod, came to Tiberius to accuse the tetrarch; who not admitting of his accusation, he said at Rome, and cultivated a friendship with others of the men of note, but principally with Caius the son of Germanicus, who was then but a private person. Now this Agrippa, at a certain time, feasted Caius; and as he was very complaisant to him on several other accounts, he at length stretched out his hands, and openly wished that Tiberius might die, and that he might quickly see him emperor of the world. This was told to Tiberius by one of Agrippa's domestics; who thereupon was very angry, and ordered Agrippa to be bound, and had him very ill

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1. This use of corban or offering, as here applied to the sacred money dedicated to God in the treasury of the temple, illustrates what is shown in the notes, Mark vii. 11, 12.
treated in the prison for six months, until Tiberius died, after he had reigned twenty-two years, and six months, and three days.

6. But when Caesar had made Caesar, he released Agrippa from his bonds, and made him king of Philip's tetrarchy, who was now dead; but when Agrippa had arrived at that degree of dignity, he inflamed the ambitious desires of Herod the tetrarch, who was chiefly induced to hope for the royal authority by his wife Herodias, who reproached him for his sloth, and told him that it was only because he would not sail to Caesar that he was destitute of that great dignity; for since Caesar had made Agrippa a king, from a private person, much more would he advance him from a tetrarch to that dignity. These arguments prevailed with Herod, so that he came to Caes, by whom he was punished for his ambition, by being banished into Spain; for Agrippa followed him, in order to accuse him; to whom also Caes gave his tetrarchy, by way of addition. So Herod died in Spain, whether his wife had followed him.

CHAPTER X.
CAIUS COMMANDS THAT HIS STATUE SHOULD BE SET UP IN THE TEMPLE ITSELF; AND WHAT PTOLEMAIS DID THEREUPON.

§ 1. Now Caius Caesar did so grossly abuse the fortune he had arrived at, as to take himself to be a god, and to desire to be so called also, and to cut off those of the greatest nobility out of his country. He also extended his impertinence as far as the Jews. Accordingly, he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem, to place his statues in the temple, and commanded him that, in case the Jews would not admit of them, he should slay those that opposed it, and carry all the rest of the nation into captivity; but God concerned himself with these his commands. However, Petronius marched out of Antioch into Judea, with three legions, and many Syrian auxiliaries. Now as to the Jews, some of them could not believe the stories that spake of a war; but those that did believe them were in the utmost distress how to defend themselves, and the terror diffused itself presently through them all: for the army was already come to Ptolemais.

2. This Ptolemais is a maritime city of Galilee, built in the great plain. It is encompassed with mountains; that on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to Galilee; but that on the south belongs to Carmel, which is distant from it a hundred and twenty furlongs; and that on the north is the highest of them all, and is called by the people of the country, The Ladder of the Tyrians, which is at the distance of a hundred furlongs. The very small river Belus runs by it, at the distance of two furlongs; near which is Memon's monument, and hath near it a place no larger than a hundred cubits, which deserves admiration; for the place is round and hollow, and affords such sand as glass is made of; which place had been emptied by the many ships there loaded, it is filled again by the winds, which bring into it, as it were on purpose, that sand which lay remote, and was no more than a common sand, while this mine presently turns it into glassy sand; and what is to me still more wonderful, that glassy sand which is superfluous, and is once removed out of the place, becomes bar common sand again; and this is the nature of the place we are speaking of.

3. But now the Jews got together in great numbers, with their wives and children, into that plain that was by Ptolemais, and made supplication to Petronius, first for their laws, and, in the next place, for themselves. So he was prevailed upon by the multitude of the supplicants, and by their supplications, and left his army and statues at Ptolemais, and then went forward into Galilee, and called together the multitude and all the men of note to Tiberias, and showed them the power of the Romans, and the threatenings of Caesar; and, besides this, proved that their petition was unreasonable, because while all the nations in subjectation to them had placed the images of Caesar in their several cities, among the rest of their gods,—for them alone to oppose it, was almost like the behaviour of revolters, and was injurious to Caesar.

4. And when they insisted on their law, and the custom of their country, and how it was not only not permitted them to make either an image of God, or of a man, and to put it in any despicable part of their country, much less in the temple itself, Petronius replied, "And am not I also," said he, "bound to keep the laws of my own lord? For if I transgress it, and spare you, it is but just that I perish; while he that sent me, and not I, will commence a war against you; for I am under command as well as you." Hereupon the multitude cried out, that they were ready to suffer for their laws; Petronius then quieted them, and said to them, "Will you then make war against Caesar?" The Jews said, "We offer sacrifices twice every day for Caesar, and for the Roman people;" but that if he would place the images among them, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation; and that they were ready to expose themselves, together with their children and wives, to be slain. At this Petronius was astonished, and pitied them on account of the inexplicable sense of religion the men were under, and that courage of theirs which made them ready to die for it; so they were dismissed without success.

5. But on the following day, he got together the men of power privately, and the multitude publicly, and sometimes he used persuasions to them, and sometimes he gave them his advice; but he chiefly made use of threatening to them, and insisted upon the power of the Romans, and the anger of Caesar; and besides, upon the necessity he was himself under [to do as he was enjoined]. But as they could no way be prevailed upon, and he saw that the country was in danger of lying without tribute (for it was about seed-time that the multitude continued for thirty days together idle), he at last got them together, and told them that he went to let them arm themselves, to run some hazard himself; "for either by the divine assistance, I shall prevail with Caesar; and shall myself escape the danger as well as you, which will be matter of joy to us both; or, in case Caesar continue in his rage, I will be ready to expose my own life for such a great number as you are." Whereupon he dismissed the multitude, who
prayed greatly for his prosperity; and he took the army out of Ptolemais, and returned to Antioch; from whence he presently sent an epistle to Cesar, and informed him of the irritation he had made into Judah, and of the supplications of the nation; and that unless he had a mind to lose both the country and the men in it, he must permit them to keep their law, and must countermand his former injunction. Caius answered that epistle in a violent way, and threatened to have Petronius put to death for his being so tardy in the execution of what he had commanded. But it happened that those who brought Caius's epistle were tossed by a storm, and were detained on the sea three months, while others that brought the news of Caius's death had a good voyage. Accordingly, Petronius received the epistle concerning Caius seven and twenty days before he received that which was against himself.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING THE GOVERNMENT OF CLAUDIUS, AND THE REIGN OF AGrippa. CONCERNING THE DEATH OF AGrippa AND OF HEROD, AND WHAT CHILDREN THEY BOTH LEFT BEHIND THEM.

§ 1. Now when Caius had reigned three years and eight months, and had been slain by treachery, Claudius was hurried away by the armies that were at Rome to take the government upon him; but the senate, upon the reference of the consuls, Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, gave orders to the three regiments of soldiers that staid with them, to keep the city quiet, and went up into the Capitol in great numbers, and resolved to oppose Claudius by force, on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius; and they determined either to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as they had of old been governed, or at least to choose by vote such a one for emperor as might be worthy of it.

2. Now it happened, that at this time Agrippa sojourned at Rome, and that both the senate called him to consult with them, and at the same time Claudius sent for him out of the camp, that he might be serviceable to him, as he should have occasion for his service. So he, perceiving that Claudius was in effect made Cesar already, went to him, who sent him, as an ambassador to the senate, to let them know what his intentions were; that, in the first place, it was without his seeking, that he was hurried away by the soldiers; moreover, that he thought it was not just to desert those soldiers in such their zeal for him, and that if he should do so, his own fortune would be in uncertainty; for that it was a dangerous case to have been once called to the empire. He added farther, that he would administer the government as a good prince, and not like a tyrant; for that he would be satisfied with the honour of being called Emperor, but would, in every one of his actions, permit them all to give him his advice; for that although he had not been by nature for moderation, yet would the death of Caius afford him a sufficient demonstration how soberly he ought to act in that station.

3. This message was delivered by Agrippa; to which the senate replied, that since they had an army, and the wisest counsels on their side, they would not endure a voluntary slavery. When Claudius heard what answer the senate had made, he sent Agrippa to them again, with the following message:—That he could not bear the thoughts of betraying them that had given their oaths to be true to him, and that he saw he must fight, though unwillingly, against such as he had no mind to fight; that, however, (if it must come to that), it was proper to choose a place without the city for the war; because it was not agreeable to piety to pollute the temples of their own city with the blood of their own countrymen, and this only on occasion of their imprudent conduct. And when Agrippa had heard this message, he delivered it to the senators.

4. In the meantime, one of the soldiers belonging to the senate drugged the emperors, and cried out, "O my fellow-soldiers, what is the meaning of this choice of ours, to kill our brethren, and to use violence to our kindred that are with Claudius! while we may have him for our emperor whom no one can blame, and who hath so many just reasons [to lay claim to the government]! and this with regard to those against whom we are going to fight?!" When he had said this, he marched through the whole senate, and carried all the soldiers along with him. Upon which all the patriots were immediately in a great fright at their being thus deserted. But still, because there appeared no other way whither they could turn themselves for deliverance, they made haste the same way with the soldiers, and went to Claudius. But those that had the greatest luck in flattering the good fortune of Claudius betimes, met them before the walls with their naked swords, and there was reason to fear that those that came first might have been in danger, before Claudius could know what violence the soldiers were going to offer them, had not Agrippa run before, and told him what a dangerous thing they were going about, and that unless he restrained the violence of these men, who were in a fit of madness against the patriots, he would lose those on whose account it was most desirable to rule, and would be emperor over a desert.

5. When Claudius heard this he restrained the violence of the soldiers, and received the senate into the camp, and treated them after an obliging manner, and went out with them presently, to offer their thank-offerings to God, which were proper upon his first coming to the empire. Moreover, he bestowed upon Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately, and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and still besides these, that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanias. This gift he declared to the people by a decree, but ordered the magistrates to have the donation engraved on the tables of brass, and to be set up in the Capitol. He bestowed on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law, by marrying [his daughter] Bernice, the kingdom of Chalcis.

6. So now riches flowed in to Agrippa by his enjoyment of so large a dominion; nor did he abuse the money he had on small matters, but he began to encompass Jerusalem with such a wall, which, had it been brought to perfection, had made it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege; but his death, which happened at Cesarea, before he had raised the walls to their due height, prevented him. He had then reigned three years, as
he had governed his tetrarchies three other years. He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cyprus; Bernice, Mammian, and Drusilla; and a son born of the same mother, whose name was Agrippa: he was left a very young child, so that Claudius made the country a Roman province, and sent Cespins Fadius to be his procurator, and after him Tiberius Alexander, who, making no alterations of the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquillity. Now after this, Herod the king of Chalceis died, and left behind him two sons, born to him of his brother's daughter Bernice; their names were Bernicianus and Hyrcanus. [He also left behind him] Aristobulus, whom he had by his former wife Mammian. There was besides, another brother of his that died a private person, his name was also Aristobulus, who left behind him a daughter, whose name was Joatop: and these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus, the son of Herod; which Aristobulus and Alexander were born to Herod by Mammian, and were slain by him. But as for Alexander's posterity, they reigned in Armenia.

CHAPTER XII.

MANY TUMULTS UNDER CUMANUS, WHICH WERE COMPOSED BY QUADRATUS. FELIX IS PROCURATOR OF JUDAEA. AGrippa IS ADVANCED FROM CHALCIS TO A GREATER KINGDOM.
bolder sort happened over the whole country. And the men of power among the Samaritans came to Tyre, to Ummidius Quadratus, * the president of Syria, and desired that they that had laid waste the country might be punished, the greatest part of the country, the town of Ananus, the high-priest, came thither, and said that the Sam- aritans were the beginners of the disturbance, on account of that murder they had committed; and that Cumanus had given occasion to what had happened, by his unwillingness to punish the original authors of that murder.

6. But Quadratus put both parties off for that time, and told them, that when he should come to those places he would make a diligent inquiry after every circumstance. After which he went to Cesarea, and crucified all those whom Cumanus had taken alive; and when from thence he was come to the city Lydda, he heard the affair of the Samaritans, and sent for eighteen of the Jews, whom he had learned to have been concerned in that fight, and beheaded them; but he sent two others of those that were of the greatest power among them, and both Jonathan and Ananias, the high-priests, as also Ananus the son of this Ananias, and certain others that were eminent among the Jews, to Cesarea, as he did in like manner by the most illustrious of the Samaritans. He also ordered that Cumanus and Elymas, and the other of the tribune should sail to Rome, in order to give an account of what had been done to Cesar. When he had finished those matters, he went up from Lydda to Jerusalem, and indulging the multitude celebrating the feast of unleavened bread without any tumult, he returned to Antioch.

7. Now when Cesar at Rome had heard what Cumanus and the Samaritans had to say (where it was done in the hearing of Agrippa, who zealously espoused the cause of the Jews, as in like manner many of the great men stood by Cumanus), he was pleased to employ the Jews, and commanded that three of the most powerful men among them should be put to death: he banished Cumanus, and sent Celer bound to Jerusalem, to be delivered over to the Jews to be tormented; that he should be drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

8. After this, Cesar sent Felix, + the brother of 'a'las, to be procurator of Galilee, and Samaria, and Perea, and removed Agrippa from Chalcis into a greater kingdom; for he gave him the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanea, Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis: he also added to it the kingdom of Lycaonia, and that province [Ablene] which Vespasian had governed. But Claudius himself, when he had administered the government thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, died, and left Nero to be his successor in the empire, whom he had adopted by his wife Agrippina's delusions, in order to be his successor, although he had a son of his own whose name was Britannicus, by Messalina his former wife, and a daughter whose name was Octavia, whom he had married to Nero; he had also another daughter by Petina, whose name was Antonia.

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CHAPTER XIII.

NERO ADDS FOUR CITIES TO AGRIPPA'S KINGDOM; BUT THE OTHER PART OF JUDEA WERE UNDER BR. LIX. THE DISTURBANCES WHICH WERE RAISED BY THE SICARI, THE MAGICIANS, AND AN EGYPTIAN FALSE PROPHET. THE JEWS AND SYRIANS HAVE A CONTEST AT CESAREA.

§ 1. Now as to the many things in which Nero acted like a madman, out of the extravagant degree of the felicity and riches which he enjoyed, and by that means used his good fortune to the injury of others; and after what manner he slew his brother, and wife, and mother; from whom his barbarity spread itself to others that were most nearly related to him; and how, at last, he was so distracted that he became an actor in the scenes, and upon the theatre,—I omit to say any more about them, because there are writers enough upon those subjects everywhere; but I shall turn myself to those actions of his time in which the Jews were concerned.

2. Nero therefore bestowed the kingdom of the lower Armenia upon Aristobulus, Herod's son; and he added to Agrippa's kingdom four cities, with the toparchies to them belonging: I mean Abila, and that Julias which is in Perea, Tarichaea also, and Tiberias of Galile; but over the rest of Judea he made Felix procurator. This Felix took Eleazar the arch robber, and many that were with him alive, when they had ravaged the country for twenty years together, and sent them to Rome; but as to the number of the robbers whom he caused to be crucified, and of whom were caught among them, and those he brought to punishment, they were a multitude not to be enumerated.

3. When the country was purged of these, there sprang up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, which were called Sicarii, who slew men in the daytime, and in the midst of the city; this they did chiefly at the festivals, when they mingled themselves among the multitude, and concealed daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies; and when any fell down dead, the murderers became a part of those that had indignation against them; by which means they appeared persons of such reputation, that they could by no means be discovered. The first man who was slain by them was Jonathan the high-priest, after whose death many were slain every day, while the fear men were in of being so served, was more afflictive than the calamity itself; and while every body expected death every hour, as

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* The president of Syria.
+ Felix was the brother of 'a'las.
* See Tacitus, "Ch. viii."
people that were disposed to be tumultuous, and the Greeks thought it a shame for them to be overcome by the Jews. Now these Jews exceeded the others in riches and strength of body; but the Greek part had the advantage of assistance from the soldiers; for the greatest part of the Roman garrison was raised out of Syria; and being thus reassured by the Syrian part, they were ready to assist it. However, the governors of the city were concerned to keep all quiet, and whenever they caught those who were most for fighting on either side, they punished them with stripes and bonds. Yet did not the sufferings of those that were caught affright the remainder, or make them desist; but they were still more and more exasperated, and deeper engaged in the sedition. And as Felix came once into the market-place, and commanded the Jews, when they had beaten the Syrians, to go their ways, and threatened them if they would not, and they would not obey him, he sent his soldiers out upon them, and slew a great many of them, upon which it fell out that what they had been plundered. And as the sedition still continued, he chose out the most eminent men on both sides as ambassadors to Nero, and gave them the several privileges.

CHAPTER XIV.

FESTUS SUCCEEDS FELIX, WHO IS SUCCEEDED BY ABINUS, AS HE IS BY FLORUS; WHO, IN THE BARBARIETY OF HIS GOVERNMENT, FORCES THE JEWS INTO THE WAR.

§ 1. Now it was that Festus succeeded Felix as procurator, and made it his business to correct those that made disturbances in the country. So he caught the greatest part of the robbers, and destroyed a great many of them. But then Abinus, who succeeded Festus, did not execute his office as the other had done; nor was there any sort of wickedness that could be named but he had and did it. Accordingly, he did not only, in his political capacity, steal and plunder every one's substance, nor did he only burden the whole nation with taxes, but he permitted the relations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been bid there, either by the senate of every city, or by the former procurators, to redeem them for money; and nobody remained in the prisons as a malefactor but he who gave him nothing. At this time it was that the enterprises of the seditions at Jerusalem were very formidable; the principal men among them purchasing leave of Abinus to go on with their seditions practices; while that part of the people who had disturbances joined themselves to such as had fellowship with Abinus; and every one of those wicked wretches were encompassed with his band of robbers, while he himself was like an arch robber, or a tyrant, made a trade among his company, and abused his authority over those about him, in order to plunder those that lived quietly. The effect of which was this, that those who lost their goods were forced to hold their peace, when they had reason to show great indignation at what they had suffered; but those who had escaped, were forced to labor that deserved to be punished, out of the fear they were in of suffering equally with the others. Upon the whole, nobody durst speak their minds, for tyranny was
CHAPTER XIV.

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generally tolerated; and at this time were those seeds sown which brought the city to destruction.

2. And although such was the character of Albinus, yet did Gessius Florus, who succeeded him, demonstrate to have been a most excellent person, upon the comparison: for the former did the greatest part of his rogueries privately, and succeeded with much success; but Gessius did his unjust actions to the harm of the nation after a pompous manner; and as though he had been sent as an executioner to punish condemned malefactors, he omitted no sort of rapine, or of vexation: where the case was really pitiable, he was most barbarous; and in things of the greatest turpitude, he was most impudent; nor could any one outdo him in disguising the truth; nor could any one contrive more subtle ways of Jecott than he did. He indeed thought it but a petty offence to get money out of single persons; so he spoiled whole cities, and ruined entire bodies of men at once, and did almost publicly proclaim it the case over the country, that they had liberty given them to turn robbers, upon this condition, that he might go shares with them in the spoils. Accordingly, this his greediness of gain was the occasion that entire tabernacles were brought to desolation; and a great many of the people left their own country, and fled into foreign provinces.

3. And truly, while Cestius Gallus was president of the province of Syria, nobody durst do so much as send an embassy to him against Florus; but when he was come to Jerusalem, upon the approach of the feast of unleavened bread, the people came about him not fewer in number than three million; these besought him to commiserate the calamities of their nation, and cried out upon Florus as the bane of their country. But as he was present, and stood by Cestius, he laughed at their words. However, Cestius, when he had quitted the multitude, and had assured them that he would take care that Florus should hereafter treat them in a more genteel manner, returned to Antioch; Florus also conducted him as far as Cæsarea, and desired he would now go to Jerusalem, in order to the purpose of showing his anger at the nation, and procuring a war upon them, by which means alone it was that he supposed he might conceal his enormities; for he expected, that if the peace continued, he should have the Jews for his auxiliaries before Cæsar; but that if he could procure them to make a revolt, he should divert their lying lesser crimes to his charge, by a misery that was so much greater; he therefore did every day augment their calamities, in order to induce them to a rebellion.

Now at this time it happened that the Greeks at Cæsarea, having obtained of Nero the government of the city, and had brought the judicial determination: at the same time began the war, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemissius [Jyar.]. Now the occasion of this war was by no means propor- tionable to those heavy calamities which it brought upon us; for the Jews that dwelt at Cæsarea had a synagogue near the place, whose owner was a certain Cæsarean Greek: the Jews had endeavoured frequently to have purchased the possession of the place, and had offered many times its value for its price; but the owner overlooked their offers, so did he raise other building fees; but he afterwards, to make escape to them, and made working-shops of them, and left them but a narrow passage, and such as was very troublesome for them to go along to their synagogue; whereupon the warmer part of the Jewish youth went hastily to the workmen, and forbade them to build there; but as Florus would not permit them to use force, the great men of the Jews, with John the publican, being in the utmost distress, to do, persuaded Florus, with the offer of eight talents, to hinder the work. He then, being intemperate upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do for them all they desired of him, and then went away from Cæsarea to Sebaste, and left the sedition to take its full course, as if he had sold a license to the Jews to fight it out.

5. Now on the next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowding space to their synagogue, a certain man of Cæsarea, of a seditious temper, got an earthen vessel, and set it, with the bottom upward, at the entrance of that synagogue, and sacrificed birds. This thing provoked the Jews to an incurable degree, because their laws were afforded, and the place was polluted; whereupon the sober and moderate part of the Jews thought it proper to have recourse to their governors again, while the sedities, and such as were in the fervour of their youth, were vehemently inflamed to fight. The sedities also among [the Gentiles of] Cæsarea stood ready for the same purpose; for they had, by agreement, sent the man to sacrifice beforehand; so that it soon came to blows. Hereupon Jucundus, the master of the horse, who was ordered to prevent the fight, came thither, and took away the earthen vessel, and made a stop to the sedition, but when he was overcome by the violence of the people of Cæsarea, the Jews caught up their book of the law, and retired to Nabata, which is a place to them belonging, distant from Cæsarea sixty furlongs. But John, and twelve of the principal men with him, went to Florus, to Sebaste, and made a lamentable complaint of their case, and besought him to help them; and with all possible decency, put him in mind of the eight talents they had given him; but he had the men seized upon, and put in prison, and accused them for carrying the books of the law out of Cæsarea, and profaned them, by keeping them with the Gentiles, and using them as garments.

6. Moreover, as to the citizens of Jerusalem, although they took this matter very ill, yet did they restrain their passion; but Florus acted herein as if he had been hired, and blew up the war into a flame, and sent some to take seventeen talents out of the sacred treasure, and pretended that Cæsar wanted them. At this the people were in confusion immediately, and ran together to the temple, with prodigious clamours, and called upon Cæsar by name, and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some also of the sedities

* Take here Dr. Hudson's very pertinent note. "By this action, the killing of a heifer given in exchange, which was supposed to be a leper's; for that was to be done by the law in the cleansing of a leper (Lev. ch. xi.). It is also known that the Seutaeus approached the Jews as subject to the leprosy, and believed that they were driven out of Egypt on that account. This that embates me."

Mr. Beza suggested to us."
cried out upon Florus, and cast the greatest re-
proaches upon him, and carried a basket about,
and begged some spells of money for him, as for one
that was destitute of possessions, and in a miser-
able condition. Yet was not he made ashamed
hereby of his love of money, but was more enraged
and provoked to get still more; and instead of
coming to Cesarea, as he ought to have done, and
quenched the flame of war, which was beginning
there, and so take away the occasion of any dis-
 turbances, on which account it was that he had
received a reward [of eight talents], he marched
hastily with an army of horsemen and footmen,
again, that he might gain his will by the arms of
the Romans, and might, by his terror, and by his
threatenings, bring the city into sub-
jection.

7. But the people were desirous of making Florus
ashamed of his attempt, and met his soldiers with
acclamations, and put themselves in order to receive
him very submissively; but he sent Capito, a cen-
turion, beforehand, with fifty soldiers, to bid them
back, and now make a show of receiving him in an
obliging manner, whom they had so foully re-
pulsed before; and said that it was incumbent on
them, in case they had generous souls, and free
speakers, to jest upon him to his face, and appear
to be lovers of liberty, not only in words but with
their weapons also. With this message was the
multitude amazed; and upon the coming of Capito's
horsemen into the midst of them, they were dis-
persed before they could salute Florus, or manifest
their submissive behaviour to him. Accordingly
they retired to their own houses, and spent that
night in fear and confusion of face.

8. Now at this time Florus took up his quarters
at the palace; and on the next day he had his tri-
unal set before it, and sat upon it, when the high-
priests, and the men of power, and those of the
greatest eminence in the city, came all before that
tribunal; upon which Florus commanded them to
deliver up to him those that had reproached him,
and told them that they should themselves partake
of the vengeance to them belonging, if they did not
produce the criminals; but these demonstrated that
the people were peaceably disposed, and they beg-
ged forgiveness for those that had spoken amiss;
for that he was young at all events, and in so great a
multitude there should be some more daring than
they ought to be, and by reason of their younger
age, foolish also; and that it was impossible to dis-
 tinguish those that offended from the rest, while
every one was sorry for what he had done, and
denied it out of fear of what would follow: that he
ought, however, to provide for the peace of the na-
tion, and to take such counsels as might preserve
the city for the Romans, and rather, for the sake
of a great number of innocent people, to forgive a
few that were guilty, than for the sake of a few of
the wicked, to put so large and good a body of men
into disorder.

9. Florus was more provoked at this, and called
out aloud to the soldiers to plunder that which was
called the Upper Market Place, and to slay such as
they met with. So the soldiers, taking this exhor-
tation of their commander in a sense agreeable to
their desire of gain, did not only plunder the place
they were sent to, but forcing themselves into every
house, they slew its inhabitants; so the citizens
fled along the narrow lanes, and the soldiers slew
those that they caught, and no method of plunder
was omitted; they also caught many of the quiet
people, and brought them before Florus, whom he
first chastised with stripes, and then crucified.
Accordingly, the whole number of those that were
destroyed that day, with their wives and children
(for they did not spare the infants themselves), was
about three thousand six hundred; and what was
this calamity the heavier, was this new method
of Roman barbarity; for Florus ventured then to
what no one had done before, that is, to have left
of the equestrian order whirled, and sailed into
cross before his tribunal; who, although they were
by birth Romans, yet were they of Roman digni-
notwithstanding.

CONCERNING BERNICE'S PETITION TO FLORUS. 47
SPARE THE JEWS, BUT IN VAIN; AS ALSO 48
AFTER THE SEDITIOUS FLAME WAS QUENCHED, IT
WAS KINDLED AGAIN BY FLORUS.

§ 1. About this very time king Agrippa was sent
to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander upon his
having obtained the government of Egypt from
Nero; but as his sister Bernice was come to Jer-
salem, and saw the wicked practices of the sold-
she was sorely affected at it, and frequently
and the masters of her horse and her guards to face,
and begged of him to leave off these slaughters;
but he would not comply with her request, nor did
any regard either to the multitude of those afflicted,
or to the nobility of her that interceded, but only
to the advantage he should make by his pun-
dering; nay, this violence of the soldiers broke not
to such a degree of madness, that it spent itself on
the queen herself; for they did not only terrify
and destroy those whom they had caught under
her very eyes, but indeed had killed herself also, 
when she had prevented them by flying to the palace,
and had staid there all night with her guards, what
she had about her for fear of an insult from the
soldiers. Now she dwelt then at Jerusalem, in order
to perform a vow which she had made to God;
for it is usual with those that had been either afflicted
with a distemper, or with any other de-
tresses, to make vows; and for those days before they are to offer their sacrifices, to abstain from
wine, and to shave the hair of their head.

* Here we have examples of native Jews who were of the upper
order among the Romans, and so ought never to have been treated
as criminals, according to the Roman laws. See also the like case

This verse refers to Bernice (here and elsewhere called Queen, not
as a daughter and sister to two kings, Agrippa the Great, and
Agrippa the junior, but the widow of Herod, who was so spe-
 cially blessed at Jerusalem, was not that of a Nazarene, but such a
woman as Jews used to make, in hope of getting some favor or
other danger, as Josephus here intimates. However, these
days abode at Jerusalem, for fasting and preparation against
the celebration of a proper sacrifice, seems to be too long, unless
it were their usual fashion or voluntary in this great city. It is
not required to be in the same, relating to waters, 19, xx. 1, and
is very in order for the time for such preparation, which was but
day one, Acts xxi, 21. As also here, we have, as in other con-
tributions in this place, no such haste for water as in some
places, and perhaps in this age the traditions of the Pharaonic
laws to this day, the Jews to this day pay in order, or as to the
going to judgment after all, the accustomed time. For we know
there is a difference of place and time of fasting and prepara-
tion, but it is as usual, and his burden comparatively light, in
such circumstances, v. 25, 26, so did not the Jews, if they had
"hand upon men heavy burdens, and grievous to bear," they
would not teach them themselves with such, Luke xi, 46. 7. But
no, 40, 414, that Judas, in his sixth satire, albs
saying or saying the same thing was said or done in Jerusalem, or
Jesus upon her for it; as do Tacitus, Dio, Suetonius, and many
more, mentioning her as so well known at Rome,—166.
things Bernice was now performing, and stood barefoot before Florus’s tribunal, and besought him [to spare the Jews]. Yet could she neither have reverence paid to her, nor could she escape without some danger of being slain herself.

2. This happened upon the sixteenth day of the month Artemius [July]. And on the next day, the multitude, who were in a great agony, ran together to the upper market-place, and made the loudest lamentations for those that had perished; and the greatest part of the cries were such as reflected on Florus; at which the men of power were affrighted, together with the high-priests, and rent their garments, and fell down before each of them, and besought them to leave off, and not to provoke Florus to some incurable procedure, besides what they had already suffered. Accordingly, the multitude complied immediately, out of reverence to those that had desired it of them, and out of the hope they had that Florus would do them no more injuries.

3. So Florus was troubled that the disturbances were over, and endeavoured to kindle the flame again, and sent for the high-priests, with the other eminent persons, and said the only demonstration that the people would not make any other innovations should be this,—that they must go out and meet the soldiers that were ascending from Cesarea, whence two cohorts were coming; and while these men were exhorting the multitude so to do, he sent beforehand, and gave directions to the centurions of the cohorts, that they should give notice to those that were under them, not to return the Jews’ salutations; and that if they made any reply to his disadvantage, they should make use of their weapons. Now the high-priests assembled the multitude in the temple, and desired them to go and meet the Romans, and to salute the cohorts very civilly, before their miserable case should become incurable. Now the seditious part would not comply with these persuasions; but the consideration of those that had been destroyed made them incline to those that were boldest for action.

4. At this time it was that every priest, and every servant of God, brought out the holy vessels, and the ornamental garments wherein they used to minister in sacred things. The harpers also, and the singers of hymns, came out with their instruments of music, and fell down before the multitude, and begged of them they would preserve those holy ornaments to them, and not to provoke the Romans to carry off those sacred treasures. You might also see then the high-priests themselves, with dust sprinkled in great plenty upon their heads, with bosoms deprived of any covering but what was rent; these besought every one of the eminent men by name, and the multitude in common, that the small offence betray their country to those that were desirous to have it laid waste; saying, “What benefit will it bring to the soldiers to have a salutation from the Jews? I or what amendment of affairs will it bring you, if you do not now go out to meet them? and that if they salute them civilly, all handle would be cut off from Florus to begin a war, that they should thereby gain their country, and freedom from all farther sufferings; and that, besides, it would be a sign of great want of command of themselves, if they should yield to a few seditions, power, while it was fled for them, and the great people, to force the others to act soberly.”

5. By these persuasions, which they used to the multitude and to the seditions, they restrained some by threatening, and others by the reverence that was paid them. After this they led them out, and they met the soldiers quietly, and after a composed manner, and when they were come up with them, they saluted them; but when they made no answer, they seditiously exclaimed against Florus, which was the signal given for falling upon them. The soldiers therefore encompassed them presently, and struck them with their clubs, and as they fled away, the horsemen trampled them down; so that a great many fell down dead by the strokes of the Romans, and more by their own violence in crushing one another. Now there was a terrible crowding about the gates, and while every body was making haste to get before another, the flight of them all was retarded, and a terrible destruction there was among those that fell down, for they were suffocated, and broken to pieces by the multitude of those that were uppermost: nor could any of them be distinguished by his relations, in order to the care of his funeral: the soldiers also who beat them, fell upon those whom they overtook, without showing them any mercy, and thrust the multitude through the place called Bezetha,* as they forced their way, in order to get in and seize upon the temple, and the tower Antonia. Florus also, being desirous to get those places into his possession, brought such as were with him out of the king’s palace, and would have compelled them to get as far as the citadel [Antonia]; but his attempt failed, for the people immediately turned back upon him, and stopped the violence of his attempt; and as they stood upon the tops of their houses they threw their darts at the Romans, who, as they were sorely galled thereby, because those weapons came from above, and they were not able to make a passage through the multitude, which stopped up the narrow passages, they retired to the camp which was at the palace.

6. But for the seditions, they were afraid lest Florus should come again, and get possession of the temple, through Antonia; so they got immediately upon those colonies of the temple that joined to Antonia, and cut them down. This is the avarice of Florus; for whereas he was eager to obtain the treasures of God [in the temple], and on that account was desirous of getting into Antonia, as soon as the cloisters were broken down he left off his attempt; he then sent for the high-priests and the sanhedrim, and told them that he was indeed himself going out of the city, but that he would leave them as large a garrison as they should desire. Hereupon they promised that they would make no innovations, in case he would leave them one band; but not that which had fought with the Jews, because the multitude of the people will against those who had on account of what they had suffered from it; so he changed the band as they desired, and with the rest of his forces returned to Cesarea.

* I take this Bezetha to be that small hill adjoining to the north side of the temple, where was the temple itself, and between which and the temple was the sheep-pool of Bethesda; into which an ancient or messenger, as Josephus says, was thrown as a sign of death, who were the “first put into the pool,” were cured, John v. 1, 2; and the situation of Bezetha, in Jerusalem, on the north side of the said, and not far off the tower Antonia, exactly agrees to the place of the same pool at this day; only the remaining cloisters are but three. See Diod. iv. p. 165. The same buildings seem to have been called the New City; and this part, where was the hospital, peculiarly Be- zetha or Bethesda. See ch. vii. sect. 6.
CHAPTER XVI.

Cestius Sends Neoplatinus the Tribune to See in What Condition the Affairs of the Jews Were. Agrippa Makes a Speech to the People of the Jews, That He May Diverge Them from Their Intentions of Making War with the Romans.

§ 1. However, Florus contrived another way to oblige the Jews to begin the war, and sent to Cestius and accused the Jews falsely of revolting from the Roman government, and importuned the beginning of the former fight to them, and pretended they had been the authors of that disturbance, wherein they were only the sufferers. Yet were not the governors of Jerusalem silent upon this occasion, but did themselves write to Cestius, as did Bernice also, about the illegal practices of which Florus had been guilty against the city; who upon reading both accounts, consulted with his captains [what he should do]. Now some of them thought it best for Cestius to go up with his army, either to punish the rebels, if it were possible to settle the Roman affairs on a surer foundation, if the Jews continued quiet under them; but he thought it best himself to send one of his intimate friends beforehand, to see the state of affairs, and to give him a faithful account of the intentions of the Jews. Accordingly he sent one of his tribunes, whose name was Neoplatinus, who met with king Agrippa as he was returning from Alexandria, to Jannia, and told him who it was that sent him, and on what errands he was sent.

2. And here it was that the high-priests and men of power among the Jews, as well as the sanhedrins, came to congratulate the king [upon his safe return]; and after they had paid their respects, they lamented their own calamities, and related to him what barbarous treatment they had met with from Florus. At which barbarity Agrippa had great indignation, but transferred, after a subtle manner, his anger towards those Jews whom he really pitied, that he might beat down their high thoughts of themselves, and would have them believe that they had not been so unjustly treated, in order not to let them raise themselves again. So these great men, as of better understanding than the rest, and desirous of peace, because of the possessions they had, understood that this rebuke which the king gave them was intended for their good; but as to the people, they came sixty furlongs out of Jerusalem, and congratulated both Agrippa and Neoplatinus; but the wives of those that had been slain came running first of all and lamenting. The people also when they heard their mourning, fell into lamentations also, and besought Agrippa to assist them; they also cried out to Neoplatinus, and complained of the many miseries they had endured under Florus; and they showed them, when they were come into the city, how the market-place was made desolate, and the houses plundered. They then persuaded Neoplatinus, by the means of Agrippa, that he would walk round the city, with only one servant, as far as Siloam, that he might inform himself that the Jews submitted to all the rest of the Romans, and were only displeased at Florus, by reason of his exceeding barbarity to them. So he walked round, and had sufficient experience of the good temper the people were in, and then went up to the temple, where he called the multitude together, and highly commended them for the fidelity to the Romans, and earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace; and having performed all parts of divine worship at the temple as he was allowed to do, he returned to Cestius.

§ 2. But as for the multitude of the Jews, they addressed themselves to the king, and to the high-priests, and desired they might have leave to send ambassadors to Nero against Florus, and not by their silence afford suspicion that they had not lost the occasion of such great slaughters as had been made, and were prepared to revolt, alleging the king they should seem to have been the first beggars of the war, if they did not prevent the report showing how it was that began it; and it seemed openly that they would not be quiet, if any thing should hinder them from sending such an embassy. But Agrippa, although he thought it a dangerous thing for them to appoint men to give the accusers of Florus, yet did not think it fit for him to overlook them, as they were in a disposition for war. He therefore called the Jews together into a large gallery, and placed high near him Bernice and the high-priests, and the Romans, that they might be seen by them (which house was over a gallery, at the passage to the upper city, where the bridge joined the temple to the gallery), and said to them as follows:—

4. "Had I perceived that you were all willingly disposed to go to war with the Romans, and that the purer and more sincere part of the people did not propose to live in peace, I had not come out to you, nor been so bold as to give you counsel of all discourses that tend to persuade me to do what I ought to do is superfluous, when it is agreed to do the contrary. But because you are earnest to go to war because they are young, and without experience of the miseries it brings; and because some are for it, out of an unseasonable expectation of regaining their liberty, and because others hope to get by it, and are therefore earnestly bent upon it; that in the confusion of your affections they may gain what belongs to those that are weak to resist them, I have thought proper to say to you all together, and to say to you what I think will be for your advantage; that so the former may not be the cause of the latter's ruin, and that not the best men may come to no harm by the ill conduct of some others. And let not any one be timorous against me, in case what they hear me say do not please them; for as to those that admit of security, but are resolved upon a revolt, it will be

* In this speech of king Agrippa we have an authentic account of the exact and accurate state of the Romans concerning the Jewish war. And this speech, with other discourses in Josephus, shows how wise and great a person Agrippa was, and where only calls him Ομοσπονδιακότατος, a most wonderful man, Obraz, Cap. i. 8. He is the same Agrippa who said to Paul, Or may I persuade you to be a Christian," Acts xxviii. 28, whom St. Paul said, "He was expert in all the customs and arts of the Jews," Acts xxvii. 2, and his most illustrious and important discourse, when Josephus had a long speech which he put into his mouth, and by the pride and passion of his conversation, ever to be the real speeches of the persons concerned, and were not the speeches of Cestius himself, as this is another nature, full of imbecile facts, and so he was supported by Divine Providence; and that therefore it was the Jews, or some others, to think that Josephus had the greatest friendship. Nor have I omitted all these things, or to add to the report of their conversation, and that which is supported by Divine Providence; and that there was a breach in the city, to think of Cestius's speech of Agrippa's solenn appeal to the angels, here is a thing so typical of what we have in St. Paul, Col. ii. 2, as to make an appeal in general, in the form of the evaporation of St. James, Ap. viii. 9.
in their power to retain the same sentiments after my extortion is over; but still my discourse will fall to the ground, even with respect to those that have a mind to hear me, unless you will all keep silence. I am well aware that many make a tragic exclamation concerning the injuries that have been offered you by your procurators, and concerning the glorious advantages of liberty; but before I begin the inquiry, who you are that must go to war, and who you are against whom you must fight. —I shall first separate those pretences that are by some connected together; for if you aim at avenging yourselves on those that have done you injuries and make some laws to destroy that right of recovering your liberty! but if you think all servitude intolerable, to what purpose serve your complaints to particular governors? for if they treated you with moderation, it would still be equally an unworthy thing to be in servitude. Consider now the several cases that may be supposed, how little occasion there is for your going to war. Your first occasion is, the accusations you have to make against your procurators: now here you ought to be submissive to those in authority, and not give them any offence, when you reproach men greatly for small offences, you reproach to be your adversaries; for this will only make them leave off hurting you privately, and with some degree of modesty, and to lay what you have waste openly. Now nothing so much damps the force of strokes as bearing them with patience; and the quietness of those who are injured, diverts the injurious persons from afflicting. But let us take it for granted, that the Roman ministers are injurious to you, and are incurably severe; yet are they not all the Romans who thus injure you? nor hath Caesar, against whom you are going to make war, injured you: it is not by their command that any wicked governor is sent to you; for they who are in the west cannot see those that are in the east; nor indeed is it easy for them there, even to hear what is done in these parts. Now it is absurd to make war with a great many for the sake of one; to do so with such mighty people, for a small cause; and this when these people are not able to know of what you complain: nay, such crimes as we complain of may soon be corrected, for the same procurator will not continue for ever; and probably it is that the successors will come with more moderate inclinations. But as for war if it be once begun, it is not easily laid down again, nor borne without calamities coming therewith. However, as to the desire of recovering your liberty, it is unreasonable to indulge it so late; whereas you ought to have laboured earnestly in old time that you might never have lost it: for the first experience of slavery was hard to be endured, and the struggle that you might never have been subject to it would have been just; but that slave who hath once been brought into subjection, and then runs away, is rather a refractory slave than a lover of liberty; for it was then the proper time for doing all things that was possible, that you might have never admitted the Romans [into your city] when Pompey first came into the country. But so it was, that our ancestors and their kings, who were in much better circumstances than we are, both as to money and [strong] bodies, and [valiant] souls, did not bear the onset of a small body of the Roman army. And yet you who have not accustomed yourselves to obedience from one generation to another, and who are so much inferior to those who first submitted in your circumstainces, will venture to oppose the entire empire of the Romans; while those Athenians, who, in order to preserve the liberty of Greece, did once set fire to their own city; who pursued Xerxes, that proud prince, when he sailed upon the sea; and could not be contained by the seas, but conducted such an army as was too broad for Europe; and made him run away like a fugitive in a single ship, and brake so great a part of Asia at the lesser Samian, are yet at this time servants to the Romans; and those injuctions which are sent from Italy, and those diatribes, and those calumnies, and those resolutions, and those threats, and those indignant exclamation concerning the liberties of Greece.—These Lacedemonians also, who got the great victories at Thermopyles and Platea, and had Agesilas, [for their king], and searched every corner of Asia, are content to admit the same lords. These Macedonians also, who still fancy what great men their Philip and Alexander were, and see that the latter had promised them the empire over the world, these bear so great a change, and pay their obedience to those whom fortune hath advanced in their stead.—Moreover, ten thousand other nations there are, who had greater reason than we to claim liberty, and yet do submit. You are the only people who think it a disgrace to be servants to those to whom all the world hath submitted. What sort of an army do you rely on? What are the arms you depend on? Where is your fleet that may seize upon the Roman seas? and where are those treasures that may be sufficient for your undertakings? Do you suppose, I pray you, that you are to make war with the Egyptians, and with the Arabian? Will you not carefully reflect upon the Roman empire? Will you not estimate your own weakness? Hath not your army been often beaten even by your neighbouring nations, while the power of the Romans is invincible in all parts of the habitable earth? Nay, rather they seek for somewhat still beyond that, for all Euphrates is not a sufficient boundary for them on the east side, nor the Danube on the north, and for their southern limit, Libya has been searched over by them, as far as countries uninhabited, as is Cadiis their limit on the west, nay, indeed, they have sought for another habitable earth beyond the ocean, and have carried their arms as far as such British islands as were never known before. What therefore do you pretend to do? Are you richer than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, wiser than the Greeks, more numerous than all the men upon the habitable earth? —What confidence is it that elevates you to oppose the Romans? Perhaps it will be said, it is hard to endure slavery. Yes; how much harder is it to the Greeks, who were esteemed the noblest of all people under the sun? These, although they inhabit a large country, are in subjection to six bundies of Roman rods. It is the same case with the Macedonians, who have just reason to claim their liberty than you have. What is the case of five hundred cities of Asia I do they not submit to a single governor, and to the consular bundle of rods? What need I speak of the Hemiochi, and Colchi, and the nation of Tauri, those that inhabit the Bosphorus, and the nations about Pontus, and Moeotis, who formerly knew not so much as a lord of their own, but are now subject to three thousand armed men, and where forty long ships keep the sea in peace, which before was not navigable, and very tempestuous? How strong a plea may Bithy-
nia, and Cappadocia, and the people of Pamphylia, the Lyceians, and Cilicians, put in for liberty but they are made tributary without an army. What are the circumstances of war, in this habitable earth? For we have seen that the country extends in breadth five days' journey, and in length seven, and is of a much more harsh constitution, and much more defensible than yours, and, by the rigour of its cold, sufficient to keep off armies from attacking them; do not they submit to two thousand men of the Roman garrisons? Are not the Illyrians, who inhabit the country adjoining, as far as Dalmatia and the Danube, governed by barely two legions? by which also they put a stop to the incursions of the Dacians; and for the Dalmatians, who have made such freeing to the ancient, in order to regain their liberty, and who could never before be so thoroughly subdued, but that they always gathered their forces together again, and revolted, yet are they now very quiet under one Roman legion. Moreover, if great advantages might provoke any people to revolt, the Gauls might do it best of all, as being so thoroughly walled round by nature; on the east side of the Danube, on the north by the river Rhine, on the south by the Pyrenean mountains, and on the west by the ocean. Now, although these Gauls have suffered to be forbidden to prevent any attack upon them, and have no fewer than three hundred and five nations among them, may have, as one may say, the fountains of domestic happiness within themselves, and send out plentiful streams of happiness over almost the whole world, these bear to be tributary to the Romans, and derive their prosperous condition from them; and they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, as having borne a war of eighty years, in order to preserve their liberty; but by reason of the great regard they have to the power of the Romans, and their good fortune, which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These Gauls, therefore, are kept in servitude by twelve hundred soldiers, who are hardly so many as are their cities; nor hath the gold dug out of the mines of Spain been sufficient for the support of a war to preserve their liberty, nor could their vast distance from the Romans by land and by sea do it; nor could the martial tribes of the Lusitanians and Spaniards escape; nor could the ocean, with its tide, which yet was terrible to the inhabitants. Nay, the Romans have extended their arms beyond the pillars of Hercules, and have walked among the clouds, upon the Pyrenean mountains, and have subdued these nations; and one legion is a sufficient guard for these people, although they were so hard to be conquered, and at a distance so remote from Rome. Who is there among you that hath not heard of the great number of the Germans? You have, to be sure, yourselves seen them to be strong and tall, and that frequently, since the Romans have them among their captives everywhere; yet these Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have minds greater than their bodies, and a soul that despises death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, have the Rhine for the boundary of their enterprises, and are tamed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captives became their servants; and the rest of the entire nation were obliged to save themselves by flight. Do you also, who depend on the walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had: for the Romans sailed away to them, and subdued them while they were encompassed by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than the continent of this habitable earth, and fighting not at all, guard to so large an island: and why should I speak much more about this matter, while the Parthians, that most warlike body of men, and lords of so many nations, and encompassed with such mighty forces, send hostages to the Romans; whereby you may see, if you please, even in Italy, the nobles of the east, under the notice of peace, submitting to serve them. Now, when almost all people under the sun submit to the Roman arms, will you be the only people that make war against them? and this without regarding the size of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of the brags of the great Hannibal, and the nobility of their Phenician origin, fell by the hand of Scipio. Nor indeed have the Carthaginians, derived from the Lacedemonians, nor the Marmaridæ, a nation extended as far as the regions uninhabitable for want of water, nor have the Syriæs, a people terrible such as barely hear it described, the Naxamones and Moors, and the immense multitude of the Numidians, been able to put a stop to the Roman valour; and as for the third part of the habitable world, surrounded by [Asia], whose sea is not so vast as the Romans, that is not easy to number them, and which is surrounded by the Atlantic sea, and the Pillars of Hercules, and feeds an innumerable multitude of Ethiopians, as far as the Red Sea, these have the Romans subdued entirely. And besides the annual fruits of the earth, which maintain the multitude of the Romans for eight months in the year, this, and above, pays all sorts of tribute, and affords revenues suitable to the necessities of the government. Nor do they, like you, esteem such injustices a disgrace to them, although they have had one Roman legion that abides among them; and indeed what occasion is there for you to show your power of the Romans over remote countries, when it is so easy to learn it from Egypt, in your neighbourhood? This country is extended as far as the Ethiopians, and Arabia the Happy, and borders upon India; it hath seven millions five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be learned from the revenues of its poll-tax; yet it is not ashamed to submit to the Roman government, although it hath Alexandria as a grand temptation to a revolt, because reason is it is full of people and riches, and is besides exceeding large, its length being thirty furlongs, and in breadth no less than ten; and it pays more tribute to the Romans in one month than you do in a year; nay, besides what it pays in money, it sends corn to Rome that supports it for four months in the year; it is also walled round on all sides, either by almost impassable deserts, or seas that have no havens, or by rivers, or by lakes; yet have none of these things been found too strong for the Roman good fortune; however, two legions that lie in that city are the only ones for the remoter parts of Egypt, and for the parts inhabited by the more noble Macedonians. Where then are those people whom you are to have for your auxiliaries? Must they come from parts of the world that are uninhabited? for all that are in the habitable earth are under the Romans. Unless any of you extend his hopes as far as beyond the Euphrates, and suppose that those of your own nation that dwell in Adiabene will come to your
assistance (but certainly these will not embarrass themselves with an unjustifiable war, nor, if they should blow such ill success, will the Romans permit them so to do); for it is their concern to maintain the truce that is between them and the Romans, and they will be supposed to break the covenants between them, if any under their government march against the Romans. What remains therefore, is this, that you have recourse to divine assistance; but this is already on the side of the Romans; for it is impossible that so vast an empire should be settled without God’s providence. Reflect upon it, how impossible it is your zealous observers of the Sabbath, to be preserved, which are hard to be observed, even when you fight with those whom you are able to conquer; and how can you then hope for God’s assistance, when, by being forced to transgress his law, you will make him turn his face from you? and if you do observe the custom of the Sabbath-days, and will not be prevailed on to do anything thereon, you will easily be taken, as was your forefathers by Pompey, who was the busiest in his sieges on those days on which the besieged rested; but if in time of war you transgress the law of your country, I cannot consider your accounts will after you go to war; for your concern is but one, that you do nothing against any of your forefathers; and how will you call upon God to assist you, when you are voluntarily transgressing against his religion? Now, all men that go to war, do it either as depending on divine or human assistance; but since your going to war will cut off both those assistances, those that are for going to war choose evident destruction. What hinder you from slaying your children and wives with your own hands, and burning this most excellent native city of yours? for this mad prank you will, however, escape the reproach of being beaten; but it were best, O my friends, it were best, while the vessel is still in the haven, to foresee the impending storm, and not to set sail out of the port into the middle of the hurricanes; for we justly pity those who fall into great misfortunes without foreseeing them; but for him who rushes into manifest ruin, he gains reproaches [instead of commiseration]. But certainly no one can imagine that you can enter into a war as by an agreement, or that when the Romans have got you under their power, they will use you with no distinction, or will not rather, for an example to other nations, burn your holy city, and utterly destroy your whole nation; for those of you who shall survive the war will not be able to find a place whither to flee, since all men have the Romans for their lords already, or are afraid they shall have heretofore. Nay, indeed, the danger concerns not those Jews that dwell here only, but those of them who dwell in other cities also; for there is no people upon the habitable earth which have not some portion of you among them, whom your enemies will slay, in case you go to war, and on that account also; and so every city that hath Jews in it will be filled with slaughter for the sake only of a few men, and they who slay them will be pardoned; but if that slaughter be not made by them, consider how wicked a thing it is to take arms against those that are so kind to you. Have pity, therefore, if not on your children and wives, yet upon this your metropolis, and its sacred walls; spare the temple and preserve the holy house, with its holy furniture, for yourselves; for if the Romans get you under their power, they will no longer abstain from them, when their former abstinence shall have been so ungratefully divided to witness your sanctuary, and the holy angels of God, and this country common to us all, that I have not kept back any thing that is for your preservation; and if you will follow that advice which you ought to do, you will have that peace which will be common to you and to me; but if you indulge your passions, you will run those hazards which I shall be free from.”

5. When Agrippa had spoken thus, both he and his sister went, and by their tears represented a great deal of the violence of the people; but still they cried out, that they would not fight against the Romans but against Florus, on account of what they had suffered by his means. To which Agrippa replied, that what they had already done was like such as make war against the Romans; “for you have not paid the tribute which is due to Cæsar;” and you have cut off the cloisters [of the temple] from joining to the tower Antonia. You will therefore prevent any occasion of revolt, if you will but join these together again, and if you will pay your tribute; for the citadel does not now belong to Florus, nor are you to pay the tribute-money to Florus.”

CHAPTER XVII.

HOW THE WAR OF THE JEWS WITH THE ROMANS BEGAN; AND CONCERNING MARAHEM.

§ 1. This advice the people hearkened to, and went up into the temple with the king and Bernice, and began to rebuild the cloisters: the rulers also and senators divided themselves into the villages, and collected the tributes, and soon got together forty talents, which was the sum that was deficient. And thus did Agrippa then put a stop to that war which was threatened. Moreover, he attempted to persuade the multitude to obey Florus, until Cæsar should send one to succeed him; but they were hereby more provoked, and cast reproaches upon the king, and got him excluded out of the city; nay, some of the seditions had the impudence to throw stones at him. So when the king saw that the violence of those that were for innovations was not to be restrained, and being very angry at the contumelies he had received, he sent their rulers, together with their men of power, to Florus, to Cæsarea, that he might appoint whom he thought fit to collect the tribute in the country, while he retired into his own kingdom.

2. And at this time it was that some of those that principally excited the people to go to war, made an assault upon a certain fortress called Masada. They took it by treachery, and slew the Romans that were there, and put others of their own party to keep it. At the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high-priest, a very bold youth, who was at that time governor of the temple, persuaded those that officiated in the divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner. And this was the true beginning of our war with the Romans: for they rejected the sacrifice of Cæsar on this account: and when many of the high-priests and principal men besought them not to omit the
sacrifice, which it was customary for them to offer for their princes, they would not be prevailed upon. They called upon them, therefore, for those who had the spirit, for those who had the spirit of patriotism, for the most flourishing part of the innovators assisted them; but they had the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.

3. Hereupon the men of power got together, and conferred with the high-priests, as did also the principal of the Pharisees; and thinking all was at stake, and that their calamities were becoming incurable, took counsel what was to be done. Accordingly they determined to try what they could do with the seditious by words, and assembled the people before the brazen gate, which was that gate of the inner temple [court of the priests] which looked towards the sun-rising. And, in the first place, they showed the great indignation they had at this attempt for a revolt, and for their bringing so great a war upon their country; after which they confuted their pretense as unjustifiable, and told them, that their forefathers had adorned their temple in great part with donations bestowed on them by foreigners, and had always received what had been presented to them from foreign nations; and that they had been so far from rejecting any person's sacrifice, which would be the highest instance of impiety, that they had themselves placed those donations about the temple which were still visible, and had remained there so long a time: that they did now irritate the Romans to take arms against them, and invited them to make war upon them, and brought up novel rules of strange divine worship, and determined to run the hazard of having their city condemned for impiety, while they would not allow any foreigners but Jews only, either to sacrifice or to worship therein. And if such a law should ever be introduced in the case of a single person only, he would have indignation at it, as an instance of inhumanity determined against him; while they have no regard to the Romans or to Caesar, and forbade even their obligations to be received also; that however they cannot but fear, lest, by thus rejecting their sacrifices, they shall not be allowed to offer their own; and that this city will lose its principal, unless they grow wiser quickly, and restore the sacrifices as formerly; and indeed amend the injury [they have offered to foreigners] before the report of it comes to the ears of those that have been injured.

4. And as they said these things, they produced those priests that were skilful in the customs of their country, who made the report, that all their forefathers had received the sacrifices from foreign nations.—But still not one of the innovators would hearken to what was said; nay, those that ministered about the temple would not attend their divine service, but were preparing matters for beginning the war. So the men of power, perceiving that the sedition was too hard for them to subdue, and that the danger which would arise from the Romans would come upon them first of all, contrived to save themselves, and sent ambassadors; some to Florus, the ambassador of whom was Sextus, and others to Agrippa, among whom the most eminent was Saul, and Antipas, and Cestarius, who were of the king's kindred; and they desired of them both that they would come with an army to the city, and cut off the sedition before it should be too hard to be subdued. Now this terrible message was good news to Florus; and because his design was to have a war kindled, he gave the ambassadors no answer at all. But Agrippa an equally solicitous for those that were revolting, and for those who were loyal, and was desirous to preserve the Jews for the Romans, and the temple and metropolis for the Jews; he was also sensible that it was not for his own advantage that the disturbances should proceed; as he sent three thousand horsemen to the assistance of the people out of Auranitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, and these under Darius, the master of his horse; and Philip the son of Jamin, in general of his army.

5. Upon this the men of power, with the high priest, as also all the part of the multitude that were desirous of peace, took courage, and set up the upper city [Mount Zion]; for the principal part had the lower city and the temple in their power: so they made use of stones and stones perpetually against one another, and threw darts continually on both sides; and sometimes it happened that they made excursions by troops, and fought out hand to hand, while the seditious were scarce in boldness, but the king's soldiers in skill. Then last strove chiefly to gain the temple, and to drive those out of it who profaned it; as did the sedition with Eleazar (besides what they had already done to gain the upper city). Thus were there perpetual slaughters on both sides for seven days, but neither side would yield up the parts they had seized upon.

6. Now the next day was the festival of Expiation; upon which the custom was for every one to bring wood for the altar (that there might be a want of fuel for that fire which was unquenchable and always burning). Upon that day they excluded the opposite party from the celebration of this part of religion. And when they had uttered the word to themselves many of the Sicarii, who crowded among the weaker people (that was the name of such robbers as had under their bosoms swords called Sicen), they grew bolder, and carried their undertakings farther, insomuch that the king's soldiers were overpowered by their multitudes and boldness; and so they gave way, and were drove out of the upper city by force. The others then set fire to the house of Ananias the high-priest, and to the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice; after which they carried the fire to the place where the archives were deposited, and made haste to burn the contracts belonging to their creditors, and thereby dissolve their obligations for paying their debts; and this was done, in order to gain the multitude of those who had been debtors, and that they might persuade the poorer sort to join in their insurrection with safety against the more wealthy; so the keepers of the records fled away, and the rest set fire to them. And when they had thus burnt down the nerves of the city, they fell upon their enemies at which time some of the men of power, and high-priests, went into the vaults under ground, and concealed themselves, while others fled with the king's soldiers to the upper palace, and shut the gates between the son of Gabinius and the king; and there they met with the senators; among whom was Ananias the high-priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the sedition continued with the victory they had gained, and the buildings they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.

7. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Ious [Ab], they made an attack upon Antonia, and besieged the garrison with
Ananias, so puffed up Manahem, that he became barbarously cruel; and as he thought he had no antagonist to dispute the management of affairs with him, he was no better than an insupportable tyrant: but Eleazar and his party, when words had passed between them, how it was not proper when they revolted from the Romans, out of the desire of liberty, to betray that liberty to any of their own people, and to bear a lord, who, though he should be guilty of no violence, was yet meaner than themselves; as also, that, in case they were obliged to set some one over their public affairs, it was fitter they should give that privilege to a son of Abraham than to him, they made an assault upon him in the temple; for he went up thither to worship in a pompous manner, and adorned with royal garments, and had his followers with him in their armour, But Eleazar and his party fell violently upon him, as did also the rest of the people, and taking up stones to attack him withal, they threw them at the sophister, and thought that if he were once ruined, the entire sedition would fall to the ground. Now Manahem and his party made resistance for a while; but when they perceived that the whole multitude were falling upon them, they saw themselves in a very evil way every one was able; those that were caught were slain, and those that hid themselves were searched for. A few there were of them who privately escaped to Masada, among whom was Eleazar, the son of Jarius, who was of kin to Manahem, and acted the part of a tyrant at Masada afterward. As for Manahem himself, he ran away to the place called Ophra, and there lay skulking in private; but they took him alive, and drew him out before them all; they then tortured him with many sorts of torments, and after all slew him, as they did by those that were captives under him also, and particularly by the principal instrument of his tyranny whose name was Apealom.

10. And, as I said, so far truly the people assisted them, while they hoped this might afford some amendment to the seditious practices; but the others were not in haste to put an end to the war, but hoped to prosecute it with less danger, now they had slain Manahem. It is true, that when the people earnestly desired that they would leave off besieging the soldiers, they were the most earnest in pressing it forward, and this till Metullus, who was the Roman general, sent to Eleazar, and desired that they would give them security to spare their lives only; but agreed to deliver up their arms, and what else they had with them. The others readily complied with their petition, sent to them Gorion, the son of Nicodemus, and Ananias, the son of Sadduk, and Judas, the son of Jonathan, that they might give them the security of their right hands, and of their oaths: after which Metullus brought down his soldiers; which soldiers, while they were in arms, were not meddled with by any of the seditious, nor was there any appearance of treachery: but as soon as, according to the articles of capitulation, they had all laid down their shields and their swords, and were under no further suspicion of any harm, but were going away, Eleazar's men attacked them after a violent manner, and encompassed them round, and slew them, while they neither defended themselves nor entreated for mercy, but only cried out upon the breach of their articles of capitulation and their oaths. And thus were all these men barbarously murdered, expecting Metullus; for when he entertained for mercy, and
promised he would turn Jew, and be circumcised, they saved him alive, but none else. This loss to the Romans was but light, there being no more than a few slain out of an immense army; but still it appeared to be a prelude to the Jews’ own destruction, while men made public lamentation when they saw that such occasions were afforded for a war as were incurable; that the city was all over polluted with such abominations, from which it was but reasonable to expect some vengeance, even though they should escape vengeance from the Romans; so that the city was filled with sadness, and every one of the moderate men in it were under great disturbance, as likely themselves to undergo punishment for the wickedness of the seditious; for indeed it so happened that this murder was perpetrated on the Sabbath day, on which day the Jews have a respite from their works on account of divine worship.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CALAMITIES AND SLAUGHTERS THAT CAME UPON THE JEWS.

§ 1. Now the people of Cesarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day and hour [when the soldiers were slain], which one would think must have come to pass by the direction of providence; insomuch that in one hour’s time above twenty thousand Jews were killed, and all Cesarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants; for Florus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. Upon which stroke that the Jews received at Cesarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged; so they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste to the villages of the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, and Sebottis, and Gerasa, and Pella, and Scythopolis, and after them Gadara, and Hippus; and falling upon Caunonis, some cities they destroyed there and some they set on fire, and then they went to Kidass, belonging to the Tyrians, and to Ptolemais, and to Gaba, and to Cesarea; nor was either Sebast (Samaria) or Askelon, able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked; and what they had burned these to the ground, they entirely demolished Antipatris and Gaza; many also of the villages that were about every one of those cities were plundered, and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

2. However, the Syrians were even with the Jews in the multitude of the men whom they slew; for they killed those whom they caught in their cities, and that not only out of the hatred they bare them, as formerly, but to prevent the danger under which they were from them; so that the disorders in all Syria were terrible, and every city was divided into two armies encamped one against another, and the preservation of the one party was in the destruction of the other; so the day-time was spent in shedding blood, and the night in fear—which was of the two the more terrible; for when the Syrians thought they had ruined the Jews, they had the Judaisers in suspicion also; and as each side did not dare to stay those whom they only suspected on the other, so did they greatly fear them when they were mingled with the other, as if they were certainly foreigners. Moreover, greediness of gain was a provocation to kill the opposite party, even to such as had of old appeared very mild and gentle toward them; for they without fear plundered the one of the slain, and carried off the spoil of those that they slew to their own houses, as if they had been gaining in a set battle; and he was esteemed a man of honour who got the greatest share, as having prevailed over the greatest number of his enemies. It was then common to see cities filled with dead bodies, still lying unburied, and those of old mixed with infants all dead and scattered in together; women also lay amongst them, without covering for their nakedness: you might see in the whole province full of inexpressible lamentations; while the dread of still further barbarous practices which were threatened, was everywhere greater than what had been already perpetrated.

3. And thus far the conflict had been between Jews and foreigners; but when they made extensions to Scythopolis, they found Jews that were enemies; for they stood in battle array with them of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety before their relation to us, they fought against their own countrymen; nay, their alacrity was so great, that those of Scythopolis suspected them. These were so afraid, therefore, lest they should have an assault upon the city in the night-time, and their great misfortune, should thereby make an apology for themselves to their own people for revolt from them. So they commanded them, in case they would confirm their agreement to demonstrate their fidelity to them, who were of a different nation, they should go out of the city, and their families, to a neighbouring grove; and that they had done as they were commanded, unless suspecting any thing, the people of Scythopolis still for the interval of two days, to temper be secure; but on the third night they were their opportunity, and cut all their threats, taking them as they lay unguarded, and some asleep. The number that was slain was over thirteen thousand, and then they plundered them of all that they had.

4. It will deserve our relation what befell Seleucus, he was the son of one Saul, a man of renown among the Jews. This man was distinguished from the rest by the strength of his body, and boldness in his conduct, although he devoted both to the mischief of the countrymen; for he came every day and slew a great many of them of Scythopolis, and he frequently put them to flight, and became himself alone the cause of his own conquering. But a just punishment overtook him for the murders he had committed upon those of the same nation with him; for when the people of Scythopolis threw their darts at him in the grove, he drew his sword, but did not attack any of his enemies; for he saw that he could do nothing against such a multitude; but he cried out, and moving in an manner, and said, if a people of Scythopolis, I deservedly suffer for what I have done with relation to you, when I gave you such authority of my fidelity to you, by staying so many those that were related to me. Wherefore I very justly experience the perniciousness of foreigners, while we acted after a most wicked manner against our own nation. I will therefore die, with as much wretched as I am, by mine own hands; for it is fit I should die by the hand of our enemies, and let the same action be to me both a punishment for my great crimes, and a testimony of my courage to my commendation, that so no one of our enemies
may have it to brag of, that he it was that slew me; and no one may insult upon me as I fall." Now when he had said this, he looked round about him upon his family with eyes of commiseration and rage (that family consisted of a wife and children, and twenty sons, four of them so in the prime of life, and his own brother, and his own son that he had not yet touched), and, as his father by his grey hairs and ran his sword through him,—and after him he did the same to his mother, who willingly received it; and after them he did the like to his wife and children, every one almost offering themselves to his sword, as desirous to prevent their being slain by their enemies; so when he had gone over all his family, he stood upon their bodies to be seen by all, and stretching out his right hand, that his action might be observed by all, he sheathed his entire sword into his own bowels. This young man was to be pitied, on account of the strength of his body and the courage of his soul; but since he had assured foreigners of his fidelity [against his own countrymen] he suffered deservedly.

5. Besides this murder at Scythopolis, the other cities rose up against the Jews that were among them: those of Askelon slew two thousand five hundred, and those of Tyre two thousand, and put not a few into bonds; those of Tyre also put a great number to death, but kept a greater number in prison; moreover, those of Hippos and those of Gadara did the like, while they put to death the boldest of the Jews, but kept those of whom they were most afraid in custody; as did the rest of the cities of Syria, according as they every one either hated them or were afraid of them; only the Antiochians, the Sidonians, and Apamians, spared those that dwelt with them, and they would not endure either to kill any of the Jews, or to put them in bonds. And perhaps they spared them, because their own number was so great that they despised their attempts. But I think that the greatest part of this favour was owing to their commiseration of those whom they saw to make no resistance. At Antioch, the Arsacenes, they did no harm to those that abode with them; and for those who had a mind to go away, they conducted them as far as their borders reached.

6. There was also a plot laid against the Jews in Agrippa's kingdom; for he was himself gone to Cestius Gallus, to Antioch, but had left one of his companions, whose name was Noarus, to take care of the public affairs; which Noarus was of kin to king Sohemus.* Now there came certain men, seventy in number, out of Batanea, who were the most considerable for their families and prudence of the rest of the people; these desired to have an armory; and put it into their hands, that if any tumult should happen, they might have about them a guard sufficient to restrain such as might rise up against them. This Noarus sent out some of the king's armed men by night, and slew all those [seventy] men; which bold action he ventured upon without the consent of Agrippa, and was such a lover of money, that he chose to be so wicked to his own countrymen, although he brought ruin on the kingdom thereby; and thus cruelly did he treat that nation, and this contrary to the laws also, until Agrippa was informed of it, who did not indeed put it to death at once, on the contrary, he restored Sohemus; but still he put an end to his protectorship immediately. But as to the seditious, they took the citadel which was called Cypros, and was above Jericho, and cut the throats of the garrison, and utterly demolished the fortifications. This was about the same time that the multitude of the Jews were at Macherus persuaded the Romans who were in garrison to leave the place, and deliver it up to them. These Romans being in great fear, lest the place should be taken by force, made an agreement with them to depart upon certain conditions; and when they had obtained the security they desired, they delivered up the citadel, into which the people of Macherus put a garrison for their own security, and held it in their own power.

7. But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of the place against the Jews was perpetual, and this from that very time when Alexander [the Great], upon finding the readiness of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, and as a reward for such their assistance, gave them equal privileges in this city with the Grecians themselves;—which honorary reward continued among them under his successors, who also set apart for them a particular place, that they might live without being polluted [by the Gentiles], and were thereby not so much intermixed with foreigners as before: they also gave them this farther privilege, that they should be called Macedonians. Nay, when the Romans got possession of Egypt, neither the first Cesar, nor any other that came after him, thought of diminishing the honours which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still conflicts perpetually arose with the Grecians; and although the governors did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse; but at this time especially, when there were tumults in other places also, the disorder among them were put into a greater flame; for when the Alexandrians had once a public assembly, to deliberate about an embassage they were sending to Nero, a great number of Jews came flocking to the theatre; and when their adversaries saw them, they immediately cried out that they were seditionists, and said they came as spies upon them; upon which they rushed out and laid violent hands upon them; and as for the rest, they were slain as they ran away; but there were three men whom they caught, and hauled them along, in order to have them burnt alive; but all the Jews came in a body to defend them; who at first threw stones at the Grecians; but after that they took lances, and rushed with violence into the theatre, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man; and this they had soon done, unless Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had restrained their passions. However this man did not begin to teach them wisdom by arms, but sent among them privately some of the principal men, and thereby entreated them to be quiet, and not provoke the Roman army against them; but the seditious made a jest of the entreaties of Tiberius, and reproached him for so doing.

8. Now when he perceived that those that were for innovations would not be pacified till some great calamity should overtake them, he sent out upon them those two Roman legions that were in the city, and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who, by chance, were come together out of Libya, to the ruin of the Jews. They were also permitted not only to kill them, but to plunder them of what they had, and set fire to their houses. These
soldiers rushed violently into that part of the city which was called Delta, where the Jewish people lived together and did as they were bidden, though without bloodshed on their own side also; for the Jews got together, and set those that were the best armed among them in the forefront, and made resistance for a great while; but when once they gave back, they were destroyed mercilessly; and this their destruction was complete, some being caught in the open field, and others forced into their houses, which houses were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans; wherein no mercy was shown to the infants, and no regard had to the aged; but they were put in the slaughter of persons of every age, till all the place was overflowed with blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps; nor had the remainder been preserved, had they not betaken themselves to supplication. So Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire: accordingly, these, being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation; but the populace of Alexandria bare so very great hatred to the Jews, that it was difficult to recall them; and it was a hard thing to make them leave their dead bodies. And this was the miserable calamity which at this time befell the Jews at Alexandria. Hereupon Cestius thought fit no longer to lie still, while the Jews were everywhere up in arms; so he took out of Antioc the twelfth legion entire, and out of each of the rest he selected two thousand, with six cohorts of footmen, and four troops of horsemen, besides those auxiliaries which were sent by the kings; of which Antiochus sent two thousand horsemen, and three thousand footmen, with so many archers; and Agrippa sent the same number of footmen, and one thousand horsemen; Solomon also followed with four thousand, a third part whereof were horsemen, but most part were archers, and thus he made march to Ptolemais. There were also great numbers of auxiliaries gathered together from the [free] cities, who indeed had not the same skill in martial affairs, but made up in their alacrity and in their hatred to the Jews what they wanted in skill. There came also along with Cestius, Agrippa himself, both as a guide in his march over the country, and a director of what was to be done; so Cestius took part of his forces, and marched hastily to Zobulan, a strong city of Galilee, which was called the City of Men, and divides the country of Ptolemais from our nation; this he found deserted by its men, the multitude having fled to the mountains, but full of all sorts of good things; those he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder, and set fire to the city, although it was of admirable beauty, and had its houses built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. After this he overran all the country, and seized upon whatsoever came in his way, and set fire to the villages that were round about them, and then returned to Ptolemais. But when the Syrians, and especially those of Berytus, were busy in plundering, the Jews plucked up their courage again, for they knew that Cestius was retired, and fell upon those that were left behind unexpectedly, and destroyed about two thousand of them.

10. And now Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cesarea; but he sent part of his army before him to Joppa, and gave orders that if they could take that city [by surprise] they should keep it; but that in case the citizens perceive they were coming to attack them, they then should stay for him, and for the rest of his army. So some of them made a brisk march on the sea-side, and some by land, and so coming on both sides, they took the city with ease, and as the inhabitants had made no preparation for a hand, nor had gotten any thing ready for fighting, the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all, with their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred. In like manner Cestius sent also a considerable body of horse to the toparchy of Narbatene, that joined to desire, who destroyed the country, and slew a great multitude of its people; they also plundered what they had, and burnt their villages.

11. But Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, and delivered him as many of his forces as he supposed necessary to subdue that nation. He encountered in the strongest city of Galilee, which was Sephoris, the acclamations of joy: which wise conduct of the city occasioned the rest of the cities to be in joy, while the seditious part and the robbers ran to that mountain which lies in the very midst of Galilee, and is situated over against Sephoris; it is called Asamon. So Gallus brought to his forces against them; but while those men were in the superior parts, above the Romans, they shot their darts upon the Romans, as they came to the approaches, and slew about two hundred of them, but when the Romans had gone round the mountain, and were gotten into the parts above the enemies, the others were soon beaten; nor could they who had only light armour on, sustain the force of them that fought them armed all over; for when they were beaten could they escape the rest of my's horsemen; insomuch that some few escaped themselves in certain places hard to be found at, among the mountains, while the rest, above thousand in number, were slain.

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CHAPTER XIX.

WHAT CESTIUS DID AGAINST THE JEWS; AND UPON HIS BESIEGING JERUSALEM, HE RETD FROM THE CITY, WITHOUT ANY JUST OCCASION THE WORLD. AS ALSO WHAT SEVERAL CALLED HE UNDERWENT FROM THE JEWS IN HIS RETR

§ 1. And now Gallus seeing nothing more he looked towards an innovation in Galilee, rear his army to Cesarea; but Cestius came with his whole army, and marched to Antioc; when he was informed that there was a great body of Jewish forces gotten together in a certain place called Aphiath, he sent a party before to fight, but this party dispersed the Jews by using them before it came to a battle; so they came, finding their camp deserted, they burnt it, as the villages that lay about it. But when Cestius had marched from Antioc to Lydda, he set the city empty of its men, for the whole multitude

* See note on the place, that this latter Antiocbus, who was called Epiphanes, is mentioned by Dio, lib. xiv. p. 649; and that he is mistaken for his son, whose name was also B. Y. chap. xiv. sect. 3. And lib. vii. sect. 4. Also chap. viii. sect. 1.
them; but the seditious, fearing lest the whole multitude, in hopes of security to themselves, should go over to Agrippa, resolved immediately to fall upon them and kill the priests who had slain Phebus before he said a word, but Boreas was only wounded, and prevented his fate by flying away. And when the people were very angry at this, they had the seditious beaten with stones and clubs, and drove them before them into the city.

4. But now Cestius, observing that the disturbances that were begun among the Jews afforded him a proper opportunity to attack them, took his whole army along with him, and put the Jews to flight, and pursed them to Jerusalem. He then pitched his camp upon the elevation called Scopus [or watch-tower], which was distant seven furlongs from the city; yet did he not assault them in three days' time, out of expectation that those within might perhaps yield a little; and in the meantime he sent out a great many of his soldiers into neighbouring villages, to seize upon their corn; and on the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperbereteus [Tisri], when he put his army in array, he brought it into the city. Now as for the people, they were kept under by the seditious; but the seditious themselves were greatly afflicted at the good order of the Romans, and retired from the suburbs, and retreated into the inner part of the city, and into the temple. But when Cestius was come into the city, he set the part called Bezetha, which is also called Cenopolis, [or the new city], on fire; as he did also to the timber-market; after which he came into the upper city, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace; and had he but at this very time attempted to get within the walls by force, he had won the city presently, and the war had been put an end to at once; but Tyrannius Priscus, the master-master of the army, and a great number of the officers of the horse, had been corrupted by Florus, and diverted him from that his attempt; and that was the occasion that this war lasted so very long, and thereby the Jews were involved in such incurable calamities.

5. In the meantime, many of the principal men of the city were persuaded by Ananus, the son of Jonathan, and invited Cestius into the city, and were about to open the gates for him; but he overlooked this offer, partly out of his anger at the Jews, and partly because he did not thoroughly believe they were in earnest; whence it was that he delayed the matter so long, that the seditious perceived the treachery, and threw Ananus and those of his party down from the wall, and pelting them with stones, drove them into their houses; but they stood themselves at proper distances in the towers, and threw their darts at those that were getting over the wall. Thus did the Romans make their attack against the wall for five days, but to no purpose. But on the next day, Cestius took a great many of his choicest men, and with them the archers, and attempted to break into the temple at the northern quarter; but the Jews beat them off from the masters, and repulsed them several times when they were gotten near to the wall, till at length the multitude of the darts cut them off, and made them retire; but the first rank of the Romans rested their shields upon the wall, and so did those that were behind them, and the like did those that were still more backward, and guarded themselves with what they call Testudo, [the back of] a tortoise, upon which the darts that were
thrown fell, and slid off without doing them any hurt; so the soldiers undermined the wall, without being themselves hurt, and got all things ready for setting fire to the gate of the temple.

3. And now it was that a horrid fear seized upon the seditionists, insomuch that many of them ran out of the city, as though it were to be taken immediately; but the people upon this took courage, and where the wicked part of the city gave ground, thither did they come, in order to set open the gates, and to admit Cestius as their benefactor, who, had he but continued the siege a little longer, had certainly taken the city; but it was, I suppose, owing to the mode of life of the Jews, that had already been set at the city, and the sanctuary, that he was hindered from putting an end to the war that very day.*

7. It then happened that Cestius was not conscious either how the besieged despised of success, nor how courageously the people were for him; and so he recalled his soldiers from the place, and by despairing of any expectation of taking it, without having received any disgrace, he retired from the city, without any reason in the world. That when the robbbers perceived this unexpected retreat of his, they were glad; and ran after him, to hinder parts of his army, and destroyed a considerable number of both the horsemen and footmen; and now Cestius lay all night at the camp, which was at Seopus; and as he went off farther next day, he thereby invited the enemy to follow him, who still fell upon the hindmost, and destroyed them; they also fell upon the flank on each side of the army, and threw darts upon them obliquely, nor dared those that were hindmost turn back upon those who wounded them, but, imagining that they were but those of those that pursued them was immense; nor did they venture to drive away those that pressed upon them on each side, because they were heavy with their arms, and were afraid of breaking their ranks to pieces, and because they saw the Jews were light and ready for making inursions upon them. And this was the reason why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to revenge themselves upon their enemies; so they were galled all the way, and their ranks were put into disorder, and those that were thus put out of their ranks were slain; among whom were Priscus the tribune of the sixth legion, and Longinus the tribune, and Emilius Scevulus, the commander of a troop of horsemen. So it was not without difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former camp, and that not without the loss of a great part of their baggage. There it was that Cestius staid two days; and was in great distress to know what he should do in these circumstances; but when, on the third day, he saw a still greater number of enemies, and all the parts round about him full of Jews, he understood that his delay was to his own detriment, and

* There may another very important, and very providential, reason be here assigned for this strange and sudden retreat of Cestius; which, if Josephus had been now a Christian, he might probably have taken notice of also; and that is, the afflicting the Jews Christians, in the city an opportunity of calling to mind the prediction and caution given them by our Lord himself three years of his own before, that they should see the abomination of desolation, (the idolatrous Roman army, with the image of their idols in their ensigns, ready to be Jerusalem desolated,) stand where it ought not; or, in the holy place; 29, "for when they shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies," they should then "see to the mountains," by complying with which, these Jewish Christians fell to the mountains of Perus, and escaped this danger. (a) Matt. 24, 29. (b) See sect. 102, of Josephus, Antiqu. Lib. 13, cap. 9. Nor was perhaps any instance of a more many-syllable, but more providential conformity between the words of our Saviour of Cestius, when he perceived this wretched state of Jerusalem; which yet was prevalentially such a great tribulation, as had but seen but from the beginning of the world to that time; no nor ever should be." --Tier, page 70, 71.

that if he staid the longer there, he should be still more enemies upon him.

8. That therefore he might fly the faster, he gave orders to cast away what might hinder his army march; so they killed the mules and other creatures excepting those that carried their darts and machines, which they retained for their own use; as this principally because they were afraid lest the Jews should seize upon them. He then made his army march on as far as Bethoron. Now the Jews did not so much press upon them when they saw in large open places; but when they were put up in their descent through narrow passages, they did some of them both from the road and the houses, from getting out of them; and others of them thrust the hindmost down into the lower places, and the whole multitude extended themselves against the neck of the passage, and covered their Roman army with their darts. In which circumstances, as the footmen knew not how to defend themselves, so the danger pressed the more still more, for they were so pelted that they did not march along the road in their ranks, but the ascents were so high, that the cavalry were not able to march against the enemy; the plains and valleys into which they frequently fell, tumbling down, were such on each side of them, that there was neither place for their flight, nor contrivance could be thought of for their deliverance till the distress they were at last in was so great that they betook themselves to lamentations, and to such mournful cries as men use in the times of despair: the joyful acclamations of the Jews, as they encouraged one another, echoed back again, these last composing a noise of so great a din, that the Romans rejoiced and were in a rage. These things were come to pass, that the Jews had almost taken Cestius's entire army prisoners, had not the night come on, when the Romans fled to Bethoron, and the Jews seized all the places round about them, and watched their coming out [in that night].

9. And then it was that Cestius, despairing of obtaining room for a public march, continued he might best run away; and when he had sent four hundred of the most courageous of his soldiers, he placed them at the strongest of their fortresses; and gave order, that when the Jewish morning guard they should erect their camp, that the Jews might be made to believe that the entire army was there still, while he himself was the rest of his forces with him, and marched without any noise, thirty furlongs. But when Jews perceived, in the morning, that the camp was empty, they ran upon those four hundred who deluded them, and immediately threw their tents at them, and slew them; and then pursued Cestius. But he had already made use of a part of the night in his flight, and still more quicker when it was day; insomuch that the Jews, through the astonishment and fear they were in, left behind them their enemy's camp for siege, to throwing of stones, and a great part of the instruments of war. So the Jews went on pursuing the Romans as far as Antipatris; after which seeing they could not overtake them, they re-}
Romans five thousand and three hundred footmen, and three hundred and eighty horsemen. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dius [Marcesvan], in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

CHAPTER XX.

CESTIUS SENDS AMBASSADORS TO NERO. THE PEOPLE OF DAMASCUS SLAY THOSE JEWS THAT LIVED WITH THEM. THE PEOPLE OF JERUSALEM, AFTER THEY HAD LEFT OFF PURSUING CESTIUS, RUMORED THAT THE CITY, AND GET THINGS READY FOR ITS DEFENCE, AND MAKE A GREAT MANY GENERALS FOR THEIR ARMIES, AND PARTICULARLY JOSEPHUS, THE WRITER OF THESE BOOKS. SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS ADMINISTRATION.

§ 1. After this calamity had befallen Cestius, many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city, as from a ship when it was going to sink; Costobarus, therefore, and Saul, who were brethren, together with Philip, the son of Jacimus, who was the commander of king Agrippa's forces, ran away from the city, and went to Cestius. But then how Antipas, who had been besieged with them in the king's palace, but would not fly away with them, was afterward slain by the seditions, we shall relate hereafter. However Cestius sent Saul and his friends, at their own desire, to Achia, to Nero, to inform him of the great distress they were in; and lay the blame of their kindling the war upon Florus, as hoping to alleviate his own danger, by provoking his indignation against Florus.

2. In the meantime, the people of Damascus, when they were informed of the destruction of the Romans, set about the slaughter of those Jews that were among them; and as they had them already cooped up together in the place of public exercises, which they had done, out of the suspicion they had of them, they thought they should meet with no difficulty in the attempt; yet did they distrust their own wives, which were almost all of them addicted to the Jewish religion; on which account it was that their greatest concern was, how they might conceal these things from them; so they came upon the Jews, and cut their throats, as being in a narrow place, in number ten thousand, and all of them unarmed, and this in one hour's time, without any body to disturb them.

3. But as to those who had pursued after Cestius, when they were returned back to Jerusalem, they overbore some of those that favoured the Romans by violence, and some they persuaded [by entreaties] to join with them, and got together in great numbers in the temple, and appointed a great many generals for the war. Joseph also the son of Gorion,* and Ananus the high priest, were chosen as governors of all affairs within the city, and with a particular charge to repair the walls of the city; for they did not ordain Eleazar, the son of Simon to that office, although he had gotten into his possession the prey they had taken from the Romans, and the money they had taken from Cestius, together with a great part of the public treasures, because they saw he was of a tyrannical temper; and that his followers were, in their behaviour like guards about him. However, the want they were in of Eleazar's money, and the subtle tricks used by him, brought all so about, that the people were circumvented, and submitted themselves to his authority in all public affairs.

4. They also chose other generals for Idumea; Jesus the son of Saphnias, one of the high-priests; and Eleazar the son of Ananias, the high-priest; they also enjoined Niger, the then governor of Idumea,† who was of a family that belonged to Peræa, beyond Jordan, and was thence called the Peræite, that he should be obedient to those Forenamed commanders. Nor did they neglect the care of other parts of the country; but Joseph the son of Simon was sent as general to Jericho, as was Manasseh to Peræa, and John, the king's cousin, to the toparchy of Thammas; Lydda was also added to his jurisdiction, and Joppa and Emmaus. But John, the son of Matthias, was made the governor of the toparchies of Gophnita and Acrabastene; as was Josephus, the son of Matthias, of both the Galilees. Gamala also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under his command.

5. So every one of the other commanders administered the affairs of his portion with that alacrity and prudence they were masters of; but as to Josephus, when he came into Galilee, his first care was to gain the good-will of the people of that country, as sensible that he should thereby have a general good success, although he should fail in other points. And being conscious to himself that if he communicated part of his power to the great men, he should make them his fast friends; and that he should gain the same favour from the multitude, if he executed his commands by persons of their own country, and with whom they were well acquainted; he chose out seventy‡ of the most prudent men, and those elders in age, and appointed them to be rulers of all Galilee, as he chose seven judges in every city to hear the lesser quarrels; for as to the greater causes, and those wherein life and death were concerned, he enjoined they should be brought to him and the seventy elders.

6. Josephus also, when he had settled these rules for determining causes by the law, with regard to the people's dealings one with another, betook himself to make provisions for their safety against external violence; and as he knew the Romans would fall upon Galilee, he built walls in proper places about Jotapata, and Bersabee, and Saliams; and he provided his people with a stock of Caphareseho, and Japhs, and Sign, and what they call Mount Tabor, and Tari.

* From this name of Joseph the son of Gorion, or Gorion the son of Joseph, as (b. iv. ch. xi. sect. 8), one of the governors of Jerusalem, who was slain at the beginning of the tumults by the sects of (b. iv. ch. xi. sect. 8), the much later Jewish author of an history of that nation, and his title, and yet preserves our true Josephus, the son of Matthias, but must be so gross to be put upon the learned world.

† We may observe here, that the Idumeans, as having been proselytes of Rome during the days of Herod, when about 135 years were now esteemed as part of the Jewish church, as a Jewish commander accordingly. See the note upon Antiq. b. xiii. ch. iv. sect. 1.

‡ We see here, and in Josephus's account of his own life, sect. 14, how these should be imitated by the ministers of state in particular states, and perhaps for the first hearing of greater causes, with the liberty of an appeal to seventy-one supreme judges, especially in those cases where life and death is concerned; as Antiq. b. iv. ch. viii. sect. 16, and of his life, sect. 14. See also of the War, b. iv. ch. v. sect. 4. Moreover, we find (sect. 27) that he imitated Moses, as well as the Romans, in the manner of the number of assistants of officers of his army, as Exodus xviii. 25; Deut. v. 16; and in his charge not dissimilar to what the common soldiers among them were, that he showed his great wisdom and pity, and shrewd conduct in martial affairs. Yet may we discern in his very high character of Ana- nias the high-priest, b. iv. ch. v. sect. 1, what the same that condemned St. James, bishop of Jerusalem to be stoned, viz. the best discipulus, that he was not so much an Ebionite Christian; otherwise he would have failed, no doubt, to throw himself upon the breast of the house of Caiaphas, and show his barbarous murder as a just punishment upon him for that cruelty to the chief, or rather only Christian bishop of the circumcision. Nor, had he been a Christian, could he immediately have spoken so movingly of the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, without one word of either the condemnation of James, or the crucifixion of Christ as he did when he became a Christian afterward.
concerning John of Gischala. Josephus was thus engaged in the administration of the affairs of Galilee, there was a treacherous person, a man of Gischala, the son of Levi, whose name was John. His character, that of a very cunning, and very knavish sort, was beyond the ordinary rate of the other men of influence there; and for wicked practices he had no fellow anywhere. Poor he was at first, and for a long time his wants were a hindrance to his wicked designs. He was a ready liar, very sharp in gaining credit to his fiction; he thought it a point of virtue to delude people. He would delude even such as were the dearers of him. He was a hypocritical pretender to harmony; but when he had hopes of gain, he spared not the shedding of blood; his desires were ever carried to great things, and he encouraged his hopes for those mean wicked tricks which he was the master of. He had a peculiar knack at thevies; but at some time he got certain companions in his expedient practices: at first they were but few, and he proceeded on in his evil course; they became still more and more numerous. He took care none of his partners should be easily caught up; and the rogneries, but chose such out of the rest, that the strongest constitutions of body, and the greatest courage of soul, together with the greatest skill in warlike affairs; so he got together a band of four hundred men, who came principally out of the country of Tyre, and were vagabonds who had run away from its villages; and by the means of these he did waste all Galilee, and irritated a considerable number, who were in great expectation of a war that suddenly to arise among them.

2. However, John’s want of money had hindered him in his ambition after command, and in his attempts to advance himself; but when he saw that Josephus was highly pleased with the activity of his temper, he persuaded him, in the first place, to intrust him with the repairing of the country of the Gischala; which work by Josephus got him a great deal of money from the rich citizens. He after that contrived a very shrewd trick, the pretending that the Jews who dwelt in Syria were obliged to make use of oil that was made by some of their own nation, he desired Josephus to send oil to their borders; so he bought four amphorae with such Tyrian money as was the value of four Attic drachmae, and sold very

* I should think that an army of sixty thousand footmen should require more than two hundred and fifty horsemen; and if Josephus had more than two hundred and fifty in his future historians, it will appear the number of the thousands is dropped in our present copies.
midst amphorae at the same price; and as Galilee was very fruitful in oil, and was peculiarly so at that time, by sending away great quantities, and having the sole privilege so to do, he gathered as much money together, which money he immediately and informally distributed among the robbers who gave him that privilege; and, as he supposed, that if he could once overthrow Josephus, he should himself obtain the government of Galilee; so he gave order to the robbers that were under his command, to be more zealous in their thievish expeditions, that by the rise of many that desired innovations in the country, he might either catch their general in their snare, as he came to the country’s assistance, and then kill him; or if he should overlook the robbers, he might accuse him for his negligence to the people of the country. He also spread abroad a report far and near, that Josephus was delivering up the administration of affairs to the Romans; and many such plots did he lay, in order to ruin him.

3. Now at the same time that certain young men of the village of Darabita, who kept guard in the great Plain, laid snares for Ptolemy, who was Agrippa’s and Bernice’s steward, and took him from all that he had with him; among which things there were a great many costly garments, and no small number of silver cups, and six hundred pieces of gold; yet they were not able to conceal what they had stolen, but brought it all to Josephus, to Tarichee. Hereupon he blamed them for the violence they had offered to the king and queen, and deposited what they brought to him with Encas, the most potent man of Tarichee, with an intention of sending the things back to the owners at a proper time; which act of Josephus brought him into the greatest danger; for those that had stolen the things, had an indignation at him, both because they gained no share of it for themselves, and because they perceived beforehand what was Josephus’s intention, that he would freely deliver up what had cost so much pains, to the king and queen. These ran away by night to their several villages, and declared to all men that Josephus was going to betray them; they also raised great disorders in all the neighbouring cities, insomuch that in the morning a hundred thousand armed men came running together; which multitude was crowned together in the hippodrome at Tarichee, and made a very peevish clamour against him; while some cried out, that they should despoil the traitor; and others, that they should burn him. Now John irritated a great many, as did also Jesus, the son of Sapphina, who was then governor of Tibersias. Then it was that Josephus’s friends, and the guards of his body, were so affrighted at this violent assault of the multitude, that they all fled away but four; and as he was asleep, they waked him, as the people were going to set fire to the house; and although those four that remained with him persuaded him to run away, he was neither surprised at his being himself deserted, nor at the great multitude that came against him, but leaped out to them with his clothes rent, and alsees sprinkled on his head, with his hands behind him, and his sword hanging at his neck, and his friends, especially those of Tarichee, commiserated his condition; but those that came out of the country, and those in their neighbourhood, to whom his government seemed burdensome, reproached him, and bade him produce the money which belonged to them all immediately, and to confess the agreement he had made to betray them; for they imagined, from the habit in which he appeared, that he could deny nothing of what they suspected concerning him, and that it was in order to have a pardon, that he had put himself entirely into so pitiful a condition; but this humble appearance was only designed as preparatory to a stratagem of his, who thereby contrived to set those that were so angry at him at variance one with another about the things they were angry at. However, he promised he would confess all; hereupon he was permitted to speak, when he said, “I did neither intend to send this money back to Agrippa, nor to gain it myself; for I did never esteem one that was your enemy to be my friend, nor did I look upon what would tend to your disadvantage, to be my advantage. But, O you people of Tarichee, I saw that your city stood in more need than others of fortification for your security, and that it wanted money, in order for the building it a wall. I was also afraid lest the people of Tibersias and other cities should lay a plot to seize upon these spoils, and therefore it was that I intended to retain this money privately, that I might encompass you with a wall. But if this does not please you, I will produce what was brought me, and leave it to you to plunder it: but if I have conducted myself so well as to please you, you may, if you please, punish your benefactor.”

4. Hereupon the people of Tarichee loudly commended him; but those of Tibersias, with the rest of the company, gave him hard names, and threatened what they would do to him; so both sides left off quarrelling with Josephus, and fell to quarrelling with one another. So he grew bold upon the dependence he had on his friends, which were the people of Tarichee, and about forty thousand in number, and spoke more freely to the whole multitude, and reproached them greatly for their rashness; and told them, that with this money he would build walls about Tarichee, and should put the other cities in a state of security also, so that they should not want money, if they would but agree for whose benefit it was to be procured, and would not suffer themselves to be irritated against him who had procured it for them.

5. Hereupon the rest of the multitude that had been deluded retired; but yet so that they went away angry, and two thousand of them made an assault upon him in their armour; and as he was already gone to his own house, they stood without and threatened him. On which occasion Josephus again used a second stratagem to escape them; for he got upon the top of the house, and, with his right hand desired them to be silent, and said to them:—

“I cannot tell what you would have, nor can hear what you say, for the confused noise you make;” but he said he would comply with all their demands, in case they would but send some of their number in to him that might talk with him about it. And when the principal of them, with their leaders, heard this, they came into the house. He then drew them to the most retired part of the house, and shut the door of that hall where he put them, and then had the door of every one of their inward parts appeared naked. In the meantime the multitude stood round the house, and supposed that he had a long discourse with those that were gone in, about what they claimed of him. He had then the doors set open immediately, and sent the men out all bloody, which so terribly affrighted
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those that had before threatened him, that they threw away their arms and ran away. 6. But as for John, his envy grew greater upon this escape of Josephus, and he framed a new plot against him; he pretended to be sick, and by a letter desired that Josephus would give him leave to use the hot baths that were at Tiberias, for the recovery of his health. Hereupon Josephus, who hitherto suspected nothing of John's plots against him, wrote to the governors of the city, that they should provide a lodging and necessaries for John, which favours, when he had made use of, in two days' time he did what he came about; some he corrupted with delusive frauds, and others with money, and so persuaded them to revolt from Josephus. This Silas, who was appointed guardian of the city by Josephus, wrote to him immediately, and informed him of the plot against him; which epistle, when Josephus had received, he marched with great diligence all night, and came early in the morning to Tiberias; at which time the rest of the multitude met him. But John, who suspected that his silan was intriguing for his advantage, sent however one of his friends, and pretended that he was sick, and that being confined to his bed he could not come to pay his respects. But as soon as Josephus had got the people of Tiberias together in the stadium, and tried to discourse with them about the letters that he had received, John privately sent some armed men, and gave them orders to slay him. But when the people saw that the armed men were about to draw their swords, they cried out, at which cry Josephus turned himself about, and when he saw that the swords were just at his throat, he ran away in great haste to the seashore, and left off that speech which he was going to make to the people, upon an elevation of six cubits high. He then seized on a ship which lay in the haven, and leaped into it, with two of his guards, and fled away into the midst of the lake.

7. But now the soldiers he had with him took up their arms immediately, and marched against the plotters, but Josephus was afraid lest a civil war should be raised by the envy of a few men, and bring the city to ruin; so he sent some of his party to tell them that they should do no more than provide for their own safety; that they should not kill any body, nor make any further expedition they could not afford [of a disorder]. Accordingly these men obeyed his orders, and were quiet; but the people of the neighbouring country, when they were informed of this plot, and of the plotter, got together in great multitudes to oppose John. But he prevented their attempt, and fled away to Gischala, his native city, while the Galilæans came running out of their several cities to Josephus; and as they were now become many ten thousands of armed men, they cried out, that they were come against John, the common plotter against their interest, and would at the same time burn him, and that city which he had received. Hereupon Josephus told them that he took their good-will to him kindly, but still he restrained their fury, and intended to subdue his enemies by prudent conduct, rather than by slaying them; so he excepted those of every city which had joined in this revolt with John, by name, who had readily been shown by those that came from every city, and caused public proclamation to be made, that he would seize upon the effects of those that did not forsake John within five days' time, and would burn both their houses and their families with fire. Whereupon three thousand of John's party left him immediately, who came to Josephus, and threw their arms down at his feet. John then betook himself together with his ten thousand Syrian runagates, from open streets to more secret ways of treachery. Accordingly, privately sent messengers to Jerusalem, to Josephus, as having too great power, and to them know that he would soon come as a guest their metropolis, unless they prevented him. The accusation the people were aware of treachery, but had no regard to it. However, some of his grandsires, out of envy, and some of the rulers sent money to John privately, that he might get together mercenary soldiers, in order to Josephus; they also made a decree of the senate for recalling him from his government, did they not think that decree sufficient; so he sent withal two thousand five hundred armed men and four persons of the highest rank amongst them, Jonaar the son of Nomiæus, and Ananias the son of Saddak; as also Simon and SADDAK (a very able man in speaking), that these persons might withdraw the good-will of the people from Josephus. These had it in charge, that he would voluntarily come away, they should send him to [come and] give an account of his cause; but if he obstinately insisted upon continuing his government, they should treat him as a rebel.

Now, Josephus's friends had sent him word that his army was coming against him, but they gave him no notice beforehand what the reason of his coming was, that being only known to these secret counsellors of his adversaries; and by the way it was that four cities revolted from him immediately, Sophoris, and Gamala, and Gischala and Tiberias. Yet did he recover these cities with a war; and when he had routed those four commanders by stratagems, and had taken the most part of their warriors, he sent them to Jerusalem; the people of Galilee had great indignation at them, and were in a zealous disposition to say only these forces, but those that sent them also, not these forces prevented it by running away with their men. 8. Now John was detained afterward within the walls of Gischala, by the fear of Josephus; but this was a very great annoyance to him, and the people within it invited king AGRIPPA to return to the exercise of his authority there; when he did not come at the time appointed, and when a few Roman horsemen appeared that day, they expelled Josephus out of the city. Now, the revolt of theirs was presently known at Taricheæ, and as Josephus had sent out all the soldiers he were with him to gather corn, he knew not the state either to march out alone against the revolt or to stay where he was, because he was afraid the king's soldiers might prevent him of his turning and might get into the city; for he did not know to do any thing on the next day, because it was the Sabbath-day, and would hinder his proceeding. So he contrived to circumvent the revoltors by stratagems; and in the first place, he ordered the gates of Taricheæ to be shut, that nobody might go out and inform [those of Tiberias], for whom it was intended, what stratagem he was about; he had got together all the ships that were upon the sea, which were found to be two hundred and thirty, and in each of them he put no more than four oarsmen. So he sailed to Tiberias with the utmost care, and kept at such a distance from the city, that it was
not easy for the people to see the vessels, and ordered that the empty vessels should float up and down there, while himself, who had but seven of his guards with him, and those unarmed also, went so near as to be seen; but when his adversaries, who were about reproaching him, saw him from the walls, they were so astonished that they supposed all the ships were full of armed men, and threw down their arms, and by signals of intercession they besought him to spare the city.

9. Upon this, Josephus threatened them terribly, and reproached them, that when they were the first that took up arms against the Romans, they should spend their forces beforehand in civil dissensions, and do what their enemies desired above all things; and that besides, they should endeavour so hastily to seize upon him, who took care of their safety, and had not been ashamed to shut the gates of their city against him that built their walls; that, however, he would admit of any intercessors from them that might make some excuse for them, and with whom he would make such agreements as might be for the city's security. Hereupon ten of the most potent men of Tiberias came down to him presently, and when he had taken them into one of his vessels, he ordered them to be carried a great way off from the city. He then commanded that fifty others of their senate, such as were men of the greatest eminence, should come to him, that they also might give him some security on their behalf. After which, under one new pretence or another, he called forth others, one after another, to make the league between them. He then gave order to the masters of those vessels which he had thus filled, to sail away immediately for Tarichee, and to confine those men in the prison there; till at length he took all their senate, consisting of six hundred persons, and about two thousand of the populace, and carried them away to Tarichee.

10. And when the rest of the people cried out, that it was one Citus that was the chief author of this revolt, they desired him to spend his anger upon him only; but Josephus, whose intention it was to slay nobody, commanded one Levius, belonging to his guards, to go out of the vessel, in order to cut off both Citus's hands; yet was Levius afraid to go out by himself alone, to such a large body of enemies, and refused to go. Now Citus saw that Josephus was in a great passion in the ship, and ready to leap out of it, in order to execute the punishment himself; he begged therefore from the shore that he would leave him one of his hands, which Josephus agreed to upon condition that he would himself cut off the other hand; accordingly he drew his sword, and with his right hand cut off his left, so great was the fear he was in of Josephus himself. And thus he took the people of Tiberias prisoners, and recovered the city again with empty ships* and seven of his guard. Moreover, a few days afterward he retook Gischala, which had revolted with the people of Sepphoris, and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it; yet did he get all the plunder together, and restored it to the inhabitants; and the like he did to the inhabitants of Sepphoris and Tiberias: for when he had subdued those cities, he had a mind, by letting them be plundered, to give them some good instruction, while at the same time he regained their goodwill by restoring them their money again.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE JEWS MAKE ALL READY FOR THE WAR; AND SIMON, THE SON OF GIORAS, FALLS TO PLUNDERING.

§ 1. And thus were the disturbances of Galilee quieted, when, upon their ceasing to prosecute their civil dissensions, they betook themselves to make preparations for the war with the Romans. Now in Jerusalem the high-priest Ananus, and as many of the men of power as were not in the interest of the Romans, both repaired the walls, and made a great many warlike instruments, insomuch that, in all parts of the city, darts and all sorts of armour were upon the anvil. Although the multitude of the young men were engaged in exercises, without any regularity, and all places were full of tumultuous doing: yet the moderate sort were exceedingly sad; and a great many there were who, out of the prospect they had of the calamities that were coming upon them made great lamentations. There were also such omens observed as were understood to be forrunners of evils, by such as loved peace, but were by those that kindled the war interpreted so as to suit their own inclinations; and the very state of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus's concern was this, to lay aside, for a while, the preparations for the war, and to persuade the seditious to consult their own interest, and to restrain the madness of those that had the name of zealots: but their violence was too hard for him; and what end he came to we shall relate hereafter.

2. But as for the Acrabbeans, Simon, the son of Gioras, got a great number of those that were fond of innovations together, and betook himself to ravage the country; nor did he only harass the rich men's houses, but tormented their bodies, and appeared openly and beforehand to affect tyranny in his government. And when an army was sent against him by Ananus, and the other rulers, he and his band retired to the rovers that were at Masada, and stayed there, and plundered the country of Idumea with them, till both Ananus and his other adversaries were slain; and until the rulers of that country were so afflicted with the multitude of those that were slain, and with the continual ravage of what they had, that they raised an army, and put garrisons into the villages, to secure them from these insults. And in this state were the affairs of Judea at that time.

* I cannot but think this strategem of Josephus, which is related both here and in his second book, to be one of the finest that ever was invented and executed by any warrior whatsoever.
BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.

FROM VESPASIAN'S COMING TO SUBDU THE JEWS TO THE TAKING OF GAMA.

CHAPTER I.

VESPERIAN IS SENT INTO SYRIA BY NERO TO MAKE WAR WITH THE JEWS.

§ 1. When Nero was informed of the Romans' ill success in Judea, a concealed consternation and terror, as is usual in such cases, fell upon him; although he openly looked very big, and was very angry, and said, that what had happened was rather owing to the negligence of the commander than to any valour of the enemy; and as he thought it fit for him who bore the burden of the whole empire, to despise such misfortunes, he now pretended so to do, and to have a soul superior to all such sad accidents whatsoever. Yet did the disturbance that was in his soul plainly appear by the solicitude he was in how to recover his affairs again.

And as he was deliberating to whom he should commit the care of the east, now it was in so great a commotion, and who might be best able to punish the Jews for their rebellion, and might prevent the same distemper from seizing upon the neighbouring nations also,—he found no one but Vespasian equal to the task, and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war, seeing he was growing an old man already in the camp, and from his youth had been exercised in warlike exploits: he was also a man that had long ago pacified the west, and made it subject to the Romans, when it had been put into disorder by the Germans; he had also recovered to them Britain by his arms, which had been little known before;* whereby he procured to his father Claudius to have a triumph bestowed on him without any sweat or labour of his own.

3. So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favourable omens, and saw that Vespasian's age gave him sure experience, and great skill, and that he had his sons as hostages for his fidelity to himself, and that the flourishing age they were in would make them fit instruments under their father's prudence. Perhaps also there was some interposition of Providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterwards. Upon the whole, he sent this man to take upon him the command of the armies that were in Syria; but this not without great encomiums and flattering compliments, such as necessity required, and such as might mollify him into compliance. So Vespasian sent his son Titus from Achaia, where he had been with Nero, to Alexandria, to bring back with him from thence the fifth and tenth legions,

*Take the confirmation of this in the words of Suetonius, here produced by Dr. Hudson. — In the reign of Claudius, says he, "Vespasian, for the sake of Narcissus, was sent to drive away the Germans. Thrice he removed into Britain, and fought thirty battles with the enemy." In Vesp. contr. 4. We may here also note from Josephus, that Claudius the emperor, who triumphed for the conquest of Britain, was wont to do by Vespasian's conduct and bravery, and that he is here styled "the Father of Vespasian."

while he himself, when he had passed over the Hellespont, came by land into Syria, where he gathered together the Roman forces, with a considerable number of auxiliaries from the kings in his neighbourhood.

CHAPTER II.

A GREAT SLAUGHTER OF THE JEWS AT ASCONIA. VESPASIAN COMES TO TTFLEMS.

§ 1. Now the Jews, after they had beaten the Romans were so much elevated with their unexpected success, that they could not govern their war, like people blown up into a flame by their good fortune, carried the war to remotest places. Accordingly they presently got together a great multitude of all their most ready soldiers, and marched away for Asconia. This is an ancient city distast from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs, and was always an enemy to the Jews on which account they determined to make their first effort against it, and to make their approach to it as near as possible. This excursion was led on by three men, who were the chief of them all, both for strength and sagacity: Niger, called Peraite, Silas of Babylon, and besides them, the Essene. Now Asconia was strongly walled about, but had almost no assistance to resist them [near them], for the garrison consisted of one centurion, a sort of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, whose captain was Antonius.

2. These Jews, therefore, out of their marched faster than ordinary, and, as if they were all a little way, approached very near the city, and were come even to it; but Antonius, who was not unapprised of the attack they were going to make upon the city, drew out his horsemen beforehand, and being neither daunted at the multitude nor at the courage of the enemy; received their first attacks with great bravery; and when they crowded to the very walls, he beat them off. Now the Jews were unskilful in war, but were not with those who were skilful therein; they were footmen to fight with horsemen; they were in disorder, to fight with those that were united together; they were poorly armed, to fight them that were completely so; they were to fight more by their rage than by sober counsel, and were exposed to soldiers that were exactly obedient; did every thing they were hidden upon the least intimation. So they were easily beaten for as soon as ever their first ranks were once in disorder, they were put to flight by the enemy's cavalry; and those of them that came behind such as could to the wall, fell upon their own party's weapons and became one another's enemies; and the
long till they were all forced to give way to the attacks of the horsemen, and were dispersed all the plain over, which plain was wide, and all fit for the horsemen; which circumstance was very commodious for the Romans, and occasioned the slaughter of the greatest number of the Jews; for such as ran away, they could overrun them, and make them turn back; and when they had caught them back after their flight, and driven them together, they ran them through, and slew a vast number of them, insomuch that others encompassed others of them, and drove them before them whithersoever they turned themselves, and slew them easily with their arrows; and the great number there were of the Jews seemed a solace to themselves, by reason of the distress they were in, while the Romans had such good success with their small number, that they seemed to themselves to be the greater multitude; and as the former strove zealously under their misfortunes, out of the shame of a such flight, and horror of a such a chance in success, so did the latter fear no weariness by reason of their good fortune; insomuch that the fight lasted till the evening, till ten thousand men of the Jews' side lay dead, with two of their generals, John and Silas; and the greater part of the remainder were wounded, with Niger, their remaining general, who fled away together to a small city of Idumesa, called Sallia. Some few also of the Romans were wounded in this battle.

3. Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken by so great a calamity, but the losses they had sustained rather quickened their resolution for other attempts; for, overlooking the dead bodies which lay under their feet, they were incited by their former glorious actions to venture on a second destruction; so when they had lain still so little a while that their wounds were not yet thoroughly cured, they got together all their forces, and came with greater fury, and in much greater numbers, to Ascalon; but their former ill fortune followed them, as the consequence of their unskilfulness, and other deficiencies in war; for Antonius laid ambuscades for them in the passages they were to go through, where they fell into snare unexpectedly, and where they were encompassed about with horsemen before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting, and were above eight thousand of them slain: so all the rest of them ran away, and with them Niger, who still did a great many bold exploits in his flight. However, they were driven along together by the enemy, who pressed hard upon them, into a certain strong tower belonging to a village called Bezedel. However, Antonius and his party, that they might neither spend any considerable time about this tower, which was hard to be taken, nor were their commander, and the most courageous man of them all, to escape from them, they set the wall on fire; and as the tower was burning, the Romans went away rejoicing, as taking it for granted that Niger was destroyed; but he leaped out of the tower into a subterraneous cave, in the innermost part of it, and was preserved; and on the third day afterward he spake out of the ground to those that with great lamentations were searching for him, in order to give him a decent funeral; and when he was come out, he filled all the Jews with an unexpected joy, as though he were preserved by God's providence to be their commander for the time to come.

4. And now Vespasian took along with him his army from Antioch (which is the metropolis of Syria, and, without dispute, deserves the place of the third city in the habitable earth that was under the Roman empire, both in magnitude and other marks of prosperity) where he found king Agrippa with all his forces, waiting for his coming, and marched to Ptolemais. At this city also the inhabitants of Sepphoris of Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans. These citizens had beforehand taken care of their own safety, and being sensible of the power of the Romans, they had been with Cestius Gallus before Vespasian came, and had given their faith to him, and received the security of his right hand; and had received a Roman garrison; and at this time withal they received Vespasian, the Roman general, very kindly, and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen. Now the general delivered them, at their desire, as many horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should happen to come against them;—and indeed the danger of losing Sepphoris would be no small one, in this war that was now beginning, seeing it was the largest city in Galilee, and built in a place by nature very strong, and might be a security of the whole nation's fidelity to the Romans.

CHAPTER III.

A DESCRIPTION OF GALILEE, SAMARIA, AND JUDAEA.

§ 1. Now Phoenicia and Syria encompass about the Galilees, which are two, and called the Upper Galilee and the Lower. They are bounded towards the sun-setting, with the borders of the territory belonging to Ptolemais, and by Carmel; which mountain had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians; to which mountain adjoins Gabaa, which is called the City of Horsemen, because those horsemen that were dismissed by Herod the king, dwelt therein; they are founded on the mount of the same name, Samaria and Sceytopolis, as far as the river Jordan; on the east with Hippene and Gadaries, and also with Gamlaison, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; its northern parts are bounded by Tyre, and the country of the Tyrians. As for that Galilee which is called the Lower, it extends in length from Tiberias to Zebulon, and of the maritime places, Ptolemais is its neighbour; its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the great plain, as far as Bersabe, from which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it; its breadth is also from Meloth to Thela, a village near to Jordan.

2. These two Galilees, of so great largeness, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, have always been able to make a strong resistance on all occasions of war; for the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous; nor hath the country been ever destitute of men of courage, or wanted a numerous set of them; for their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of the plantations of trees of all sorts, insomuch that it invites the most slothful to
take pains in its cultivation, by its fruitfulness; accordingly, it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover, the cities lie here very thick; and the very many villages there are here, are everywhere so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of them contain above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

3. In short, if any one will suppose that Galilee is inferior to Pera in magnitude, he will be obliged to prefer it before it in its strength: for this is all capable of cultivation, and is everywhere fruitful; but for Pera, which is indeed much larger in extent, the greater part of it is a desert, and rough, and much less disposed for the production of the milder kinds of fruits; yet hath it a moist soil [in other parts], and produces all kinds of fruits, and its plains are planted with trees of all sorts, while yet the olive tree, the vine, and the palm-tree, are chiefly cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents, which issue out of the mountains, and with springs that never fail to run, even when the torrents fail them, as they do in the dog-days. Now the length of Pera is from Michmash to Pella, and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan; its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as we have already said, as well as its western with Jordan; the land of Moab, is its southern border, and its eastern limits reach to Arabia, and Sibonitis, and besides to Philadæphæ and Gerasa.

4. Now, as to the country of Samaria, it lies between Judea and Galilee; it begins at a village that is in the great plain called Ginos, and ends at the Acrabænopolis, and is entirely of the same nature with Judea; for both countries are made up of hills and valleys, and are moist for agriculture, and are very fruitful. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered with many rivers, but derive their chief moisture from rain-water, of which they have no want; and for those rivers which they have, all their waters are exceeding sweet: by reason also of the excellent grass they have, their cattle yield more milk than do those in other places; and, what is the greatest sign of excellence and abundance, they each of them are very full of people.

5. In the limits of Samaria and Judea lies the village Amathus, which is also named Boreosos. This is the northern boundary of Judea. The southern parts of Judea, if they be measured lengthways, are bounded by a village adjoining to the confines of Arabia; the Jews that dwell there call it Jordan. However, its breadth is extended from the river Jordan to Joppa. The city Jerusalem is situated in the very middle; on which account some have, with sagacity enough, called it city the Naval of the country. Nor indeed is Judea destitute of such delights as come from the sea, since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais; it was passed into eleven portions, of which the royal city Jerusalem was the supreme, and presided over all the neighbouring country, as the head does over the body. As to the other cities that were inferior to it, they presided over their several toparchies; Siphone was the second of those cities, and next to it Acrotaba, after them Thamas, and Lydda, and Emmaus, and Pella, and Idumæa, and Engaddi, and Herodias, and Jericho; and after them came Jannae and Joppa, as presiding over the neighbouring people; and besides these there was the region of Gamala, and Gaulanitis, and Batanea, and Ischitis, which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa. This [last] country begins at Moaca and Batanea, and the fountain of Jordan, and male bath waters to the lake of Tiberias; and is again extended from a village called Arpa, as far as Judas. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians. And thus have I, with all possible brevity, described the country of Judea, and then little round about it.

CHAPTER IV.

Josephus Makes an Attempt Upon Sepphoris, but is Repulsed. Titus Comes with a Great Army to Ptolemais.

§ 1. Now the auxiliaries who were sent to aid the people of Sepphoris, being a thousand horsemen, and six thousand footmen, under Flavius, were to drive out the Jews, and pitch their camp in the body of their city; the mountings being in the saddle. But the horsemen were put into the city by day, but the horse lodged abroad in the camp. These last, by marching continually on their way or other, and over-running the parts of the adjoining country, were very troublesome to Josephus and his men; they also plundered all the places that were out of the city's liberty, and interest such as durst go abroad. On this account it was that Josephus marched against the city, as hoping to take what he had lately encompassed with such a strong a wall, before they revolted from the rest of the Galileans, that the Romans would have no ado to take it: by which means they proved too good and failed of his hopes, both as to forcing the pass, and to his prevailing with the people of Sepphoris to deliver it up to him. By this means he persuaded the Romans to treat the country according to the law of war; nor did the Romans, out of an anger they bore at this attempt, leave off either by night or by day, burning the places in the plain, or stealing away the cattle that was in the country, and killing whatsoever appeared capable of fighting, perpetually, and leading the weaker people into captivity; so that Galilee was all laid waste with fire and blood, nor was it exempted from any kind of misery or calamity; for the only region they had was this, that when they were pursued they could retire to the cities which had walls about them by Josephus.

2. But to Titus, he sailed over from Achiæ to Alexandria, and that sooner than the winter season did usually permit; so he took with him those forces he was sent for, and marching with great expedition, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and there finding his father, together with the legions, the fifth and tenth, which were the most eminent legions of all, he joined them to that fifteenth legion which was with his father; eighteen cohorts followed these legions; there came also five cohorts from Cæsarea; one troop of horsemen, and five other troops of horsemen from Syria. Now these ten cohorts had severally a thousand footmen, but the other thirteen cohorts had more than six hundred footmen a-piece, with a hundred and twenty horsemen. There were also considerable number of auxiliaries get together that came from the kings Antiochus, and Agrippa and Sothemus, each of them contributing one thousand footmen that were archers, and a thousand
horsemen. Malchus also, the king of Arabia, sent a thousand horsemen, besides five thousand footmen, the greatest part of whom were archers; so that the whole army, including the auxiliaries sent by the king, as well as horsemen as footmen, when all were united together, amounted to sixty thousand, besides the servants, who, as they followed in vast numbers, so because they had been trained up in war with the rest, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men; for as they were in their masters' service in times of peace, so did they undergo the like dangers with them in times of war, insomuch that they were inferior to none, either in skill or in strength, only they were subject to their masters.

CHAPTER V.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE ROMAN ARMIES AND ROMAN CAMPS; AND WHAT THE ROMANS ARE COMMENDED FOR.

§ 1. Now here one cannot but admire at the precaution of the Romans, in providing themselves of such household servants, as might not only serve at other times in their common offices of life, but might also be of advantage to them in their wars; and indeed, if any one does but attend to the other parts of their military discipline, he will be forced to confess that their obtaining so large a dominion, hath been the acquisition of their valour, and not the bare gift of fortune; for they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war, nor do they then put their hands first into motion, while they avoided so to do in times of peace; but as if their weapons did always cling to them, they have never any truce from warlike exercises; nor do they stay till times of war admonish them to use them; for their military exercises differ as much from real use of their arms, but every soldier is every day exercised, and that with great diligence, as if it were in time of war, which is the reason why they bear the fatigue of battle so easily; for neither can any disorder remove them from their usual regularity, nor can fear affright them out of it, nor can labour tire them; which firmness of conduct makes them to overcome those that have the same firmness; nor would he be mistaken that should call those their exercises unbloody battles, and their battles bloody exercises. Nor can their enemies easily surprise them with the suddenness of their incursions; for as soon as they have marched into an enemy's land, they do not begin to fight till they have walled their camp about; nor is the fence they raise rashly made, or uneven; nor do they all abide in it, nor do those that are in it take their places at random; but if it happens that the ground is uneven, it is first levelled: their camp is also foursquare by measure, and carpenters are ready, in great numbers, with their tools, to erect their buildings for them.\footnote{This description of the exact symmetry and regularity of the Roman army, and of the Roman encampments, with the sounding of their trumpets and order of war, described in this and the next chapter, is so very like the symmetry and regularity of the people of Israel in the wilderness (see Description of the Temple, ch. 11, I.), that one cannot avoid the suspicion that the one was the ultimate that the other. And indeed, on the death of Titus, and that the tactics of the ancients were taken from th hence given by tied to Moses. And it is thought by some hilful in these matters, and these accounts of Josephus, as to the Roman camp and armor, and conduct in war, are probably to those in the Roman armies thence themselves.}

2. As for what is within the camp, it is set apart for tents, but the outward circumference hath the resemblance of a wall, and is adorned with towers at equal distances, where between the towers stand the engines for throwing arrows, darts, and, for slingting stones, and where they lay all other engines that can annoy the enemy, all ready for their several operations. They also erect four gates, one at every side of the circumference, and those large enough for the entrance of the beasts, and wide enough for making excursions, if occasion should require. They divide the camp within into two streets, very conveniently, and place the tents of the commanders in the middle; but in the very midst of all is the general's own tent in the nature of a temple, insomuch that it appears to be a city built on the sudden, with its market-places, and place for handicraft trades, and with seats for the officers, inferior and superior; where, if any differences arise, their causes are heard and determined. The camp, and all that is in it, is encompassed with a wall all round about, and that sooner than one would imagine, and this by the multitude and the skill of the labourers; and, if occasion require, a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth equal.

3. When they have thus secured themselves, they live together by companies with quietness and decency, as are all their other affairs managed with good order and security. Each company hath also their wood, and their corn, and their water brought them, when they stand in need of them; for they neither sup nor dine as they please themselves singly, but all together. Their times also for sleeping, and watching, and rising, are notified beforehand by the sound of trumpets, nor is any thing done without such a signal; and in the morning the soldiery go every one to their centurions, and these centurions to their tribunes, to salute them; with whom all the superior officers go to the general of the army, who then gives them of course the watch-word, and the other orders, to be by them carried to all that are under his command; which is also observed when they go to fight, and thereby they turn themselves about on the sudden, when there is occasion for making salutes, as they come back when they are recalled, in crowds also.

4. When they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives a sound, at which time nobody lies still, but at the first intimation they take down their tents, and all is made ready for their going out; then do the trumpets sound again, to order them to get ready for the march; then do they lay their baggage suddenly upon their arms and other beasts of burden, and stand, at the place for starting, ready to march; when also they set fire to their camp, and this they do because it will be easy for them to erect another camp, and that it may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give a sound the third time, that they are to go out in order to excite those that on any account are a little tardy, so that no one may be out of his rank when the army marches. Their does the crier stand at the general's right hand and ask them them whether their own tongue, whether they are ready to go out to war or not. To whic they reply as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, saying, "We are ready." And this they do almost before the question is asked them; thrilled with a kind of martial fury, ar
that they so cry out, they lift up their right hands also.

5. When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise, and in a decent manner, and every one keeps his own rank, as if they were going to war. The footmen are armed with breast-plates and head-pieces, and have swords on each side; but the sword which is upon their left side is much longer than the other; for that on the right side is not longer than a span. Those footmen also that are chosen out from amongst the rest to be about the general himself, have a lance and a buckler; but the rest of the foot-soldiers have a spear and a long buckler, besides a saw and a basket, a pick-axe and an axe, a thong of leather, and a hook, with provisions for three days; so that a footman hath no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The horsemen have a long sword on their right sides, and a long pole in their hand; a shield also lies by them obliquely on one side of their horses, with three or more darts that are borne in their quiver, having broad points, and no smaller than spears. They have also head-pieces and breast-plates, in like manner as have all the footmen. And for those that are to have the general, their armour no way differs from that of the horsemen belonging to other troops; and he always leads the legions forth, to whom the lot assigns that employment.

6. This is the manner of the marching and resting of the Romans, as also these are the several sorts of weapons they use. But when they are to fight, they leave nothing without forecast, nor to be done off-hand, but counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun, and what hath been there resolved upon is put in execution presently; for which reason they seldom commit any errors; and if they have been mistakes at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors they commit upon taking counsel beforehand, to be better than such rash successes as is owing to fortune only; because such a fortuitous advantage tempts them to be inconsiderable, while consultation, though it may sometimes fail of success, hath this good in it, that it makes men more careful hereafter; but for the advantages that arise from chance, they are not owing to him that gains them; and as to what melancholy accidents happen unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them, that they had however taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

7. Now they so manage their preparatory exercises of their weapons, that not the bodies of the soldiers only, but their souls, may also become stronger; they are moreover hardened for war by fear; for their laws inflict capital punishments, not only for soldiers running away from their ranks, but for slothfulness and inactivity, though it be but in a lesser degree, as are their generals more severe than their laws, for they prevent any imputation of cruelty towards those under condemnation, by the great rewards they bestow on the valiant soldiers, and the readiness of obeying their commanders is so great, that it is very ornamental in peace; but when they come to a battle, the whole army is but one body, so well coupled together are their ranks, so sudden are their turnings about, so sharp their hearing as to what orders are given them, so quick their sight of the ensigns, and so nimble are their hands when they set to work, whereby it comes to pass, that what they do is done quickly, and what they suffer they bear with the greatest patience. Nor can we find any examples where they have been conquered in battle, when they came to a close fight, either by the multitude of the enemies, or by their stratagems, or by the difficulties in the places they were in; nor by fortune neither, for their victories have been so clear to them that fortune could have granted them. In a case, therefore, where counsel all goes before action, and where, after taking the best advice, that advice is followed by so active an army, what wonder is it that Ephraemus on the east, and Titus on the west, the most fertile regions of Libya on the south, and the Danube and the Rhine on the north, are the limits of this empire. One might well say, that the Roman possessions are not inferior to the Romans themselves.

8. This account I have given the reader, not much with the intention of commending the Romans, as of comforting those that have been conquered by them, and for deterring others from attempting innovations under their government. This discourse of the Roman military conduct may also perhaps be of use to such of the curious as ignorant of it, and of a mind to know it. I now return from this digression.

CHAPTER VI.

PLACIDUS ATTEMPTS TO TAKE JOTAPATA, AND IS BEATEN OFF. VESPASIAN MARCHES INTO GALILEE.

§ 1. And now Vespasian, with his son Titus, had tarried some time at Ptolemais, and had put his army in order. But when Placidus, who had overrun Galilee, and had besieged a number of those whom he had caught (which were only the weaker part of the Galileans, and such as were of timorous souls), saw that the warriors ran amuck to those cities whose walls had been built by Josephus, he marched furiously against Jotapata, which was of them all the strongest, as supposing he should easily take it by a sudden surprise, and that he should thereby obtain great honour to himself among the commanders, and bring a great advantage to them in their future campaign; because, if this strongest place of them all were once taken, the rest would be so affrighted as to surrender themselves. But he was mightily mistaken in this undertaking; for the men of Jotapata were surprised of his coming to attack them, and came out of the city, and expected him there. So they fought the Romans briskly when they least expected it, being both many in number, and prepared for fighting, and of great alacrity, as esteeming their country, their wives, and their children, to be in danger, and easily put the Romans to flight, and wounded many of them, and slew seven of them, because their retreat was not made in a disorderly manner, because the strokes only touched the surface of their bodies, which were covered with their

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*1 cannot, but here observe an eastern way of speaking,异言 among them, but not usual among us, where the word "only" is used as is here, but perhaps some was not in their pronunciation. Thus Josephus here says, that those of Jotapata were seven of the Romans as they were marching off, because their retreat was regular, their bodies were covered over with their armour and the Jews fought at some distance. It means little to say, that the were the reasons they slew only, or so many, as they seven, I have not with many of the like examples in the Scripture, in Josephus, but this not note down the particular places. This observation might be born in mind upon many occasions.*
armour in all parts, and because the Jews did rather throw their weapons upon them from a great distance, than venture to come hand to hand with them, and had only light armour on, while the others were completely armed. However, three men of the Jews’ side were slain, and a few wounded; so Placidus, finding himself unable to assault the city, ran away.

2. But as Vespasian had a great mind to fall upon Galilee, he marched out from Ptolemais, having put his army into that order wherein the Romans used to march. He ordered those auxiliaries which were lightly armed, and the archers, to march first, that they might prevent any sudden insults from the enemy, and might search out the woods that looked suspiciously, and were capable of ambushes. Next to these followed that part of the Romans who were most completely armed, both footmen and horsemen. Next to these followed ten out of every hundred, carrying along with them their arms, and what was necessary to measure out a camp withal; and after them, such as were to make the road even and straight, and if it were anywhere rough and hard to pass over, to pave it, and to cut down the trees that hindered their march, that the army might not be in distress, or tired with their march. Behind these he set such carriages of the army as belonged both to himself and to the other commanders, with a considerable number of their horsemen for their security. After these he marched himself, having with him a select body of footmen, and horsemen, and pikemen. After these came the peculiar cavalry of his own legion, for there were an hundred and twenty horsemen that peculiarly belonged to every legion. Next to these came the mules that carried the engines for sieges, and the other warlike machines of that nature. After these came the commanders of the cohorts, and tribunes, having about them soldiers chosen out of the rest. Then came the ensigns encompassing the eagle, which is at the head of every Roman legion, the king, and the strongest of all birds, which seems to them a signal of dominion, and an omen that they shall conquer all against whom they march; these sacred ensigns are followed by the trumpeters. Then came the main army in their squadrons and battalions, with six men in depth, which were followed at last by a centurion, who, according to custom, observed the rear. As for the servants of every legion, they all followed the footmen, and led the baggage of the soldiers, which was borne by the mules and other beasts of burden. But behind all the legions came the whole multitude of the mercenaries; and those that brought up the rear came last of all for the security of the whole army, being both footmen, and those in their armour also, with a great number of horsemen.

3. And thus did Vespasian march with his army, and came to the bounds of Galilee, where he pitched his camp and restrained his soldiers, who were eager which way to plunge his arm to the enemy, in order to affright them, and to afford them a season for repentence, to see whether they would change their minds before it came to a battle, and at the same time he got things ready for besieging their strong-holds. And indeed this sight of the general brought many to repent of their revolt, and put them all into a consternation: for those that were in Josephus’s camp, which was at the city called Garis, not far from Sepphoris when they heard that the war was come near them, and that the Romans would suddenly fight them hand to hand, dispersed themselves and fled, not only before they came to a battle, but before the enemy ever came in sight, while Josephus and a few others were left behind; and as he saw that he had not an army sufficient to engage the enemy, that the spirits of the Jews were sunk, and that the greater part would willingly come to terms, if they might be credited, he already despaired of the success of the whole war, and determined to get as far as he possibly could, out of danger; so he took those that stayed along with him, and fled to Tiberias.

CHAPTER VII.

VESPAVIAN, WHEN HE HAD TAKEN THE CITY GADARA, MARCHES TO JOTAPATA. AFTER A LONG SIEGE, THE CITY IS BETRAYED BY A DESERTER, AND TAKEN BY VESPASIAN.

§ 1. So Vespasian marched to the city Gadara, and took it upon the first onset, because he found it destitute of a considerable number of men grown up and fit for war. He came then into it, and slew all the youth, the Romans having no mercy on any age whatsoever; and this was done out of the hatred they bore the nation, and because of the iniquity they had been guilty of in the affair of Cesarius. He also set fire, not only to the city itself, but to all the villages and small cities that were round about it; some of them were quite destitute of inhabitants; and out of some of them he carried the inhabitants as slaves into captivity.

2. As to Josephus, his retiring into that city which he chose as the most fit for his security, put it into great fear; for the people of Tiberias did not imagine that he would have run away, unless he had entirely despaired of the success of the war; and indeed, as to that point, they were not mistaken in his opinion; for he saw whither the affairs of the Jews would tend at last, and was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by repentance. However, although he expected that the Romans would forgive him, yet did he choose to die many times over rather than to betray his country, and to dishonour that supreme command of the army which had been entrusted with him, or to live happily under those against whom he was sent to fight. He determined, therefore, to give an exact account of affairs to the principal men at Jerusalem by a letter, that he might not, by too much aggrandizing the power of the enemy, make them too timorous; nor, by relating that their power beneath the truth, might encourage them to stand out when they were perhaps disposed to repentance. He also sent them word, that if they thought of coming to terms, they must suddenly write him an answer; or if they resolve upon war, they must send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. Accordingly he wrote these things, and sent messengers immediately to carry his letter to Jerusalem.

3. Now Vespasian was very desirous of demolishing Jotapata, for he had gotten intelligence that the greatest part of the enemy had retired thither; and that it was, on other accounts, a place of great security to them. Accordingly he sent both foot-
men and horsemen to level the road, which was mountainous and rocky, not without difficulty to be travelled over by footmen, but absolutely impracticable for horsemen. Now these workmen accomplished what they were about in four days' time, and opened a broad way for the army. On the fifth day, which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius (Dyar), Josephus prevented them, and came from Tiberias, and went into Jotapata, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deacon told this good news to Vespasian, that Josephus had removed himself thither, which made him make haste to the city, as supposing, that with taking that he should take all Judea, in case he could but withal get Josephus under his power. So he took this news to be of the vastest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God, that he who appeared to be the most prudent man of all their enemies, had of his own accord, shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly he sent Placidus with a thousand horsemen, and Eubius, a deacon, a person that was of eminence both in council and in action, to encompass the city round, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

4. Vespasian also, the very next day, took his whole army and followed them, and by marching till late in the evening, arrived then at Jotapata; and bringing his army to the northern side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain hill which was seven furlongs from the city, and still greatly endeavoured to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into consternation, which was indeed so terrible to the Jews immediately, that no one of them durst go out beyond the wall. Yet did the Romans take care to look about, because they had marched all the day, although they placed a double row of battalions round the city, with a third row beyond them round the whole, which consisted of cavalry, in order to stop up every way for an exit; which thing making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly; for nothing makes men fight so desperately in war as necessity.

5. Now when an assault was made the next day by the Romans, the Jews at first stood out of the walls, and opposed them; and met them, as having formed themselves a camp before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers and slingers, and the whole multitude that could throw to a great distance, he permitted them to go to work, while he himself, with the footmen, got upon an acclivity, whence the city might easily be taken. Josephus was then in fear for the city, and leaped out, and all the Jewish multitude with him; these fell together upon the Romans in great numbers, and drove them away from the wall, and performed a great many glorious and bold actions. Yet did they suffer as much as they made the enemy suffer; for as despair of deliverance encouraged the Jews, so did a sense of shame equally encourage the Romans. These last had skill as well as strength; the other had only courage, which armed them, and made them fight fearfully. And when the fight had lasted all day, it was put an end to by the coming on of night. They had wounded a great many of the Romans, and killed of them thirteen men; of the Jews' side seventeen were slain, and six hundred wounded.

6. On the next day the Jews made another attack upon the Romans, and went out of the walls, and fought a much more desperate battle than before; for they were now become more courageous than formerly, and that on account of the unexpected good opposition they had made the day before, as they found the Romans also to fight as desperately; for a sense of shame inflamed them into a passion, as esteeming their failure of a sudden victory to be a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans try to make an impression upon the Jews till the fifth day continually, while the people of Jotapata made sallies out, and fought at the gates most desperately; nor were the Jews afraid of the strength of the enemy, nor were the Jews discouraged at the difficulties they met with in taking the city.

7. Now Jotapata is almost all of it built upon a precipice, having on all the other sides of it easy ways valleys immensely deep and steep, so that those who would look down would have the sight fail them before it reached to the bottom of it, as is only to be come at on the north side, where the utmost part of the city is built on the mountain. And it ends obliquely at a place distant a mile and a half; this mountain Josephus had engaged with a wall when he fenced the city, that its top might not be capable of being seized upon by the enemy. The city is covered round with other mountains, that cannot be seen till a man comes just upon it. And this was the strong situation of Jotapata.

8. Vespasian, therefore, in order to try his might overcome the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defence of the Jews, made a resolution to prosecute the siege with vigour, that he called the commanders that were with him to a council of war, and consulted with them which way he should proceed to his advantage; and when the resolution was taken to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was practicable, he sent his whole army abroad to get the materials together. So when they had cut down all the trees on the mountains that were adjoining to the city, and had gotten together a heap of stones, besides the wood they had cut down, some of them brought hurdles, in order to cover the effects of the darts that were shot from them. These hurdles they spread over their heads under cover whereof they formed their bank, and so were little or nothing hurt by the arrows that were thrown upon them from the wall, while others piled the neighbouring hillycotes to pieces, and especially brought earth to them; so that while they were busy three sorts of ways, nobody was idle. However, the Jews cast great stones from the wall upon the hurdles which protected the men, while all sorts of darts also; and the noise of what could not reach them was yet so terrible, that it was some impediment to the workmen.

9. Vespasian then set the engines for throwing stones and darts round about the city; the number of the engines was in all a hundred, and made them fall to work, and dislodge those that were upon the wall. At the same time such engines as were intended for that purpose, threw at the wall, and by stone and arrows, which made the wall so dangerous, that the Jews darts not only not come upon it, but durst not come to these parts within the walls which were reached by the engines for the multitude of the Arabian archers, as well
also as all those that threw darts and sling stones, fell to work at the same time with the engines. Yet did not the others lie still when they would not throw at the Romans from a higher place; for they then made sailies out of the city like private robbers, by parties, and pulled away the hurdles that covered the workmen, and killed them when they were thus naked; and when the workmen gave way, these cast away the earth that composed the bank, and burnt the wooden parts of it, together with the hurdles, till at length Vespasian perceived that the intervals there were between the works were of disadvantage to him; for those spaces of ground afforded the Jews a place for assaulting the Romans. So he united the hurdles, and at the same time joined one part of the army to the other, which prevented the private excursions of the Jews.

10. And when the bank was now raised, and brought nearer than ever to the battlements that belonged to the walls, Josephus thought it would be entirely wrong in him if he could make no contrivances in opposition to theirs, and that might be for the city's preservation; so he got together his workmen, and ordered them to build the wall higher; and when they said that this was impossible to be done while so many darts were thrown at them, and so many of their cloths and robes were made them fix piles, and expand before them the raw hides of oxen newly killed, and these hides by yielding and hollowing themselves when the stones were thrown at them might receive them, for that the other darts would slide off them, and the fire that was thrown would be quenched by the moisture that was in them; and these he set before the workmen; and under them these workmen went on with their works in safety, and raised the wall higher, and that both by day and by night, till it was twenty cubits high. He then built a good number of towers upon the wall, and fitted it to strong battlements. This greatly discouraged the Romans, who in their own opinions were already gotten within the walls, while they were now at once astonished at Josephus's contrivance, and at the fortitude of the citizens that were in the city.

11. And now Vespasian was plainly irritated at the great subtilty of this stratagem, and at the boldness of the citizens of Jotapata; for taking heart again upon the building of this wall, they made fresh sailies upon the Romans, and had every day conflicts with them by parties, together with all such contrivances as robbers make use of, and with the plundering of all that came to hand, as also with the setting fire to all the other works; and this till Vespasian made his army leave off fighting them, and resolved to lie round the city, and to starve them into a surrender, as supposing that either they would be forced to petition him for mercy by the want of provisions, or if they should have the courage to hold out till the last they should perish by famine: and he concluded lie should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he gave them an interval, and then to fall upon them when they were weakened by famine; but still he gave orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

12. Not the besieged had plenty of corn within the city, and indeed of all other necessaries, but they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city, and the people being there usually satisfied with rain-water; yet it is a rare thing in that country to have rain in summer, and at this season, during the siege, they were in great distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst; and they were very sad at this time particularly, as if they were already in want of water entirely, for Josephus seeing that the city abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were in good courage, and being desirous to protract the siege to the Romans longer than they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure: but this scanty distribution of water by measure was deemed by them as a thing more hard upon them than the want of it; and their not being able to drink as much as they would, made them more desirous of drinking than they otherwise had been; nay, they were so much disheartened thereby, as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans impecunious with the state they were in, for when they stood over against them beyond the wall, they could see them running together, and taking their water by measure, which made them throw their javelins thither, the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

13. Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him; but Josephus being minded to break such his hope, gave command that they should wet a great many of their clothes and hang them out about the battlements, till the entire wall was of a sudden all wet with the running down of water. At this sight the Romans were discouraged, and under consternation, when they saw them able to throw away in sport so much water, when they supposed them not to have enough to drink themselves. This made the Roman general despair of taking the city by their want of necessaries, and to betake himself again to arms, and to try to force them to surrender, which was what the Jews greatly desired; for as they despaired of either themselves or their city being able to escape, they preferred a death in battle before one by hunger and thirst.

14. However, Josephus contrived another stratagem besides the foregoing, to get plenty of what they wanted. There was a certain rough and uneven place that could hardly be ascended, and on that account was not guarded by the soldiers; so Josephus sent out certain persons along the western parts of the valley, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased of the Jews that were out of the city, and procured from them what necessaries soever they wanted in the city in abundance; he enjoined them also to creep generally along by the watch as they came into the city, and to cover their backs with such sheep-skins as had their wool upon them, that if any one should spy them in the night-time, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived their contrivance, and encompassed that rough place about themselves.

15. And now it was that Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long, and that his own life would be in doubt if he continued in it; so he consulted how he and the most potent men of the city might fly out of it. When the multitude understood this, they came all round about him, and begged of him not to think them so unmercifully depended on him, and him alone; for that there was still hope of the city's deliverance if he would stay with them, because every body would undertake any pains with great cheerfulness on his account, and in that case there would be some comfort for them also, though they should be taken; that it became him neither to fly from his enemies,
nor to desert his friends, nor to leap out of that city, as out of a ship that was sinking in a storm, into which he came when it was quiet and in a calm; for that by going away he would be the cause of drowning the city, because nobody would then venture to oppose the enemy when he was once gone, upon whom they wholly confided.

16. Hereupon Josephus avoided letting them know that he was to go away to provide for his own safety, but told them that he would go out of the city for their sakes; for that if he stood with them, he should be able to do them little good while they were in a safe condition; and that if they were once taken, he should only perish with them to no purpose; but that if he were once gotten free from this siege, he should be able to bring them very great relief; for that he would then immediately get the Galileans together, out of the country, in great multitudes, and draw the Romans off their city by another war. That he did not see what advantage he could bring to them by staying among them, but only provoke the Romans to besiege them more closely, as esteeming it a most valuable thing to take him; but that if they were once informed that he was fled out of the city, they would greatly remit of their eagerness against it. Yet did not this plea move the people, but inflamed them the more to hang about him. Accordingly, both the children and the old men, and women with their infants, came mourning to him, and fell down before him, and all of them caught hold of his feet, and held him fast, and besought him, with great lamentations, that he would take his share with them in their fortune; and I think they did this, not that they envied his deliverance, but that they hoped for their own; for they could not think they should suffer any great misfortune, provided Josephus would but stay with them.

17. Now, Josephus thought, that if he resolved to stay, it would be ascribed to their entreaties; and if he resolved to go away by force, he should be put into custody. His commiseration also of the people under their lamentations, had much broken that of his eagerness to leave them; so he resolved to stay, and arming himself with the common discourse of the people, he said to them, "Now is the time to begin to fight in earnest, when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is a brave thing to prefer glory before life, and to set about some such noble undertaking as may be remembered by late posterity." Having said this he fell to work immediately, and made a sally, and dispersed the enemies' out-guards, and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled the coverings of their tents to pieces, that were upon their banks, and set fire to their works. And this was the manner in which he never left off fighting, neither the next day nor the day after it, but went on with it for a considerable number of both days and nights.

18. Upon this, Vespasian, when he saw the Romans distressed by these sallies (although they were ashamed to be made to run away by the Jews; and when at any time they made the Jews run away, their heavy armour would not let them pursue them far; while the Jews, when they had performed any action, and before they could be hurt themselves, still retired into the city), ordered his armed men to avoid their onset, and not to fight it out with men under desperation, while nothing is more courageous than despair; but that their violence would be quenched when they saw they failed in their purposes, as fire is quenched when it wants fuel; so that it was most proper for the Romans to keep their victories as cheap as they could, since they are not forced to fight, but only to enlarge their dominions. So he repelled the Jews by the fire of the engines, by the arrows that threw stones at them, and by the intermission of the great number of offensive engines. Now, the Jews suffered more by these engines, without being able to escape them; and when these engines threw their stones or javelins a great way, and the Romans were not near them, they pressed hard upon the walls, and fought desperately, without sparing either man or body, one part succouring another, till the city was laid down.

19. When, therefore, Vespasian looked upon himself as in a manner besieged by these walls, and his banks were no longer standing, he determined to make use of his battering ram. This battering ram is a vast piece of wood like the mast of a ship; its fore-part is armed with a thick piece of iron at the head of it, which is so curved as to be like the head of a ram, when its name is taken. This ram is slung in the air, and the ropes passing over its middle, and is hung in balance in a pair of scales from another beam, braced by strong beams that pass over it, in the nature of a cross. When this ram is pulled backward by a great number of men at force, and then thrust forward by the men whose shoulders are armed with a mighty noise, it battereth the walls with a great noise, and is so strong that it can batter any more than its first batteries, but all are equally to yield to it at last. This was the engine which the Roman general betook himself to, he was eagerly bent upon taking the city, and found lying in the field so long to be an advantage, because the Jews would never be quiet. So these Romans brought up a great number of engines for galling an enemy nearer to the wall, they might reach such as were upon the wall, and endeavor to frustrate their attempts; threw stones and javelins at them; and in the manner did the archers and slingers come together closer to the wall. This brought matters to such a pass that none of the Jews durst move out of the walls, and then it was that the other Romans brought the battering ram that was cast with the engines all over, and in the upper part was covered with skins that covered it, and this both for the security of themselves and of the engine. Now the very first stroke of this engine, the wall is shaken, and a terrible clamour was raised by people within the city, as if they were about to be taken.

20. And now, when Josephus saw this ram battering the same place, and that the wall was quickly be thrown down by it, he resolved to come for a while the force of the engine. With this he sign gave orders to fill sacks with clay and hang them down before that place where the ram always battering, that the stroke might be turned aside, or that the place might feel not strokes by the yielding nature of the clay. His contrivance very much delayed the attempt of Romans, because let them remove their engines, what part they pleased, those that were above removed their sacks, and placed them out of
the strokes it made, insomuch that the wall was no way hurt, and this by diversion of the strokes, till the Romans made an opposite contrivance of long poles, and by tying hooks at their ends, cut off the sacks. Now, when the battering ram, thus recovered its force, and the wall having been but newly built, was giving way, Josephus and those about him had to effect a method of defending themselves within; whereupon they took what materialssoever they had that were but dry, and made a sally three ways, and set fire to the machines and to the hurdles, and the banks of the Romans themselves; nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance, being at once under a consternation at the Jews' boldness, and being prevented by the flames from coming to their assistance; for the materials being dry with the bitumen and pitch that were among them, as was brimstone also, the fire caught hold of every thing immediately; and what cost the Romans a great deal of trouble in one place, so did they suffer it in another.

21. And here a certain Jew appeared worthy of our relation and commendation; he was the son of Sameas, and was called Eleazar, and was born at Saab, in Galilee. This man took up a stone of vast bigness, and threw it down from the wall upon the ram, and this with so great a force that it broke off the head of the engine. He also leaped down and took up the head of the ram from the midst of them, without any concern, carried it to the top of the wall, and this, while he stood as a fit mark to be pelleted by all his enemies. Accordingly, he renewed the strokes upon his naked body, and was wounded with five darts; nor did he have any of them while he went up to the top of the wall, where he stood in sight of them all, as an instance of the greatest boldness; after which he threw himself on a heap with his wounds upon him, and fell down, together with the head of the ram. Next to him, two brothers showed their courage; their names were Netur and Philip, both of them of the village Ruma, and both of them Gallileans also; these men leaped upon the soldiers of the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with such a noise and force as to disorder their ranks, and put to flight all upon whomsoever they met, and made them to run away.

22. After these men's performances, Josephus, and the rest of the multitude with him, took a great deal of fire, and burnt both the machines, and their coverings, with the works belonging to the fifth, and to the tenth legion, which they put to flight; when others followed them immediately, and buried those instruments and all their materials under ground. However, about the evening the Romans erected the battering ram again, against that part of the wall which had suffered before; where a certain Jew that defended the city from the Romans, hit Vespasian with a dart in his foot, and wounded him a little, the distance being so great, that no mighty impression could be made by the dart thrown so far off. However, this caused the greatest disorder among the Romans; for when those who stood near him saw his blood, they were disturbed at it, and a report went abroad, through the whole army, that the general was wounded, while the greatest part left the siege, and came running together with surprise and fear to the general; and before them all came Titus, out of the concern he had for his father, insomuch that the multitude were in great confusion, and this out of the regard they had for their general, and by reason of the agony that the son was in. Yet did the father soon put an end to the son's fear, and to the disorder the army was under, for being superior to his pains, and endeavouring soon to be seen by all that had been in the fright about him, he excited them to fight the Jews more briskly; for now every body was willing to expose himself to danger immediately in order to avow their general; and then they encouraged one another with loud voices, and ran hastily to the walls.

23. But still Josephus and those with him, although they fell down dead one upon another, by the darts and stones which the engines threw upon them, yet did not they desert the wall, but fell upon those who managed the ram, under the protection of the hurdles, with fire, and iron weapons, and stones; and these could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually, while they were seen by those whom they could not see, for the light of their own flame shone upon them, and made them a most visible mark to the enemy, but the daylight, while the engines could not be seen at a great distance, and so what was thrown at them was hard to be avoided; for the force with which these engines threw stones and darts made them hurt several at a time, and the violent noise of the stones that were cast by the engines was so great, that they carried away the pinacles of the wall, and broke off the corners of the towers; for no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the largeness of the stones; and any may learn the force of the engines by what happened this very night; for as one of those that stood round about Josephus was near the wall, his head was carried away by such a stone, and his skull was flung as far as three furlongs. In the day-time also, a woman with child had her belly so violently struck, as she was just come out of her house, that the infant was carried to the distance of half a furlong; so great was the force of that engine. The noise of the instruments themselves was very terrible, the sound of the darts and stones that were thrown by them was so also; of the same sort was that noise the dead bodies made, when they were dashed against the wall; and indeed dreadful was the clamour which these things raised in the women within the city, which was echoed back at the same time by the cries of such as were slain; while the whole space of ground whereon they fought ran with blood, and the wall might have been ascended over by the bodies of the dead carcasses; the mountains also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes; nor was there on that night any thing of terror wanting that could either affect the hearing or the sight; yet did a great part of those that fought so hard for Jotapala fall manfully, as were a great part of them wounded. However the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, though it had been battered without intermission. However, those within covered their bodies with their armour, and raised works over against that part which was thrown down, before those machines were laid by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

24. In the morning Vespasian got his army together, in order to take the city [by storm], after a little recreation upon the hard pains they had been at the night before; and as he was desirous to draw off those that opposed him from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of the horsemen get off their
horses, and placed them in three ranks over against those ruins of the walls, but covered with their armour on every side, and with poles in their hands, that so those might begin their ascent as soon as the instruments for such ascent were laid; behind these men they placed the flower of the footmen; but for the rest of the horses, in command that had based them, extended themselves over-against the walls, upon the whole hilly country, in order to prevent any from escaping out of the city when it should be taken; and behind these he placed the archers round about, and commanded them to have all their darts ready to shoot. The same command he gave to the slingers, and to those that managed the engines, and bade them to take up other ladders and have them ready to lay upon those parts of the wall which were yet untouched, that the besieged might be engaged in trying to hinder their ascent by them, and leave the guard of the parts that were thrown down, while the rest of them should be overborne by the darts cast at them, and might afford his men an entrance into the city.

25. But Josephus, understanding the meaning of Vespasian's contrivance, set the old men, together with those that were tired out, at the sound parts of the wall, as expecting no harm from those quarters, but set the strongest of his men at the places where the wall was broken down, and before them all, six men by themselves, among whom he took his share of the first and greatest danger. He also gave orders, that when the legions made a shout they should stop their ears, that they might not be affrighted at it, and that, to avoid the multitude of the enemies' darts, they should bend down on their knees, and cover themselves with their shields, and that they should retreat a little backward for a while, till the archers should have emptied their quivers; but that, when the Romans should lay their instruments for ascending the walls, they should leap out on the sudden, and with their own instruments should meet the enemy, and that every one should strive to do his best, in order not to defend his own city, as if it were possible to be preserved, but in order to revenge it, when it was already destroyed; and that they should set before their eyes how their old men were to be slain, and their children and their wives to be killed immediately by the enemy; and that they would beforehand spend all their fury, on account of the calamities just coming upon them, and pour it out on the actors.

26. And thus did Josephus dispose of both his bodies of men; but then for the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw the city encompassed by a three-fold army (for none of the usual guards had been forming before were removed), when they also saw not only the walls thrown down, but their enemies with swords in their hands, as also the hilly country above them shining with their weapons, and the darts in the hands of the Arabian archers, they made a final and lamentable outcry of the destruction, as if the misery were not only threatened, but actually come upon them already. But Josephus ordered the women to be shut up in their houses, lest they should render the warlike actions of the men too inconstant, by making them commiserate their condition, and commanded them to hold the peace, and threatened them if they did not, while he came himself before the breach, where his allotment was; for all those who brought ladders to the other place, he took no notice of them, but earnestly waited for the shower of arrows to come.

27. And now the trumpeters of the several legions sounded together, and the army made a rible shout; and the darts, as by order, flew so that they intercepted the light. However, when the plaga's men remembered the charges by which they had come, they stopped their ears at the noise covered their bodies against the darts; and as the engines that were set ready to go to war, the Jews ran out upon them, before those that had used them were gotten upon them. And on the ascending of the soldiers, there was no conflict, and many actions of the hands and soul were exhibited, while the Jews did not undertake, in the extreme danger they were not to show less courage than those who were in danger, fought so stoutly against them nor did they leave struggling with the Romans; they either fell down dead themselves, or in their antagonists. But the Jews gree very defending themselves continually, and had not come in their places to succour them, with the side of the Romans, fresh men still came those that were tired; and still new men upon the machines for ascent, in the room of those that were thrust down; those enemies another, and joining side to side with those which were a protection to them, the body of men not to be broken; and so set thrust away the Jews, as though they were enemies to themselves but one body, they began already to the wall.

28. Then did Josephus take necessity to be a counsellor in this utmost distress (which name is very sagacious in invention, when in a case by despair), and gave orders to pour scaling upon those whose shields protected them. When upon they soon got it ready, being many that had it, and what they brought being a great store also, and poured it on all sides upon the breast, and threw down upon them their vessels, which were still hissing from the heat of the fire; but the Romans, that it dispersed the band, who now tumbled down from the wall on horrid pains, for the oil did easily run down the whole body from head to foot, under their armour, and fed upon their flesh like fire and its fat and unctuous nature rendering it so hot and slowly cooled; and as the men were only up in their head-pieces and breast-plates they no way get free from this burning oil; they are only leap and roll about in their pains, as it fell down from the bridges they had laid, and were then beating back, and a raid to the party, which still pressed them forward, they easily wounded by those that were behind them.

29. However, in this ill success of the Romans, their courage did not fail them, nor did the council want prudence to oppose them; for the Romans though they saw their own men thrown down, in a miserable condition, yet were they resolved bent against those that poured the oil upon while every one reproached the man before a coward, and one that hindered him from casting himself; while the Jews made use of all the ingem to prevent their ascent, and being gree upon the boards, in order to make them slip and fall down; by which means neither those that were coming up, nor those that were
down, stand upon their feet; but some of them fell backward upon the machines on which they ascended, and were trodden upon; many of them fell down upon the bank they had raised, and when they were fallen upon it were slain by the Jews; for when the Romans could not keep their feet, the Jews being freed from fighting hand to hand, had leisure to throw their darts at them. So the general called off his soldiers in the evening, and made camp so strongly, of whom the number of the slain was not a few, while that of the wounded was still greater; but of the people of Jotapata no more than six men were killed, although more than three hundred were carried off wounded. This fight happened on the twentieth day of the month Diesus [Sivan].

30. Hereupon Vespasian comforted his army on occasion of what had happened, and as he found them angry indeed, but rather wanting somewhat to do than any further exhortations, he gave orders to raise the banks still higher, and to erect three towers of each fifty feet high, and that they should cover them with strong walls and ditches. He also commanded that they might be both firm by their weight, and not easily liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks, and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows, with the lighter engines for throwing stones and darts also; and besides these, he set upon them the stoutest men among the slingers, who not being to be seen by reason of the height they stood upon, and the battlements that protected them, might throw their weapons at those that were upon the wall, and were easily seen by them. Hereupon the Jews, not being easily able to escape those darts that were thrown down upon their heads, nor to avenge themselves on those whom they could not see, and perceiving that the height of the towers was so great, that a dart which they threw with their hand could hardly reach it, and that the iron plates about them made it very hard to come at them by fire, they ran away from the walls, and fled hastily out of the city, and fell upon those that shot at them. And thus did the people of Jotapata resist the Romans, while a great number of them were every day killed, without the city, because of the evil upon their enemies; nor could they keep them out of the city without danger to themselves.

31. About this time it was that Vespasian sent out Trajan against a city called Japhia, that lay near to Jotapata, and that desired innovations, and was puffed up with the unexpected length of the opposition of Jotapata. This Trajan was the commander of the tenth legion, and to him Vespasian committed one thousand horsemen, and two thousand footmen. When Trajan came to the city, he found it hard to be taken, for besides the natural situation of the town, it was also secured by a double wall; but when he saw the people of this city coming out of it, and ready to fight him, he joined battle with them, and after a short resistance which they made, he pursued after them; and as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them so closely, that they fell in together with them; but when the Jews were endeavouring to get again within their second wall, their fellow-citizens shut them out, as being afraid that the Romans would force themselves in with them. It was certainly God, therefore, who brought the Romans to this situation, for Jotapata had then exposed the people of the city every one of them manifestly to be destroyed by their bloody enemies; for they fell upon the gates in great crowds, and earnestly calling to those that kept them, and that by their names also, yet had they their throats cut in the very midst of their supplications; for the enemy shut the gates of the first wall, and their own citizens shut the gates of the second, so they were enclosed between two walls, and were slain in great numbers together; many of them were run through by the swords of their own men, and many by their own swords, besides an immense number that were slain by the Romans—nor had they any courage to revenge themselves; for there was added to the consternation they were in from the enemy, their being betrayed by their own friends, which quite broke their spirits; and at last they died, cursing not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all destroyed, being in number twelve thousand. So Trajan gathered that the city was empty of people that could fight, and although there should a few of them be therein, he supposed that they would be too timorous to venture upon their opposition; so he reserved the taking of the city to the days to come. Accordingly he sent messengers to Vespasian, and desired him to send his son Titus to finish the victory he had gained. Vespasian hereupon imagining there might be some pains still necessary, sent his son with an army of five hundred horsemen, and one thousand footmen. So he came quickly to the city, and put his army in order, and set Trajan over the left wing, while he had the right himself, and led them to the siege: and when the soldiers brought ladders to be laid against the wall on every side, the Galileans opposed them from above for a while; but soon afterwards they left the walls. Then did Titus's men leap into the city, and seized upon it presently; but when those that were in it were gotten together, there was a fierce battle between them; for the men of power fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets, and the women threw whatsoever came next to hand at them, and sustained a fight with them of six hours' time; but when the fighting men were spent, the rest of the multitude had their throats cut, partly in the open air and partly in their own houses, both young and old together. So there were no males now remaining, besides infants, who with the women, were carried as slaves into captivity; so that the number of the slain, both now in the city and at the former fight, was fifteen thousand, and the captives were two thousand one hundred and thirty. This calamity befell the Galileans on the twenty-fifth day of the month Diesus [Sivan].

32. Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortune at this time; for they assembled themselves together upon the mountain called Gerizim, which is with them a holy mountain, and there they remained; which collection of theirs, as well as the courageous manner they showed, could not but threaten somewhat of war; nor were they rendered wiser by the miseries that had come upon their neighbouring cities. They also, notwithstanding the great success the Romans had, marched on in an unreasonable manner, depending on their own weakness, and were disposed for any tumult upon its first appearance. Vespasian therefore thought it best to prevent their motions, and to cut off the foundation of their attempts; for although all Samaria had ever garrisoned settled among them, yet did the number of those that were come to mount Gerizim, and their conspiracy together, give ground to fear what they would be at; he therefore sent
thither Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horsemen and three thousand footmen, who did not think it safe to go up to the mountain and give them battle, because many of the enemy were on the higher part of the ground; so he encompassed all the lower part of the mountain with his army, and, when by chance it fell upon all the city.

Now it happened that the Samaritans, who were now destitute of water, were inflamed with a violent heat (for it was summer-time, and the multitude had not provided themselves with necessaries) in such a manner that some of them died that very day with heat, while others of them preferred slavery before such a death as that; and fled to the Romans; by whom Cerealis understood that those who still stayed were very much broken by these misfortunes. So he went up to the mountain, and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he, in the first place, exhorted them to take the security of his right hand, and come to terms with him, and thereby save themselves; and assured them, that if they would lay down their arms, he would secure them from any harm; but when he could not prevail with them, he fell upon them and slew them all, being in number eleven thousand and six hundred. This was done on the twenty-seventh day of the month Desius [Sivan]. And these were the calamities that befell the Samaritans at this time.

33. But as the people of Jotapata still held out manfully, and bore up under their miseries beyond all that could be hoped for, on the forty-seventh day [of the siege] the banks east up by the Romans were become higher than the wall; on which day a certain deserter went to Vespasian, and told him, how few were left in the city, and how weak they were, and that they had been so worn out with perpetual watching, and also perpetual fighting, that they could not now oppose any force that came against them, and that they might be taken by stratagem, if any one would attack them; for that about the last watch of the night, when they thought they might have some rest from the hardships they were under, and when a morning sleep used to come to them, they were so weary, he said, that the watch used to fall asleep; accordingly his advice was, that they should make their attack at that hour. But Vespasian had a suspicion about this deserter, as knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how much they despised any punishments that could be inflicted on them; this last because one of the people of Jotapata had undergone all sorts of torments, and though they made him pass through a fiery trial of his enemies in his examination, yet would he inform them nothing of the affairs within the city; and as he was cruelly, smiled at them! However, the probability there was in the relation itself did partly confirm the truth of what the deserter told them, and they thought he might probably speak the truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no greater sufferers if the report was a sham; so he commanded them to keep the man in custody, and prepared the army for taking the city.

34. According to which resolution they marched without noise, at the hour that had been told them, to the wall; and it was Titus himself that first got upon it, with one of his tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, and a few of the fifteenth legion along with him. So they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After these came Cerealis

the tribune, and Placidius, and led on those that were under them. Now when the citadel was taken, and the enemy were in the very midst of the city, and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city known by those that held it; for a great many of them were fast asleep, and a great part of them fell upon those that got up from distinctly seeing the men they were in, till the whole Roman army was got in, and they were raised up only to find the men they were under; and as they were asleep they perceived the city was taken. And for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they spared none nor pitied any, but drove the people down the precipice from the citadel, and slew them as they came down; at which time the difficulties of the place hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves; for as they were pressed in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipice, they were as well as powered with the crowd of those that came fighting them down from the citadel. This provoked great many, even of those chosen men that were about Josephus, to kill themselves with their own hands; for when they saw they could kill none of the Romans, they resolved to prevent being killed by the Romans, and got together in great numbers, in the utmost parts of the city, and killed themselves.

35. However, such of the watch as at the first perceived they were taken, and ran away, and told they could, went up into one of the towers in the north side of the city, and for a while defended themselves there; but as they were amongst with a multitude of enemies, they tried to use their right hands, when it was too late, and at last they cheerfully offered their necks to be cut off by those that stood over them. And the Romans boasted that the conclusion of that siege was without blood [on their side], if there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery: for there was one of those that were fled into the caverns, which were a great many, when he found that this Antonius would reach him his right hand for his sword, and would secure him that he would preserve him; and he therefore engaged his assistance in getting up out of the caverns accordingly, he cautiously reached him his right hand, when the other man prevented him, and stabbed him under his loin with a spear, and killed him immediately.

36. And on this day, the Romans slew all the multitude that appeared openly; but on the following days they searched the hiding-places, and fell upon those that were under ground, and in the caverns, and went through every age, excepting the infants and the women, and of these there were gathered together as captives two hundred; and as for those that were slain in the taking of the city, and in the former fights, they were numbered to be forty thousand. And thus was Jotapata taken, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the first day of the month Panemos [Tamuz].
CHAPTER VIII.

HOW JOSEPHUS WAS DISCOVERED BY A WOMAN, AND WAS WILLING TO DELIVER HIMSELF UP TO THE ROMANS; AND WHAT DISCOURSE HE HAD WITH HIS OWN MEN, WHEN THEY ENDEAVOUR'D TO HINDER HIM; AND WHAT HE SAID TO VESPASIAN, WHEN HE WAS Brought TO HIM; AND AFTER WHAT MANNER VESPASIAN USED HIM AFTERWARDS.

§ 1. And now the Romans searched for Josephus, both out of the hatred they bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him taken; for he reckoned that if he were once taken, the greatest part of the war would be over. They then searched among the dead, and looked into the most concealed recesses of the city; but as the city was first taken, he was assisted by a certain supernatural providence; for he withdrew himself from the enemy when he was in the midst of them, and leaped into a certain deep pit, whereeto there adjoined a large den at one side of it, which den could not be seen by those that were above ground; and here he met with forty persons of eminence that had concealed themselves, and with provisions enough to satisfy them for not a few days. So in the day-time he hid himself from the enemy, who had seized upon all places; and in the night-time he got up out of the den, and looked about for some way of escaping, and took exact notice of the watch: but as all places were guarded everywhere on his account, that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the den. Thus he concealed himself two days; but on the third day, when they had taken a woman who had been with them, he was discovered. Whereupon Vespasian sent immediately and zealously two tribunes, Paulinus and Gallicanus, and ordered them to give Josephus their right hands as a security for his life, and to escort him to come up.

2. So they came and invited the man to come up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved; but they did not prevail with him; for he gathered suspicions from the probability there was that one who had done so many things against the Romans must suffer for it, though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. However, he was afraid that he was invited to come up, in order to be punished, until Vespasian sent besides these a third tribune, Nicanor, to him; he was one that was well known to Josephus, and had been his familiar acquaintance in old time. When he was come, he enlarged upon the natural mildness of the Romans towards those they have once conquered; and told him, that he had behaved himself so valiantly, that the commanders rather admired than hated him; that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him, not in order to punish him, for that he could do though he should not come voluntarily, but that he was determined to preserve a man of his courage. He moreover added this, that Vespasian, had he been resolved to impose upon him, would not have sent to him a friend of his own, nor put the fairest colour upon the vilest action, by pretending friendship and meaning perfidiousness; nor would he have himself acquiesced, or come to him, had it been to deceive him.

3. Now, as Josephus began to hesitate with himself about Nicanor's proposal, the soldiery were so angry, that they ran hastily to set fire to the den; but the tribune would not permit them so to do, as being very desirous to take the man alive. And now, as Nicanor lay upon Josephus, and could not help hearing what was said, he told him all that he had seen, and understood how the multitude of the enemy threatened him, he called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night-time, whereby God had signified to him beforehand both the future calamities of the Jews, and the event that concerned the Roman emperors. Now Josephus was able to give shrewd conjectures about the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by God. Moreover, he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books, as being a priest himself, and of the posteriority of priests; and just then was he in an ecstasy and setting before him the tremendous images of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said,—"Since it pleaseth thee, who hast created the Jewish nation, to depress the same, and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans; and since thou hast made choice of this soul of mine to foretell what is to come to pass hereafter, I willingly give them my hands, and am content to live. And I protest openly, that I do not go over to the Romans as a deserter of the Jews, but as a minister of God." Then he added, "4. When he had said this, he complied with Nicanor's invitation. But when those Jews who had fled with him, understood that he yielded to those that invited him to come up, they came about him in a body, and cried out, "Nay, indeed, now may the laws of our forefathers, which God ordained himself, well groan to purpose; that God we mean, who hath created the souls of the Jews of such a temper that they despare death. O Josephus! art thou still fond of life; and canst thou bear to see the light in a state of slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself! How many hast thou persuaded to lose their lives for liberty! Thou hast therefore had a false reputation for manhood, and a like false reputation for wisdom, if thou canst hope for preservation from those against whom thou hast fought so zealously, and art however willing to be preserved by them, if they be in earnest. But although the good fortune of the Romans hath made thee forget thyself, we ought to take care that the glory of our forefathers may not be tarnished. We will lend thee our right hand and a sword; and if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, thou wilt die as a traitor to them." As soon as they said this, they began to thrust their swords at him, and threatened they would kill him, if he thought of yielding himself to the Romans.

5. Upon this, Josephus was afraid of their attacking him, and yet thought he should be a betrayed of the commands of God if he died before they were delivered. So he began to talk like a philosopher to them in the distress he was then in, when he said thus to them:—"O my friends, why are we so earnest to kill ourselves? and why do we set our soul and body, which are such dear companions, at such high rate? Know that I am not the man I was formerly! Nay, the Romans are sensible how that matter stands well enough. It is a brave thing to die in war; but so that it be according to the law of war, by the hand of conquerors. If, therefore, I avoid death from the sword of the Romans, I am truly worthy to be killed by my own sword, and my own hand;
but if they admit of mercy, and would spare their enemy, how much more ought we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to spare ourselves! for it is certainly a foolish thing to do that to ourselves which we quarrel with them for doing unto us. I confess freely that it is a brave thing to die for liberty; but still so that it be in war, and done by those who take that liberty from us; but at present our enemies do neither meet us in battle, nor do they kill us. Now he is equally a coward who will not die when he is obliged to die, and he who will die when he is not obliged so to do. What are we afraid of, when we will not go up to the Romans! Is it death? If so, what are we afraid of, when we but suspect our enemies will inflict it on us, shall we inflict it on ourselves for certain? But it may be said, we must be slaves. And are we then in a clear state of liberty at present? It may also be said, that it is a manly act for one to kill himself. No, certainly, but a most unnaturally one; as I should esteem that pilot to be an arrant coward, who, out of fear of a storm, should sink his ship of his own accord. Now, self-murder is a crime remote from the common nature of all animals, and an instance of impiety against God our Creator: nor indeed is there an animal that dies by its own contrivance, or by its own means; for the desire of life is a law engraven in them all; on which account we deem those that openly take it away from us to be our enemies, and those that do it by treachery, are punished for so doing. And do not you think that God is very angry when a man does injury to what he hath bestowed on him? For from him it is that we have received our being; and we ought to leave it to his disposal to take that being away from us. The bodies of all men are indeed mortal, and are created out of corruptible matter; but the soul is ever immortal, and is a portion of the Divinity that inhabits our bodies. Besides, if any one destroys or abuses a depositum he hath received from a more man, he is esteemed a wicked and peridious person; but then if any one cast out of his body this divine depositum, can we imagine that he who is there affected doth not know of it. Moreover, our law justly ordains, that slaves who run away from their masters shall be punished, though the masters they ran away from may have been wicked masters to them. And shall we undertake to run away from God, who is the best of all masters, and not think ourselves highly guilty of impiety? Do not you know that those who depart out of this life according to the law of nature, and pay that debt which was received from God, when he that lent it us is pleased to require it back, enjoy eternal fame! that their houses and their posterity are sure, that their souls are pure and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in heaven, from whence, in the revolution of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies; while the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves, are received by the darkest place in Hades, and while God, who is their father, punishes those that offend against either of them in their posterity; for such reason God hates such doings, and the crime is punished by the most wise legislator. Accordingly our laws determine, that the bodies of such as kill themselves should be exposed till the sun be set, without burial, although at the same time it be allowed them to be lawful to bury our enemies [sooner]. The laws of other nations also enjoin such men's hands to be cut off when they are dead, which had been made use of in destroying themselves when alive, while they reckoned that as the body is also both the soul, so is the hand alien from the body. It is therefore a thing to reason and not add to the calamity which they cause our enemies, impurity towards our Creator. If we have mind to preserve ourselves, let us do it; for it is preserved by those our enemies, to whom we are given so many demonstrations of our enemies, no way inglorious; but if we have a mind to do it is good to die by the hand of those that have conquered us. For my part, I will not run on to our enemies' quarters, in order to be a traitor myself; for certainly I should then be more foolish than those that deserted to the enemy, and they did it in order to save themselves, and should do it for my own destruction. However, heartily wish the Romans may prove treacherous in this matter; for, if, after their offer of their right hand for security, I be slain by them, I shall return cheerfully, and carry away with me the sense of their perfidiousness, as a consolation greater than victory itself."

6. Now these and many like motives to Josephus use to these men, to prevent their march- ing themselves; but desperation had set the ears, as having long ago devoted themselves to death, and they were irritated at Josephus. They ran upon him with their swords in their hands, from one quarter, and another from another, called him a coward, and every one of them appeared openly as if he were ready to smile him; but he, calling to one of them by name, and taking like a general to another, and taking a third by the hand, and making a fourth ashamed of himself, by praying him to forbear, and being in that action distracted with various passions (as he was might in the great distress he was then in), he laid off every one of their swords from killing him, and was forced to do like such wild beasts as are exhilarated about on every side, who always turn themselves against those that last touched them. Now some of their right hands were debilitated by reverence they bare to their general in these calamities, and their swords dropped out of their hands; and not a few of them there were, who, when they aimed to strike him with their swords, were not thoroughly either willing or able to do it.

7. However, in this extreme distress, he was not destitute of his usual sagacity; but trusting himself to the providence of God, he put his hazard in the manner following; "And now said he, 'since it is resolved among you that you die, come on, let us commit our mutual death by determination of lot. He whom the lot favors first, let him be killed by him that hath the second lot, and thus fortune shall make its progress through us all; nor shall any of us perish by his own right hand, for it would be unfair if, when the rest are gone, somebody should repent and save himself.' This proposal appeared to them to be very just, and when he had prevailed with them to determine in this matter by lots, he drew one of the lots himself also. He who had the first lot laid his bare to him who had the next, as supposing the general would die among them immediately; for they thought death, if Josephus might die with them, was sweeter than life; yet was he not further left to the last, whether we must say it happened so by chance, or whether by the providence
of God: and as he was very desirous neither to be condemn'd by the law, nor, if he had been left to the last, to imbrue his right hand in the blood of his countryman, he persuaded him to trust his fi

ders that were present at that secret conference, toforce to Josephus, I cannot but wonder how thou couldst not foretell to the people of Jotapata, that they should be taken, nor couldst foretell this activity which hath happened to thyself, unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to av

oid the rage that is risen against thyself." To which Josephus replied, "I did foretell to the people of Jotapata that they would be taken on the forty-seventh day, and that I should be caught alive by the Romans." Now when Vespasian had inquired of the captives privately about these predictions, he found them to be true, and then he began to believe those that concerned himself. Yet did he not set Josephus at liberty from his bonds, but bestowed on him suits of clothes, and other precious gifts; he treated him also in a very obliging manner, and continued so to do, Titus still joining his interest in the hon

ours that were done him.

CHAPTER IX.

HOW JOPPA WAS TAKEN, AND TIBERIAS DELIVERED UP.

§ 1. Now Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth day of the month Panemus [Tammuz], and from thence he came to Cesarea, which lay by the sea-side. This was a very great city of judges, and for the greatest part inhabited by Greeks: the citi

zens here received both the Roman army and its general with all sorts of acclamations and rejoicings, and this partly out of the good-will they bore to the Romans, but principally out of the hatred they bore to those that were conquered by them; on which account they came clamouring against Josephus in crowds, and desired he might be put to death; but Vespasian passed over this petition concerning him, as offered by the injudicious multitude, with a bare silence. Two of the legions also he placed at Cesarea, that they might there take their winter-quarters, as perceiving the city very fit for such a purpose; but he placed the fifth and tenth at Scythopolis, that he might not distress Cesarea with the entire army. This place was warm, even in winter, as it was suffocating hot in the summer-time, by reason of its situation in a plain, and near to the sea [of Galilee].

2. In the meantime there were gathered together, as well such as had seditionly got out from among their enemies as those that had escaped out of the demolished cities, which were in all a great number, and repaired Joppa, which had been left desolate by Cestius, that it might serve them for a place of refuge; and because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to go off to sea. They also built themselves a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates upon the seas near to Syria, and Phoenicia, and Egypt, and made those seas unmanageable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both footmen and horsemen to Joppa, which was unguarded in the night-time; however, those that were there perceived that they should be attacked, and were afraid of it; yet did they not endeavour to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night, out of the reach of their darts.

3. Now Joppa is not naturally a haven, for it

ends in a rough shore, where all the rest of it is
straight, but the two ends bend towards each other, while there are deep precipices, and great stones that jet out into the sea, and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound have left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that fable; but the north wind opposes and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks which receive them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the country they had deserted. Now as those people of Joppa was floating about in this sea, in the morning there fell a violent wind upon them; it is called by those that sail there "the black north wind," and there dashed their ships and cast them against the rocks, and carried many of them by force, while they strove against the opposite waves, into the main sea; for the shore was so rocky, and had so many of the enemy upon it, that they were afraid to come to land; any, the waves rose so very high, that they drowned them; nor was there any place whither they could fly, nor any way to save themselves: while they were thrust out of the sea, by the violence of the wind, if they stood where they were, and out of the city by the violence of the Romans; and much lamentation there was when the ships were dashed one against another, and a terrible noise when they were broken pieces; and some of the multitudes that were in them were covered with the waves, and so perished, and a great many were embarrased with shipwrecks; but some of them thought that to die by their own swords was lighter than by the sea, and so they killed themselves before they were drowned: although the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt parts of the rocks, insomuch that the sea was bloody a long way, and the maritime parts were full of dead bodies; for the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them; and the number of the bodies that were thus thrown out of the sea was four thousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city without opposition, and utterly destroyed it.

4. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, erected a camp there, where the citadel of Joppa had been, and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen; that these might stay there and guard the camp, and the horsemen might spoil the country that lay round it, and might destroy the neighbouring villages and smaller cities. So these troops overran the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day cut to pieces and laid desolate the whole region.

5. But now, when the fate of Jotapata was related at Jerusalem, a great many at the first disbelieved it, on account of the vastness of the calamity, and because they had no eye-witness to attest the truth of what was related about it; for not one person was saved to be a messenger of that news, but a fame was spread abroad at random that the city was taken, as such fame usually spreads bad news about. However, the truth was known by degrees, from the places near Jotapata, and appeared to all to be too true. Yet were there fictitious stories added to what was really done; for it was reported that Josephus was slain at the taking of the city; which piece of news filled Jerusalem full of sorrow. In every house also, and among all to whom any of the slain were allied, there was a lamentation for them; but the mourning of the commander was a public one; and someone for those that had lived with them, others for their kindred, others for their friends, and others to their brethren, but all mourned for Josephus so much that the lamentation did not cease in the city before the thirtieth day; and a great many hired mourners, with their pipes, who should the melancholy ditties for them.

6. But as the truth came out in time, it appeared how the affairs of Jotapata really stood; yet we found that the death of Josephus was a fiction, when we understood that he was alive, and as if he was among the Romans, but it was a fiction treated him at another rate than they treated his adversaries, they were as vehemently angry at him as if they had shown their good-will before, which appeared to have been dead. He was also slain by some as having been a coward, and by others as a deserter; and the city was full of indignation upon him, and of reproaches cast upon him; they were also aggravated by their afflictions, and were inflamed by their ill-success; and what usually comes occasions of caution to wise men, that affliction became a spur to them to venture on other calamities, and the end of one misfortune being the beginning of another; they were resolved to fall on the Romans the more vehemently, as resolving to be revenged on him in revenging themselves on the Romans. And this was the case of Jerusalem as to the troubles which now came upon it.

7. But Vespasian, in order to see the king and Agrippa, while the king persuaded himself as he did (partly, in order to his treating the general and army in the best and most splendid manner in private affairs would enable him to do, and part that he might, by his means, correct such things as were amiss in his government), he removed that Cesarea was by the sea-side, and made to that which is called Caesarea Philippi, there he refreshed his army for twenty days, as himself feasted by king Agrippa, whereas he returned public thanks to God for the good scenes he had had in his undertakings. But as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was fond of innovations, and that Tiberius had revolted, both which were parts of the kingdom of Agrippa, and was satisfied within himself that the Jews were everywheregewatered from their obedience to their governors, he thought it seasonable to make expedition against those cities, and that for the sake of Agrippa, and in order to bring his cities to reason. So he sent away his son Titus to the other Cesarea, that he might bring the army that was there to Scythopolis, which is the largest city Decapolis, and in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, whither he came, and where he waited for his son. He then came with three legions, and pitched his camp thirty furlongs off Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen by the innovators; it is named Scenabius. He also sent Valerian, a decurion, with fifty horsemen, and speaks particularly to those that were in the city, and to exhort them to the observance of their assiduity; for he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but were obliged...
by some of the seditious part to join with them, and so were forced to fight for them. When Valerian had marched up to the place, and was near the wall, he alighted off his horse, and made those that were with him do the same, that they might not be thought to come to skirmish with them; but before they could come to a discourse one with another, the most potent men among the seditious made a sally upon them armed; their leader was one whose name was Jesus, the son of Shaphat, the principal head of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, neither thinking it safe to fight contrary to the commands of the general, though he were secure of a victory, and knowing that it was a very hazardous under-taking for a few to fight with many, for those that were unprovided to fight those that were ready, and being on other accounts surprised at this unexpected onset of the Jews, he ran away on foot, as did five of the rest in like manner, and left their horses behind them; which horses Jesus led away into the city, and rejoiced as if they had taken them in battle, and not by treachery.

8. Now the seniors of the people, and such as were of principal authority among them, fearing what would be the issue of this matter, fled to the command of the Romans; they then took the king along with them, and fell down before Vespasian, to supplicate his favour, and besought him not to overlook them, nor to impute the madness of a few to the whole city, to spare a people that had been ever civil and obliging to the Romans; but to bring the authors of this revolt to due punishment, who had hitherto so watched them, that though they were zealous to give them the security of their right hands of a long time, yet could they not accomplish the same. With those supplications the general complied, although he were very angry at the whole city about the carrying off his horses, and this because he saw that Agrippa was under a great concern for them. So when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands by way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias, so they ran away to Taricheae. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan before, with some horsemen to the citadel, to make trial of the multitude, whether they were all disposed for peace; and as soon as he knew that the people were of the same mind with the petitioner, he took his army, and went to the city; upon which the citizens opened to him their gates, and met him with acclamations of joy, and called him their saviour and benefactor.

But as the army was great while in getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance. However, he charged them to abstain from rapine and injustice, in order to gratify the king; and on his account spared the rest of the wall, while the king undertook for them that they should continue [faithful to the Romans]; for the time to come. And thus did he restore this city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by the sedition.

CHAPTER X.

HOW TARICHEAE WAS TAKEN. A DESCRIPTION OF THE RIVER JORDAN, AND OF THE COUNTRY OF GENNESARETH.

§ 1. And now Vespasian pitched his camp between this city and Taricheae, but fortified his camp more strongly, as suspecting that he should be forced to stay there, and have a long war; for all the innovators had gotten together at Taricheae, as relying upon the strength of the city, and on the lake that lay by it. This lake is called by the people of the country the Lake of Genesaret. The city itself is situated like Tiberias, at the bottom of a mountain; and on those sides which are not washed by the sea, had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias; for the wall of Tiberias had been built at the beginning of the Jews' revolt, when he had great plenty of money, and great power, but Taricheae partook only the remains of that liberality.

Yet had they a great number of ships gotten ready upon the lake, that in case they were beaten at land, they might retire to them; and they were so fitted up, that they might undertake a sea-fight also. But as the Romans were building a wall about their camp, Jesus and his party were neither affrighted at their number nor at the good order they were in, but made a sally upon them; and at the very first onset the builders of the wall were dispersed; and these pulled what little they had before built to pieces; but so soon as they saw the armed men getting together, and before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But then the Romans pursued them, and drove them into their ships, where they launched out as far as might give them an opportunity of reaching the Romans with what they threw at them, and then cast anchor, and brought their ships close, as in a line of battle, and thence fought the enemy from the sea, who were themselves at land. But Vespasian hearing that a great multitude of them were gotten together in the plain that was before the city, he thereupon sent his son, with six hundred chosen horsemen to disperse them.

2. But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him that he should want more forces. But as he saw a great many of the horsemen eager to fight, and that before any succour could come to them, and that yet some of them were privately under a sort of consternation at the multitude of the Jews, he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and said to them, "My brave Romans! for it is right for me to put you in mind what nation you are, in the beginning of my speech, that you may not be ignorant who you are, and who they are against whom we are going to fight. For as to us, Romans, no part of the habitable earth hath been able to escape our hands hitherto; but as for the Jews, that I may speak of them too, though they have been already beaten, yet do they not give up the cause; and a sad thing it would be for us to grow weary under good success, when they bear up under their misfortunes. As to the sacrifice which you show publicly, I see it, and rejoice at it; yet am I afraid lest the multitude of the enemy should bring a concealed fright upon some of you; let such a one consider again, who we are that are to fight;
and who were against whom we are to fight. Now these Jews, though they be very bold and great despisers of death, are yet a disorderly body, and under a leader, who was called a captain, or more than an army; while I need say nothing of our skill and our good order; for this is the reason why we Romans alone are exercised for war in time of peace, that we may not think of number for number when we come to fight with our enemies; for what advantage should we reap by our continual sort of warfare, if we must still be equal in number to such as have not been used to war! Consider farther, that you are to have a conflict with men in effect unarmed, while you are well armed; with footmen, while you are horsemen; with those that have no good general, while you have one, and as these advantages make you in effect manifold more than you are, so do their disadvantages mightily diminish their number. Now it is not the multitude of men, though they be soldiers, that manages wars with success, but it is their bravery that does it, though they be but a few; for a few are easily set in battle array, and can easily assist one another, while overnumerous armies are more hurt by themselves than by their enemies. It is boldness and rashness, the effects of madness, that conduct the Jews. Those passions indeed, if we suppose them to be present when they are subdued, are quite extinguished upon the least ill-success; but we are led on by courage, and obedience, and fortune, which shows itself indeed in our good fortune, but still does not for ever desert us in our ill fortune. Nay, indeed, your fighting is to be on greater motives than those of the Jews; for although they run the hazard of war for liberty, and for their country, yet what can be a greater motive to us than glory? and that it may never be said, that after we have got dominion of the habitable earth, the Jews are able to contest us. We must also reflect upon this, that there is no fear of our suffering any incurable disaster in the present case; for those that are ready to assist us are many and at hand also; yet it is in our power to seize upon this victory ourselves; and I think we ought to prevent the coming of those my father is sending to us for our assistance, that our success may be peculiar to ourselves, and of greater reputation to us; and I cannot but think this an opportunity wherein my father, and I, and you, shall be all put to the trial, whether he be worthy of his former glorious performances, whether I be his son in reality, and whether you be really my soldiers: for it is usual for my father to conquer; and for myself, I should not bear the thoughts of returning to him if I were once taken by the enemy; and how will you be able to avoid being ashamed, if you do not show equal courage with your commander, when he goes before you into danger! For you know very well that I shall go into danger first, and make the first attack upon the enemy. Do not you therefore desert me, but persuade yourselves that God will be assisting to my onset. Know this also before we begin, that we shall now have better success than we should have if we were at a distance.

As Titus was saying this, an extraordinary fury fell upon the men; and as Trajan was already come before the fight began, with four hundred horsemen, they were uneasy at it, because the reputation of the victory would be diminished by being common to so many. Vespasian had also sent both Antonius and Silo, with two thousand archers, and had given them in charge to seize upon the mountain that was over-against the city, and repel those that were upon the wall; which archers did as they were commanded. And after they had attempted that way; and when Titus made his own horse march first against the enemy, as did the others with a great noise after him, and extended themselves upon the plain as wide as the enemy who confronted them; by which means they appeared much more numerous than they really were. Now the Jews, although they were surprised at their onset, and at their great order, made resistance against their attacks for little while; but when they were pricked with the long poles, and overborne by the violent noise of their horsemen, they came to be trampled under their feet; many also of them were slain on every side which made them disperse themselves and run to the city, as fast as every one was able. So Tiberius pressed upon the hindmost, and slew them; and of the rest, some he fell upon as they stood to heaps, and some he prevented, and met them in the mouth, and run them through; many also he kept upon as they fell one upon another, and cut them down, and cut off all the retreat they had to the wall, and turned them back into the plain. And last they forced a passage by their multitude, and got away, and saved their lives.

4. But now there fell out a terrible soreness among them within the city; for the inhabitants themselves, who had possessions there, and to whose city belonged, were not disposed to fight for the very beginning; and now the less so, because they had been beaten: but the foreigners who were very numerous, would force them to fight so much the more, inasmuch that there was a clamour and tumult among them, as all mutually angry at one another; and when Titus heard this tumult, for he was not far from the wall, he cried out, "Fellow soldiers, now is the time; and why do we make any delay, when God is giving up the Jews to us! Take the victory which is given you; do not you hear a noise they make! Those that have escaped our hands are in an uproar against one another. We have the city if we make haste; but besides haste, we must undergo some labour, and use some courage; for no great thing uses to be accomplished without danger; accordingly we must not only prevent their uniting again, which necessity will soon compel them to do, but we must also prevent the coming of our own men to our assistance, that as few as we are we may conquer so great a multitude, and may ourselves alone take the city.

5. As soon as ever Titus had said this, he leaped upon his horse, and rode apace down to the lake; by which lake he marched, and entered into the city the first of them all, as did the others soon after him. Hereupon those that were upon the walls were seized with a terror at the boldness of the attempt, nor durst any one venture to fight with him, or to hinder him; so they left guarding the city, and some of these that were about Jesus fled over the country, while others of them ran down to the lake, and others hid themselves in the tower, and some were slain as they were getting up into ships, others of them, as they attempted to overtake those that were already gone aboard. There was also a great slaughter made in the city, while these foreigners that had not fled away already, made opposition; but the natural inhabitants were killed without fighting; for in hopes of Titus's giving them his right hand for their security, and out of
trees there; for the temper of the air is so well mixed, that it agrees very well with those several sorts, particularly walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty; there are palm trees also, which grow best in hot air; fig-trees also near the sea; and they require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together; it is a happy contention of the seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only nourishes different sorts: f. autumnal fruit beyond men's expectation, but p. eserves them a great while; it supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes and figs continually, during ten months in the year, and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe together, through the whole year; for besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain. The people of the country call it Ca-

pharamon. Some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the Coracin fish as well as that lake does which is near to Alexandria. The length of this country extends itself along the banks of this lake that bears the same name, for thirty furlongs, and is in breadth twenty; and this is the nature of that place.

8. But now, when the vessels were gotten ready, Vespasian put upon ships about as many of his forces as he thought sufficient to be too hard for those that were upon the lake, and set sail after them. Now those which were driven into the lake could neither fly to the land, where all was in their enemies' hand, and in war against them, nor could they fight upon the level of the sea, for their ships were small and fitted only for piracy; they were too weak to fight with Vespasian's vessels, and the mariners that were in them were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans, who attacked them in great numbers. However, as they sailed round about the vessels, and some times ran away, and some times they threw stones at the Romans when they were a good way off, or came closer and fought them; yet did they receive the greatest harm themselves in both cases. As for the stones they threw at the Romans, they only made a sound one after another, for they threw them against such as were in their armour, while the Roman darts could reach the Jews themselves; and when they ventured to come near the Romans, they became sufferers themselves before they could do any harm to the other, and were drowned, they and their ships together. As for those that endeavoured to come to an actual fight, the Romans ran many of them through with their long poles. Sometimes the Romans leaped into their ships, with swords in their hands, and slew them; but when some of them met the vessels, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships and themselves who were taken in them. And for such as were drowning in the sea, if they lifted their heads up above the water they were either killed by the darts, or caught by the vessels; but if, in the desperate case they
were in, they attempted to swim to their enemies, the Romans cut off either their heads or their hands; and indeed they were destroyed after various manners everywhere, till the rest, being put to flight, were forced to get upon the land, while the vessels encompassed them about [on the sea]; but as many of these were repulsed when they were getting ashore, they were killed by the darts upon the lake; and the Romans leaped out of their vessels, and destroyed a great many more upon the land: one might then see the lake all bloody, and full of dead bodies, for not one of them escaped. And a terrible stink, and a very sad sight there was on the following days over that country; for as for the shores, they were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies all swelled; and as the dead bodies were inflamed by the sun, and putrified, they corrupted the air, insomuch that the misery was not only the object of commiseration to the Jews, but to those that hated them, and had been the authors of that misery. This was the upshot of the sea-fight. The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand and five hundred.

10. After this fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Tariheaa, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants; for those foreigners appeared to have begun the war. So he deliberated with the other commanders, whether he ought to save those old inhabitants or not. And when the commanders alleged that the dismissal of them would be to his own disadvantage, because when they were once set at liberty, they would not be at rest, since they would be people desirous of proper habitations, and would be able to compass such as they fled to, to fight against us. Vespasian acknowledged that they did not deserve to be saved, and that if they had leave given them to fly away, they would make use of it against those that gave them that leave. But still he considered with himself after what manner they should be slain; as if he had them slain there, he suspected the people of the country would thereby become his enemies; for that to be sure they never would bear it, that so many that had been suppliants to him should be killed; and to offer violence to them, after he had given them assurance of their lives, he could not himself bear to do it. However, his friends were too hard for him, and pretended that nothing against the Jews could be any impiety, and that he ought to prefer what was profitable before what was fair to be done, where both could not be made consistent. So he gave them an ambiguous liberty to do as they advised, and permitted the prisoners to go to any other road than that which led to Tiberias. So they readily believed what they desired to believe, and went along securely, with their effects, the way which was allowed them, while the Romans sent upon all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it, and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them not to stand in the stadium, and command them not to kill the old men, together with the others that were useless, who were in number a thousand and one hundred. Out of the young men he chose at thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nepi, to dig through the isthmus, and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred, besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa; for as to those that belonged to his kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with them; however, the king sold these also for slaves; for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites and Galanitians, and of Hippos, and some of Galilee, the greatest part of them were soldier and fugitives, who were of such shameful character that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month Gorpianus [Etul].

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.

FROM THE SIEGE OF GAMALA TO THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM

CHAPTER I.

THE SIEGE AND TAKING OF GAMALA.

§ 1. Now all those Galileans who, after the taking of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, did, upon the conquest of Tariheaa, deliver themselves up to them again. And the Romans received all the fortresses and cities, excepting Gischala and those that had seised upon Mount Tabor; Galchala also, which is a city over against Tariheaa, but on the other side of the lake, conspired with them. This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Sogana and Seleucia. And these were both parts of Galanitias; for Sogana was a part of that called the Upper Galanitias, as was Gamala of the Lower; while Seleucia was situated at the lake Semechonitis, which lay thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length; its marshes reach as far as the place Daphne, which in other respects, is a delicious place, and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called Lita. This is the most dead and barbarous action that Vespasian could do in this whole war, as he did it with great reluctance also, and done both after public assurance given of sparing the prisoner's lives, and when all knew and confessed that those prisoners were as guilty of any sedition against the Romans, Nor indeed did Titus not give them counsel, so far as appears, not even of himself no less. it may, soon after this, Titus gave very heavy of shedding blood and of punishing the innocent with the guilty, and gave the people of Galchala leave to keep the Jewish Sabbath, b. 14. ch. 28. sect. 1. § 1. In the side of their siege, Nor was Vespasian disposed to do what he did till he offered persuaded him, and that from two principal topics, viz. that nothing could be unjust that was done against Jews; and that what was both cannot be consistent, advantage must prevail over justice. All damnable course doth these!
Jordan, under the temple of the golden calf, there it is sent into Great Jordan. Now Agrippa and Sogana and Seleuda by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans, united all the Jews and called upon the city against foreigners and enemies, who were so exasperated against one of their own nation, and one that advised them to nothing but what was for their own advantage.

4. Now when the banks were finished which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude of hands and by their being accustomed to such work, they brought the machines; but Chares and Joseph, who were the most potent men of the city, set their armed men in order, though already in a fright, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of other necessaries. However, these their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the wall, and for a while indeed they drove away those that were bringing the machines; but when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city; then did the Romans bring battering rams to three several places, and made the wall shake [and fall]. They then poured in over the parts of the wall that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of trumpets and noise of armour, and with a shout of the soldiers, and brake in by force upon those that were in the city; but these men fell upon the Romans for some time, at their first entrance, and prevented their going any farther, and with great courage beat them back; and the Romans were so overpowered by the greater multitude of the people, who beat them on every side, that they were obliged to run into the upper parts of the city. Whereupon the people turned about, and fell upon their enemies, who had attacked them, and thrust them down to the lower parts, and as they were distressed by the narrowness and difficulty of the place, slew them; and as these Romans could neither beat those back that were above them, nor escape the force of their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to fly into their enemies' houses, which were low; but these houses being thus full of soldiers, whose weight they could not bear, fell down suddenly; and when one house fell, it shook down a great many of those that were under it, as did those do to such as were under them. By this means a vast number of the Romans perished; for they were so terribly distressed, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they were compelled to leap upon the tops of them; so that a great many were ground to powder by these ruins, and a great many of those that got from under them lost some of their limbs, but still a greater number were suffocated by the dust that arose from these ruins. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God, and without regarding what damage they suffered themselves, they pressed forward, and thrust the enemy upon the tops of their houses; and when they stumbled in the sharp and narrow streets, and were perpetually brushing down, the soldiers, who were above them, and slew them. Now the very ruins afforded them stones to use; and for iron weapons, the dead men of the enemy's side afforded them such as they wanted; for drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them to dispatch such as were only half dead; nay, there were a great number who, upon their falling down from the tops of the houses, stabbed themselves, and died after that immediately surrounded with his own men. But the Romans were excited to set about the siege, by their indignation on the king's account, and by their fear on their own account, as concluding that those men would omit nothing, to save the city against foreigners and enemies, who were so exasperated against one of their own nation, and one that advised them to nothing but what was for their own advantage.

2. As this city was naturally hard to be taken, so had Josephus, by building a wall about it, made it still stronger, as also by ditches and mines under ground. The people that were in it were made more bold by the nature of the place than the people of Jotapata had been, but it had much fewer fighting men in it; and they had such a confidence in the situation of the place, that they thought the enemy could not be too many for them; for the city had been filled with those that had fled to it for safety, on account of its strength; on which account they had been able to resist those whom Agrippa sent to besiege it for seven months together.

3. But Vespasian removed from Emmaus where he had last pitched his camp before the city Tiberias (now Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered "a warm bath," for therein is a spring of warm water, useful for healing) and came to Gamala; yet was its situation such that he was not able to encompass it all round with soldiers to watch it; but where the places were practical, he set men to watch it, and seized on the mountain; and over it. And as the legions, according to their usual custom, were fortifying their camp upon that mountain, he began to cast up banks at the bottom, at the part towards the east, where the highest tower of the whole city was, and where the fifteenth legion pitched their camp; while the fifth legion did duty over-against the midst of the city, and whilst the tenth legion filled up the ditches and valleys. Now at this time it was that as king Agrippa was come night the walls, and was endeavouring to speak to those that were on the walls about a surrender, he was hit with a stone on his right elbow by one of the slingers; he was then
manner; nor indeed was it easy for those that were beaten back to fly away; for they were so unacquainted with the ways, and the dust was so thick, that they wandered about without knowing one another, and fell down dead among the crowd.

5. Those therefore that were able to find the ways out of the city retired. But now Vespasian always stood among those that were hard set; for he was deeply affected with seeing the ruins of the city falling upon his army, and forgot to take care of his own preservation. He went up gradually towards the highest parts of the city before he was aware, and was left in the midst of dangers, having only a very few with him; for even his son Titus was not with him. And yet there was no delay in his being seized by Mucianus. However, he thought it not safe to fly, nor did he esteem it a fit thing for him to do; but calling to mind the actions he had done from his youth, and recollecting his courage, as if he had been excited by a divine fury, he covered himself and those that were with him with their shields, and formed a testudo over both their bodies and their armour, and bore up the enemy's attacks, who came running down from the top of the city; and without showing any dread at the multitude of the men or of their darts, he endured all, until the courage of that divine courage was within him, and remitted of their attacks; and when they pressed less zealously upon him, he retired, though without showing his back to them, till he was gotten out of the walls of the city.

Now a great number of the Romans fell in this battle, among whom was Elblius, the decurion, a man who appeared not only in this engagement, wherein he fell, but everywhere, and in former engagements, to be of the truest courage, and one that had done great mischief to the Jews. But there was a centurion, whose name was Gallius, who, during this disorder, being encompassed about, and ten other soldiers privately crept into the house of a certain person, where he heard them talking at supper what the people intended to do against the Romans, or about themselves (for both the man himself and those with him were Syrians). So he got up in the night-time, and cut all their throats, and escaped, together with his soldiers, to the Romans.

6. And now Vespasian comforted his army, which was much dejected, by reflecting on their ill success, and because they had never before fallen into such a calamity, and besides this, because they were greatly ashamed that they had left their general alone in great dangers. As to what concerned himself, he avoided to say anything, that he might by no means seem to complain of it; but he said that "we ought to bear manfully what usually falls out in war, and this, by considering what the nature of war is, and how it can never be that we must conquer without bloodshed on our own side; for there stands about us that fortune which is of its own nature mutable; that while they had killed so many ten thousands of the Jews, they had now paid their small share of the reckoning to fate; and as it is the part of weak people to be too much afflicted at that which is ill; for the change from the one to the other is sudden on both sides; and he is the best warrior who is of a sober mind under misfortunes, that he may continue in that temper, and cheerfully recover what hath been lost formerly; and as for what had now happened, it was neither owing to their effeminacy nor to the value of the Jews, but the difficulty of the place was the occasion of their advantage, and of our disappointment. Upon reflecting on this, he might blame your zeal as perfectly unseasonable, for when the enemy had retired to their higher fastnesses, you ought to have restrained yourselves, and not, by presenting yourselves at the top of the city to be exposed to dangers; but upon your having obtained the lower parts of the city, you ought to have provoked those that had retired thither to a safe and settled battle; whereas, in rushing hasty upon victory, you took no care of yourself; and this iniquitiveness in war, and the madness of zeal, is not a Roman maxim. When we perform any service in the order of battle, and go according to the order, that procedure is on the part of him and is what the Jews chiefly support themselves by. We ought therefore to return to our own virtue, and be rather angry than angry to be attacked at this unlucky misfortune; and let every one seek for his own consolation from his own hand for by this means he will avenge those that have been destroyed, and punish those that have killed them. For myself, I will endeavour, as I have done, to go first before you against your enemies, in every engagement, and to be the last that retire from the field."

7. So Vespasian encouraged his army by a speech; but for the people of Gamala, it happened that they took courage for a little while, upon such great and unaccountable success as they had, when they considered with themselves that they had now no hopes of any terms of accommodation, and reflecting upon it that they could not get any, and that their provisions began already to be spent, they were exceedingly cast down, and their courage failed them; yet they did not neglect what might be for their preservation, so far as they were able, but the most courageous among them these parts of the wall which were beaten down, while the more infirm did the same to the rest of the wall that still remained round the city. As the Romans raised their banks, and attempted to get into the city a second time, a great many of them fled out of the city through impracticable valleys, where no guards were placed, and into subterraneous caverns; while those that were afraid of being caught, and for that cause stayed in the city, perished for want of food; for what food they had brought together from quarters, and reserved for the fighting men.

8. And these were the hard circumstances of the people of Gamala were in. But now Vespasian went about other work by the by, during this siege, and that was to subdue those that had seized upon Mount Tabor, a place that lies in the middle between the great plain and Sy Spielberg, where the elevated as high as thirty furlongs, and is hard...
to be ascended on its north side; its top is a plain of twenty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall. Now, Josephus erected this so long a wall in forty days' time, and furnished it with other materials, and with water from below, for the inhabitants only made use of rain water; as therefore there was a great multitude of people gotten together upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus, with six hundred horsemen thither. Now, as it was impossible for him to ascend the mountain, he invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security, and of his intersection with Vespasian. Accordingly Vespasian himself came to his assistance against those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him: now this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices, whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to others by their darts and the large stones which they rolled down upon them, while they were themselves so high that the enemy's darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a divine storm against them as was instrumental to their destruction; this carried the Roman darts upon them, and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them: nor could the Jews indeed stand upon their precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon, nor could they see those that were ascending up to them; so the Romans got up and surrounded them, and some they slew before they could defend themselves, and others as they were delivering up themselves; and the remembrance of those that were slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now; a great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children and their wives, and themselves also, down the precipices, into the valley beneath, which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth; but so it happened, that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant as was the madness of those that were now taken, while the Romans slew but four thousand, when a number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand; nor did any one escape except two women, who were the daughters of Philip, and Philip himself, who was the son of a certain eminent man called Jacimus, who had been general of king Agrippa's army; and these did therefore escape, because they lay concealed from the right of the Romans when the city was taken; for otherwise they spared not so much as the infants, of whom many were flung down by them from the citadel. And thus was Gamala taken on the three-and-twentieth day of the month Hyperberetus [Tarsi], whereas the city had first revolted on the four-and-twentieth day of the month Gorpippus [Elul].

CHAPTER II.

THE SURRENDER OF THE SMALL CITY OF GISCHALA; JOHN FLIES FROM IT TO JERUSALEM.

§ 1. Now, no place of Galilee remained to be taken but the small city of Gischala, whose inhabi-
tants were yet desirous of peace; for they were generally husbandmen, and always applied themselves to cultivate the fruits of the earth. However, there were a great number that belonged to a band of robbers, that were already corrupted, and had crept in among them, and some of the governing part of the citizens were sick of the same distemper. It was John, the son of a certain man whose name was Levi, that drew them into this rebellion, and encouraged them in it. He was a cunning knave, and of a temper that could put on various shapes; very rash in expecting great things, and very sagacious in bringing about what he hoped for. It was known to every body that he was fond of war, in order to thrust himself into authority; and the seditious part of the people of Gischala were under his management, by whose means the populace, who seemed ready to send ambassadors in order to surrender, waited for the coming of the Romans in battle array. Vespasian sent against them Titus, with a thousand horsemen, but without the tenth legion to Scythopolis, while he returned to Cæsarea, with the other two legions, that he might allow them to refresh themselves after their long and hard campaign, thinking withal that the plenty which was in those cities would improve their bodies and their spirits, against the difficulties they were to go through afterwards; for he saw there would be occasion for great pains about Jerusalem, which was not yet taken, because it was the royal city, and the principal city of the whole nation; and because those that had run away from the war in other places got all together thither. It was also naturally strong, and the walls that were built round it made him not a little concerned about it. Moreover, he esteemed the men that were in it to be so courageous and bold, that even without the consideration of the walls, it would be too hard to subdue them; for which reason he took care of and exercised his soldiers beforehand for the work, as they do wrestlers before they begin their undertakings.

2. Now Titus, as he rode up to Gischala, found it would be easy for him to take the city upon the first onset; but knew withal, that if he took it by force, the multitude would be destroyed by the soldiers without mercy. (Now he was already satiated with the shedding of blood, and pitied the major part, who would then perish, without distinction, together with the guilty.) So he was rather desirous the city might be surrendered up to him on terms. Accordingly, when he saw the wall full of those men that were of the corrupted party, he said to them,—That he could not but wonder what it was they depended on, when they alone stood to fight after the rest of the other city was taken by them; especially when they have seen cities much better fortified than theirs is, overturned by a single attack upon them; while as many as have entrusted themselves to the security of the Romans' right hands, which he now offers to them, without regarding their former insolence, do enjoy their own possessions in safety; for that while they had hopes of recovering their liberty, they might be pampered; but their continuance still in their opposition, when they saw that to be impossible, was inexorable; for that, if they will not comply with such humane terms, let those who have seen the experience of such a war as was spared nobody, and should soon be made sensible that their wall would be but a trifle, when battered by the Roman ma-

chine; in depending on which, they demean themselves to be the only Galileans that was better than arrogant slaves and captives.

3. Now none of the populace dared to make a reply, but durst not so much as get upon a wall, for it was all taken up by the robbers, as were also the guard at the gates, in order to prevent any of the rest from going out, in order to propose terms of submission, and from coming any of the horsemen into the city. But John turned Titus this answer,—That for himself he content to hearken to his proposals, and he would either persuade or force those that rebelled. Yet he said, that Titus ought to have regard to the Jewish law, as to grant them leave to celebrate that day, which was the seventh day of the week, on which it was unlawful not only to stow their arms, but even to treat of peace also, that even the Romans were not ignorant how the period of the seventh day was among them a sabbath from all labours; and that then and the shall celebrate about that day, with being equally guilty with those that were then transgressed it; and that this delay could be of advantage to them; for why should any body be doing any thing in the night, unless it was away which he might prevent by placing himself around about them; and that they should think a great point gained, if they might not be obliged to transgress the laws of their country; and it would be a right thing for him, who desired to grant them peace, without their expectation of a favour, to preserve the laws of those that were inviolable. Thus did this man put a test Titus, not so much out of regard to the same day, as to his own preservation, for he was lest he should be quite deserted if the city be taken, and has his hopes of life in that day, and in his flight therein. Now this was the wish of God, who therefore preserved this John, that might bring on the destruction of Jerusalem; also it was his work that Titus was permitted by this protraction for a delay, and that he gave his camp farther off the city at Cæsarea. This was a strong median city, and a village of Tyrians, which always hated and made war against the Jews; it had also a great number of inhabitants, and was well fortified; which made a proper place for such as were enemies to his nation.

4. Now, in the night time, when John was the Roman guard about the city, he saw the opportunity directly, and, taking with him not only the armed men that were about him, but a considerable number of those that had little to do with their families, he led to Jerusalem. And indeed, though the man was making haste to get away, and was tormented with fears of being a captive, or of losing his life, yet did he present himself to take out of the city and left a multitude of women and children, as far as six furlongs; but there he left them as he passed farther on his journey, where those that were behind made sad lamentations; for those that would every one was come from his own people, the more they thought themselves to be in their distress, they also affrighted themselves with the idea, though they would carry them into captivity, than at just hand, and still turned themselves back, and the more noise they made themselves in this their last flight, as if those from whom they fled were but
upon them. Many also of them missed their ways; and the earnestness of such as aimed to outgo the rest, threw down many of them. And indeed there was a miserable destruction made of the women and children; while some of them took courage to call their husbands and kinmen back, and to beseech them, with the bitterest lamentations, to stay for them; but John's exhortation, who cried out to them to save themselves, and fly away, prevailed. He said also, that if the Romans should seize upon those whom 'they left behind, they would be revenged on them for it. So this multitude that run thus away was dispersed abroad, according as each of them was able to run, one faster or slower than another.

8. Now on the next day Titus came to the wall, to make the agreement; whereupon the people opened their gates to him, and came out to him, with their children and wives, and made acclamations of joy to him, as to one that had been their benefactor, and had delivered the city out of custody; they also informed him of John's flight, and besought him to spare them, and to come in and bring the rest of those that for innovations to punishment; but Titus, not so much regarding the supplications of the people, sent part of his horsemen to pursue after John, but they could not overtake him, for he was gotten to Jerusalem before; they also slew six thousand of the women and children who went out with him, but returned back and brought with them almost three thousand. However, Titus was greatly displeased that he had not been able to bring this John, who had deluded him, to punishment; yet he had captives enough, as well as the corrupted part of the city, to satisfy his anger, when it missed of John. So he entered the city in the midst of acclamations of joy; and when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall, as of a city taken in war, he reproved those that had disturbed the city rather by threatening than by executions; for he thought that many would accuse innocent persons, out of their own animosities and quarrels, if he should attempt to distinguish those that were worthy of punishment from the rest; and that it was better to let a guilty person alone in his fears, than to destroy with him any one than did not deserve it; for that probably such a one might be taught prudence, by the fear of the punishment he had deserved, and have a shame upon him for his former offences, when he had been forgiven; but that the punishment of such as have been once put to death could never be retrieved. However, he placed a garrison in the city for its security, by which means he should restrain those that were for innovations, and should leave those that were peaceably disposed in greater security. And thus was all Galilee taken; but this not till after it had cost the Romans much pains before it could be taken by them.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING JOHN OF GISCHALA. CONCERNING THE ZEALOTS, AND THE HIGH-PRIEST ANNANUS; AS ALSO HOW THE JEWS RAISED SEDITIONS ONE AGAINST ANOTHER [IN JERUSALEM].

§ 1. Now, upon John's entry into Jerusalem, the whole body of the people were in an uproar, and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives that were come to them, and inquired of them what miseries had happened abroad, when their breath was so short, and hot, and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in; yet did they talk big under their misfortunes, and pretended to say that they had not fled away from the Romans, but came thither in order to fight them with less hazard; for that it would be an unreasonable and a fruitless thing for them to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala, and such weak cities, whereas they ought to lay up their weapons and their zeal, and reserve it for their metropolis. But when they related to them the taking of Gischala, and their decent departure, as they pretended, from that place, many of the people understood it to be no better than a flight; and especially when the people were told of those that were made captives, they were in great confusion, and guessed those things to be plain indications that they should be taken also; but for John, he was very little concerned for those whom he had left behind him, but went about among all the people, and persuaded them to go to war, by the hopes he gave them. He affirmed that the affairs of the Romans were in a weak condition, and extolled his own power. He also rested upon the ignorance of the unskilful, as if those Romans, although they should take themselves wings, could never fly over the walls of Jerusalem, who found such great difficulties in taking the villages of Galilee, and had broken their engines of war against their walls.
3. The Roman garrisons, which guarded the cities, partly out of their uneasiness to take such trouble upon them, and partly out of the hatred they bare to the Jewish nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable, till the captains of these troops of robbers, being satisfied with rapines in the country, got all together from all parts, and became a band of wickedness, and all together crept into Jerusalem, which was now become a city without a governor, and, as the ancient custom was, received without distinction all that belonged to their nation; and these they then received, because all men supposed that those who came fast into the city for those of kindness, and for their assistance, although these very men, besides the seditions they raised, were otherwise the direct cause of the city's destruction also; for as they were an unprofitable and a useless multitude, they spent those provisions beforehand, which might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men. Moreover, besides the bringing on of the war, they were the occasion of sedition and famine therein.

4. There were, besides these, other robbers that came out of the country, and came into the city and joining to them those that were worse than themselves, omitted no kind of barbarity; for they did not measure their courage by their rapines and plundering only, but proceeded as far as murdering men; and this not in the night-time or privately, or with regard to ordinary men, but did it openly in the day-time, and began with the most eminent persons in the city; for the first man they meddled with was Antipas, one of the royal lineage, and the most potent man in the whole city, insomuch that the public tranquility was committed to his care; him they took and confined, as they did in the next place to Levias, a person of great note, with Sophas, the son of Rague, both of whom were of royal lineage also. And besides these, they did the same to the principal men of the country. This caused a terrible consternation among the people; and every one contended himself with taking care of his own safety, as they would do if the city had been taken in war.

5. But these were not satisfied with the bonds into which they had put the men forementioned; nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long, since there were more powerful, and had numerous families of their own that were able to avenge them. Nay, they thought the very people would perhaps be so moved at these unjust proceedings, as to rise in a body against them: it was therefore resolved to have them slain. Accordingly, they sent one John, who was the most bloody-minded of them all, to do that execution; this man was also called "the son of Doreas," in the language of the country. Ten men went along with him into the prison, with their swords drawn, and so they cut the throats of those that were in custody there. The grand lying pretence these men made for so flagrant an enormity was this, that these men had had conferences with the Romans for a surrender of Jerusalem to them; and so they said they had slain only such as were traitors to their common liberty. Upon the whole, they grew the more insolent upon this bold prank of theirs, as that they had been the benefactors and savours of the city.

6. Now the people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, that these last took upon themselves to appoint high-priests. So when they had nullified the succession, according to those that were out of whom the high-priests used to be, they ordained certain unknown and ignoble persons for that office, that they might have their saincine in their wicked undertakings; for so obtained this highest of all honours, which is the desert of the ungodly, to corrupt and to stoop, they esteemed it on them. They also set the prince men at variance one with another, by several arts of contrivances and tricks, and gained the opportunity of doing what they pleased, by the quarrels of those who might have obstructed their measures; till at length, when they were set with the unjust actions they had done towards they transferred their contemptuous behaviour to God himself, and came into the sanctuary polluted feet.

7. And now the multitude were going against them already; for Ananus, the ancestor of the high-priests, persuaded them to it. He was a very prudent man, and had perhaps saved the city if he could but have escaped the hands of that plotter against him. Those men made a temple of God a strong hold for them, and a refuge whether they might resort, in order to avoid troubles they feared from the people; and the army was now become a refuge, and a shop of money. They also mixed jesting among the people when they introduced, which was more than what they did; for, in order to try what sort of people the would be under, and how far their power extended, they undertook to dispose of high-priesthood by casting lots for it, whereas we have said already, it was to descend by succession in a family. The pretence they made for this strange attempt was an ancient practice, while said that of old it was determined by lot; for truth, it was no better than a dissolution of the deniable law, and a cunning contrivance to gain upon the government, derived from those that presumed to appoint governors as they thought pleased.

8. Hereupon they sent for one of the tribes, which is called Eniachim, and said to which of it should be the high-priest. By which lot so fell as to demonstrate their iniquity and the plainest manner, for it fell upon one who was named Phanias, the son of Samuel, of the village Athphani. He was a man not only of the high-priesthood, but that did not hold what the high-priesthood was; such a man was he; yet did he hali this, without his own consent out of the country, as if they were
sting a play upon the stage, and adorned him with counterfeit face; they also put upon him the crested garments, and upon every occasion instructed him in what he was to do. This horrid piece of wickedness was sport and pastime with them, but sorrow and mourning to us. And as a distance was the law made a jest of, to shed tears, and sorely lament the dissolution of such a sacred dignity.

9. And now the people could no longer bear the solence of this procedure, but did altogether run amok, in order to overthrow that tyranny; and indeed they were Gorian the son of Josephus, and ymeon the son of Gamaliel, who encouraged them, by going up and down when they were assembled together in crowds, and as they saw them alone, to bear no longer, but to inflict punishment upon these pests and plagues of their freedom, and purge the temple of these bloody polluters of it. The best esteemed also of the high-priests, Jesus the son of Gamala, and Ananus the son of Ananus, when they were at their assemblies, bitterly reproached the people for their sloth, and excited them against the zealots; for that was the name they went by, as if they were zealous in good undertakings, and were not rather zealous in the worst actions, and extravagant in them beyond the example of others.

10. And now, when the multitude were gotten together to an assembly, and every one was in indignation at these men's seizing upon the sanctuary, at their rape and murders, but had not yet begun their attacks upon them (the reason of which was this, that they imagined it to be a difficult thing to suppress these zealots, as indeed the case was), Ananus stood in the midst of them, and casting his eyes frequently at the temple, and having a flood of tears in his eyes, he said,—Certainly it had been good for me to die before I had seen the house of God full of so many abominations, or these sacred places that ought not to be trodden on at random, filled with the feet of these blood shedding villains; yet do I, who am clothed with the vestments of the high-priesthood, and am called by that most venerable name (of high-priest), still live, and am but too fond of living, and cannot endure to undergo a death which would be the glory of my old age; and if I were the only person concerned, and, as it were, in a desert, I would give up my life, and that alone for God's sake; for to what purpose is it to live among a people insensible of their calamities, and where there is no notion remaining of any remedy for the miseries that are upon them for when you are seized upon you bear it, and when you are beaten, you are silent and when the people are murdered, nobody dare so much as send out a groan openly! O bitter tyranny that we are under! But why do I complain of the tyrants? Was it not you, and your sufferance of them, that have nourished them? Was it not you that overlooked those that first of all got together, for they were then but a few, and by your sufferance of them, and by conniving at them when they took arms, in effect armed them against yourselves! You ought to have then prevented their first attempts, when they fell a reproaching your relations; but by neglecting that care in time, you have encouraged these wretches to go plundering. When houses were pillaged, nobody said a word, which was the occasion why they carried off the owners of those houses; and when they were drawn through the midst of the city, nobody came to their assistance. They then proceeded to put those whom you had betrayed into their hands, into bonds. I do not say how many, and of what characters those men were whom they thus served, but certainly they were such as were accused by none, and condemned by none; and since nobody succoured them when they were in bond, and calumniated, that you are the same persons also. We have seen this also; so that still the best of the herd of brute animals, as it were, have been still led to be sacrificed, when yet nobody said one word, or moved his right hand for their preservation. Will you bear, therefore,—will you bear to see your sanctuary trampled on? and will you lay steps for these profane wretches, upon which they may mount to higher degrees of insolence? Will you not pluck them down from their exaltation? for even by this time, they had proceeded to higher enormities, if they had been able to overthrow any thing greater than the sanctuary. They have seized upon the strongest place of the whole city; you may call it the temple, if you please, though it be like a citadel or fortress. Now, while you have tyranny in so great a degree walled in, and see your enemies over your heads, to what purpose is it to take counsel? and what have you to support your minds with? Perhaps you wait for the Romans, that they may protect our holy places; are our matters then brought to so great a pass? and are we come to that degree of misery, that ourselves are expected to pity us? 0 wretched creatures will not you rise up, and turn upon those that strike you! which you may observe in wild beasts themselves, that they will avenge themselves on those that strike them. Will not you call to mind, every one of you, the calamities you yourselves have suffered! nor lay before your eyes what afflictions you yourselves have undergone! and will not such things sharpen your souls to revenge! Is therefore that most honourable and most natural of our passions, as the desire of liberty! Truly, we are in love with slavery, and in love with those that lord it over us, as if we had received that principle of subjection from our ancestors! yet did they undergo many and great wars for the sake of liberty, nor were they so far overcome by the power of the Egyptians, or the Medes, but that they still did what they thought fit, notwithstanding their commands to the contrary. And what occasion is there now for a war with the Romans? (I meddle not with determining whether it be an advantageous and profitable war or not.) What pretence is there for it? Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Besides, shall we not bear the lords of the habitable earth to be lords over us, and yet bear tyrants of our own country! Although I must say that submission to foreigners may be borne, because fortune hath already doomed us to it, while submission to wicked people of our own nation is too unmanny, and brought upon us by our own consent. However, since I have had occasion to mention the Romans, I will not conceal a thing that, as I am speaking, comes into my mind, and affects me-
siderably;—it is this, that though we should be taken by them (God forbid the event should be so!) yet can we undergo nothing that will be harder to be borne than what these men have already brought upon us. How then can we avoid shedding of tears, when we see the Roman donations on our temples, while we withal see those of our own nation taking our spoil, and plundering their glorious metropolis, and slaughtering our men, from which enormities those Romans themselves would have abstained! to see those Romans never going beyond the bounds allotted to profane persons, nor venturing to break in upon any of our sacred customs—nay, having horror upon their minds when they view at a distance those sacred walls, while there have been born in this very country, and brought up in our customs, and called Jews, do walk about in the midst of the holy place, at the very time when their hands are still warm with the slaughter of their own countrymen. Besides, can any one be afraid of a war abroad, and that with such as will have comparatively much greater moderation than our own people have! For truly, if we may suit our words to the things they represent, it is probable one may hereafter find the Romans to be supporters of our laws, and those within in themselves the subverters of them. And now I am persuaded that every one of you here comes satisfied before I speak, that these overthrowers of our liberties deserve to be destroyed, and that no body can so much as devise a punishment that they have not deserved by what they have done, and that you are all provoked against them by those their wicked actions, whence you have suffered so greatly. But perhaps many of you are affrighted at the multitude of those robbers, and at their audaciously, as well as at the advantage they have over us in their being higher in place than we are; for these circumstances, as they have been occasioned by your negligence, so will they become still greater by being still longer neglected; for their multitude is every day augmented, by every ill man’s running away to those that are like to themselves and their audaciousness; is therefore inflamed because they meet with no obstruction to their designs. And for their higher place, they will make use of it for engines also: if we give them time to do so; but be assured of this, that if we go up to fight them, they will be made tame by their own consciences and what advantages they have in the height of their situation, they will lose by the opposition of their reason; perhaps also God himself, who hath been affronted by them, will make what they throw at us return against themselves, and those impious wretches will be killed by their own darts: let us but make our appearance before them, and they will come to nothing. However, it is a right thing, if there should be any danger in the attempt, to die before these holy gates, and to spend our very lives, not for the sake of our children and wives, yet for the cause of God’s sake, and for the sake of his sanctuary. I will assist you, both with my counsel and with my hand; nor shall any sagacity of ours be wanting for your support; nor shall you see that I will be sparing of my body neither.

11. By these motives Ananus encouraged the multitude to go against the zealots, although he knew how difficult it would be to disperse them, because of their multitude, and their youth, and the courage of their souls; but chiefly because of the conscious-
WARs OF THE JEWs.

CHAPTER IV.

THE IDUMAENS BEING SENT FOR BY THE ZEALOTS, CAME IMMEDIATELY TO JERUSALEM: AND WHEN THEY WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE CITY, THEY LAY ALL NIGHT THERE, AND SPOKE ON THE HIGH-PRIESTS, MAKES A SPEECH TO THE LII; AND SIMON THE IDUMAEN MAKES A REPLY TO IT.

§ 1. Now, by this crafty speech, John made the zealots afraid; yet durst he not directly name what foreign assistance he meant, but in a covert way only intimated at the Idumaeans; but now that he might particularly irritate the leaders of the zealots, he calumniated Ananus, that he was about a piece of barbarity, and did in a special manner threaten them. The leaders were Eleazar, the son of Simon, who seemed the most plausible man of them all, both in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of what he had determined upon, and Zechariah, the son of Phalek; both of whom derived their families from the priests. Now, when these two men had heard, not only the common threatenings which belonged to them all, but those peculiarly levelled against themselves; and besides, how Ananus and his party, in order to secure their own dominion, had invited the Romans to come to them, for that also was part of John’s plan, they hesitated a great while what they should do, considering the shortness of the time by which they were straitened; because the people were prepared to attack them very soon, and because the suddenness of the plot laid against them had almost cut off their hopes of getting any foreign assistance; for they might be under the height of their afflic tions before any of their confederates could be informed of it. However, it was resolved to call in the Idumaeans; so they wrote a short letter to this effect:—That Ananus had imposed on the people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans.
that they themselves had revoluted from the rest, and were in custody in the the temple, on account of the preservation of their liberty; that there was but a small time left, wherein they might hope for their deliverance; and that unless they would come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Ananus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans. They also charged the messengers to tell many more circumstances to the rulers of the Idumeans. Now, there were two active men proposed for the carrying of this message, and such as were well able to speak, and to persuade them that things were in this posture, what was a qualification of more necessity than the former, they were very swift of foot; for they knew well enough that these would immediately comply with their desires, as being ever a tumultuous and disorderly nation, always on the watch upon every motion, delighting in mutations; and upon your flattering them ever so little, and petitioning them, they soon take their arms, and put themselves into motion, and make haste to a battle, as if it were to a feast. There was indeed occasion for quick dispatch in the carrying of this message; in which point the messengers had the way defective. Both their names were Ananias; and they soon came to the rulers of the Idumeans.

2. Now, these rulers were greatly surprised at the contents of the letter, and at what those that came with it further told them; whereupon, they ran about the nation like madmen, and made proclamation that the people should come to war; so a multitude was suddenly got together, sooner indeed than the time appointed in the proclamation, and every body caught up their arms, in order to maintain the liberty of their metropolis; and twenty thousand of them were put into battle-array, and came to Jerusalem, under four commanders, John, and Jacob the son of Sosa; and besides these were Simon, the son of Cathbas, and Phineas, the son of Clusothus.

3. Now this exit of the messengers was not known either to Ananus, or to the guards; but the approach of the Idumeans was known to him; for as he knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did not he by any means think of fighting against them, but, before they came to blows, to try what persuasions would do. Accordingly, Jesus, the eldest of the high-priests next to Ananus, stood upon the tower that was over against them, and said thus:—“Many troubles indeed, and those of various kinds, have fallen upon this city; yet in none of them have I so much wondered at her fortune as now, when you are come to assist wicked men, and this after a manner very extraordinary; for I see that you are come to support the vilest of men against us, and this with so great acerbity, as you could hardly put on the like, in case our metropolis had called you to her assistance against barbarians; and if I had perceived that your army was composed of men like unto those who invited them, I had not deemed your attempt so absurd; for nothing does so much cement the minds of men together as the alliance there is between their manners; but now for these men who have invited you, if you were to examine them one by one, every one of them would be found to have deserved ten thousand deaths; for the very rascality and off courcing of the whole country, who have spent in debauchery their own substance and, by way of trial beforehand, have madly plundered the neighbouring villages and cities, in the upshot of all, have privately run together into this holy city. They are robbers, who by their prodigious wickedness have profaned this most sacred temple, and who are to be now seen drinking themselves drunk in the sanctuary, and expending the spoils of those whom they have slaughtered upon their satiable boulles. As for the multitude that is with you, one may see them so decently adorned in their armour, as it would become them to be, had their metropolis called them to her assistance against foreigners. What can a man call this procedure of yours but the most infamous, when you see a nation coming to protect a sink of wicked wretches! I have for a good while been in doubt what it could possibly be that should move you to do this so suddenly; because certainly you would not take an army upon the behalf of robbers, and against a people of kin to you, without some very great cause for your so doing; but we have an item that the Romans are pretended, and that we are supposed to be going to betray this city to them; for some of your men have lately made a clamour, and those metropolis, if we are not, will necessarily come to set their metropolis free. Now, we cannot but admire at these wretches in their devising such a lie as this against us; for they knew there was no other way to irritate against us men that were naturally desirous of liberty, and on that account the best disposed to fight against foreign enemies, but by framing a tale as if we were going to betray that most desirable thing, liberty. But you ought to consider what sort of people are they that raise this calumny, and against what sort of people that calamity is raised, and to gather the truth of things, not by false speeches, but out of the actions of both parties;—for what occasion is there for us to sell ourselves to the Romans, while it was in our power not to have revoluted from them at the first, or, when we had once revolted, to have returned under their dominion again, and this while the neighbouring countries were not yet laid waste; whereas it is not an easy thing to be reconciled to the Romans, if we were desirous of it, now they have subdued Galilee, and are thereby become proud and stiff; and to endeavour to please them at the time when they are so near us, would bring such a reproach upon us as were worse than death. As for myself, indeed I should have preferred peace with them before death; but now we have once made war upon them, and fought with them, I prefer death with reputation, before living in captivity under them. But farther, whether do they pretend that we, who are the rulers of the people, have sent this privately to the Romans, or hath it been divulged by the common suffrages of the people! If it be ourselves only that have done it, let them name those friends of ours that have been sent, and our errand to manage this treachery. Hath any one been caught as he went out upon this errand, or seized upon as he came back? Are they in possession of our letters! How could we be concealed from such a vast number of our fellow-citizens, among whom we are conversant every hour, while what is done privately in the country is, it seems, known by a few zealous sects, who are but few in number, and understand them not, and are not able to come to the temple into the city! Is this the first time that they are become sensible how they ought to be punished for their insolent actions! For when
these men were free from the fear they are now under, there was no suspicion raised that any of us were traitors. But if they lay this charge against the people, this must have been done at public consultation, and not one of the people must have dis- covered from the report of the assembly; and for which cause the public fame of this matter would have come to you sooner than any particular indication. How could that be! Must there not then have been ambassadors sent to confirm the agreements! And let them tell us who this ambassador was, that was ordained for that purpose. But this is no other than a pretence of such men as are loath to die, and are labouring to escape those punishments that hang over them; for if fate had determined that this city was to be betrayed into its enemies’ hands, no other than these men that accuse us falsely could have the impudence to do it, there being no wick- edness wanting to complete their impudent practices, but this only that they become traitors. And now you Idumeans are come hither already with your arms; it is your duty, in the first place, to be as- sisting to your metropolis, and to join with us in cutting off those tyrants that have infringed the rules of our regular tribunals, that have trampled upon our laws, and made their swords the arbitra- tors of right and wrong; for they have seized upon most of great eminence, and under no accusation, as if they were in the midst of the market-place, tortured them with putting them into bonds, and, without bearing to hear what they had to say, or what supplications they made, they destroyed them. You may, if you please, come into this city, though not in the way of war, and take a view of the marks still remaining of what I now say, and may see the feuds that have been depopulated by their rapaci- ous hands, with those wives and families that are in black, mourning for their slaughtered relations; as also you may hear their groans and lamentations all the city over; for there is nobody but hath tasted of the incursions of these profane wretches, who have proceeded to that degree of madness, as not only to have transferred their impudent rob- beries out of the country, and the remote cities, into this city, the very face and head of the whole nation, but out of the city into the temple also; for that is now made their receptacle and refuge, and the fountain-head whence their preparations are made against us. And this place, which is adored by the habitable world, and honoured by such as only know it by report, as far as the ends of the earth, is trampled upon by these wild beasts born among ourselves. They now triumph in the des- perate condition they are already in, when they hear that one people is going to fight against an- other people, and one city against another city, and that your nation hath gotten an army together against its own bowels. Instead of which proce- dure, it were highly fit and reasonable, as I said before, for you to join with us in cutting off these wretches, and in particular to be revenged on them for what this vast multitude have done in having the impudence to invite you to assist them, of whom they ought to have stood in fear, as ready to punish them. But if you have some regard to these men’s invitation of you, yet may you lay aside your arms, and come into the city under the notion of our kindred, and take upon you a middle name between that of auxiliaries and of enemies, and so become judges in this case. However, consider what those men will gain by being called into judge- ment before you, for such undeniable and such flagrant crimes, who would not vouchsafe to hear such as had no accusations laid against them to speak a word for themselves. However, let them gain this advantage by your coming. But still, if you will, we shall be near you; and I mean, for that we have at these men, nor judge between; by the third thing I have to propose is this, that you let us both alone, and neither insult upon our calamities, nor abide with these plotters against their metropoli; for though you should have ever so great a suspicion that some of us have discoursed with the Romans, it is in your power to watch the pass- ages into the city; and in case any thing that we have been accused of is brought to light, then to come and defend your metropolis, and to inflict punishment on those that are found guilty; for the enemy cannot prevent you who are so near to the city. But if, after all, none of these proposals seem acceptable and moderate, do not you wonder that the gates are shut against you, while you bear your arms about you.  

4. Thus spake Jesus; yet did not the multitude of the Idumeans give any attention to what he said, but were in a rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also had indignation at the offer of laying down their arms, and looked upon it as equal to a captivity to throw them away at any man’s injunctions whom- soever. But Simon, the son of Casiba, one of their commanders, with much ado quieted the tumult of his own men, and stood so that the high priests might hear him, and said as follows:—“I can no longer wonder that the patrons of liberty are under custody in the temple, since there are those that shut the gates of our common city to their own nation, and at the same time are preparing to admit the Romans into it; nay, perhaps are disposed to crown the gates with garlands at their coming, while they speak to the Idumeans from their own towers, and enjoin them to throw down their arms which they have taken up for the preservation of its liberty; and while they will not intrust the guard of our metropolis to their kindred, profess to make them judges of the differences that are among them; nay, while they accuse some men of having slain others without a legal trial, they do them- selves condemn a whole nation, after an ignominious manner, and have now walled up that city from their own nation, which used to be open even to foreigners that came to worship there. We have indeed come in great haste to you, and to a war against our own countrymen; and the reason why we have made such haste is this, that we may pre- serve that freedom which you are so unhappy as to betray. You have probably been guilty of the like crimes against those whom you keep in custody and have, I suppose, collected together the like plausible pretences against them also that you make use of against us; after which you have gotten the mastery of those within the temple, and keep them in custody, while they are only taking care of the public affairs. You have also shut the gates of the city in general against nations that are the most nearly related to you; and while you give such injurious commands to others, you complain

* This appellation of Jerusalem given it here by Simon, the general of the Idumeans, “the common city” of the Idumeans, who were prominent in the government, and as of the city of Jerusalem itself, that name of the rabbinic, here set down by Rashi, that “Jerusalem was not named, or appertained, to the tribe of Benjamim or Judah, but every tribe had equal right to it [as their coming to worship there at the sacred festivals].” See a little before, ch. iii. sect. 8.
that you have been tyrannized over by them, and fix the name of unjust governors upon such as are tyrannized over by yourselves. Who can bear this, your abuse of words, while they have a regard to the contrariety of your actions, unless you mean this, that those Idumeans do now exclaim you out of your metropolis, whom you exclude from the sacred offices of your own country! One may indeed justly complain of those that are besieged in the temple, that when they had courage enough to punish those tyrants, whom you call eminent men, and free from any accusations, because of their being your companions in wickedness, they did not begin with you, and thereby cut off beforehand the most dangerous parts of this treason. But if these men have been more merciful than the public necessity required, we that are Idumeans will preserve this house of God, and will fight for our common country, and will oppose by war as well those that attack them from abroad, as those that betray them from within. Here will we abide before the walls in our armour, until either the Romans grow weary in waiting for you, or you become friends to liberty, and repent of what you have done against it."

5. And now did the Idumeans make an accusation to what Simon had said; but Jesus went away sorrowful, as seeing that the Idumeans were against all moderate counsels, and that the city was besieged on both sides; nor indeed were the minds of the Idumeans at rest; for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them by their exclusion out of the city; and when they thought the zealots had been strong, but saw nothing of theirs to support them, they were in doubt about the matter, and many of them repented that they had come thither. But the shame that would attend them in case they returned without doing anything at all, so far overcame their repentance, that they lay all night before the wall, though in a very bad encampment; for there broke out a prodigious storm in the night, with the utmost violence, and very strong winds, with the largest showers of rain, and continual lightnings, thunderous thunders, and amazing concussions and bowellings of the earth, that was in an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of the world was put into this disorder; and any one would guess that these wonders foreboded some grand calamities that were coming.

6. Now the opinion of the Idumeans and of the citizens was one and the same. The Idumeans thought that God was angry at their taking arms, and that they would not escape punishment for their making war upon their metropolis. Ananus and his party thought that they had conquered without fighting, and that God acted as a general for them; but truly they proved both ill conjectures at what was to come, and made those events to be ominous to their enemies, while they were themselves to undergo the ill effects of them; for the Idumeans found them by uniting their bodies in one band, and thereby kept themselves warm, and connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. But the zealots were more deeply concerned for the danger these men were in than they were for themselves, and got together, and looked about them, to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The hotter sort of them thought it best to force their guards with their arms, and after that to fall into the midst of the city, and publicly open the gates to those that came to their assistance; as supposing the guards would be in disorder, and give way at such an unexpected attempt of theirs, especially as the greater part of them were unarmed and unskilful in the affair of war; and that besides, the multitude of the citizens would not be easily gathered together, but confined to their houses by the storm; and that if there were any hazard in their undertaking, it became them to suffer any thing whatsoever themselves, rather than to overlook so great a multitude as were miserably perishing on their account. But the more prudent part of them disapproved of this forcible method, because they saw not only the guards about them very numerous, but the walls of the city itself carefully watched, by reason of the Idumeans. They also supposed that Ananus would be everywhere, and visit the guards every hour; which indeed was done upon other nights, but was omitted that night, not by reason of any slothfulness of Ananus, but by the overbearing appointment of fate, that so both he himself might perish, and the multitude of the guards might perish with him; for truly, as the night was far gone, and the storm very terrible, Ananus gave the guards in cloisters leave to go to sleep; while it came into the heads of the zealots to make use of the saws belonging to the temple, and to cut the bars of the gates to pieces. The noise of the wind, and that not inferior sound of the thunder, did here also conspire with their designs, that the noise of the saws was not heard by the others.

7. So they secretly went out of the temple to the wall of the city, and made use of their saws, and opened that gate which was over-against the Idumeans. Now at first there came a fear upon the Idumeans themselves, which disturbed them, as imagining that Ananus and his party were coming to attack them, so that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword, in order to defend himself; but they soon came to know who they were that came to them, and were entered the city. And had the Idumeans then fallen upon the city, nothing could have hindered them from destroying the people, every man of them, such was the rage they were in at that time; but they first of all made haste to get the zealots out of custody, which those that brought them in earnestly desired them to do, and not overlook those for whose sake they were come, in the midst of their distresses, nor to bring them into a still greater danger; for that when they had once seized upon the guards, it would be easy for them to fall upon the city; but that if the city were once alarmed, they would not then be able to overcome those guards, because as soon as they should perceive they were there, they would put themselves in order to fight them, and would hinder their coming into the temple.

CHAPTER V.


§ 1. This advice pleased the Idumeans, and they ascended through the city to the temple. The se-
fate were also in great expectation of their coming, and earnestly waited for them. When therefore they were entering, they also came boldly out of the inner temple, and mixing themselves with the Idumeans, they attacked the guards; and some of those that were upon the watch, but were fallen asleep, they killed as they were asleep; but as those that were now awakened made a cry, the whole multitude arose, and in the amazement they were in caught hold of their arms immediately, and betook themselves to their own defence; and so long as they thought they were only the zealots who attacked them, they went on boldly, as hoping to overpower them by their number; but when they saw others pressing in upon them also, they perceived the Idumeans were got in; and the greater part of them said aside their arms, together with their courage, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the younger sort covered themselves with their armour, and valiantly received the Idumeans, and for a while protected the multitude of old men. Others, indeed, gave a signal to those that were in the city of the calamities they were in; but when these were also made sensible that the Idumeans were come in, none of them durst come to their assistance; only they returned their thanks to those who warned them of their misfortunes. A great howling of the women was excited also, and every one of the guards were in danger of being killed. The zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the Idumeans; and the storm itself rendered the cry more terrible; nor did the Idumeans spare any body; for as they are naturally a barbarous and bloody nation, and had been distressed by the tempest, they made use of their weapons against those that had shut the gates against them, and acted in the same manner as to those that supplicated for their lives, and to those that fought them, inasmuch that they ran those through with their swords who desired them to remember the relation there was between them, and begged of them to have regard to their common temple. Now there was at present neither any place for flight nor any hope for preservation; but as they were driven one upon another in heaps, so were they slain. Thus the greater part were driven together by force, as there was now no place of retirement, and the murderers were upon them; and, having no other way, threw themselves down headlong into the city; whereby, in my opinion, they underwent a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided, because that was voluntary. And now the outer temple was all of it overflowed with blood; and that day, as it came on, saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies there.

2. But the rage of the Idumeans was not sated by these slaughters; but they now betook themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met; and for the multitude, they esteemed it needless to go on with killing them, but they sought for the high priests, and the generality went with the greatest zeal against them; and as soon as they caught them they slew them, and then standing upon their dead bodies, in way of jest upbraided Ananus with his kindness to the people, and Jesus with his speech made to them from the wall. Nay, they proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to cast away their bodies without burial, although the Jews used to take so much care of the burial of men, that they took down those that were condemned and crucified, and buried them before the going down of the sun. I should not mistake if I said that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of the city, and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of last wall, and the ruin of its affairs, whereas they saw their high priest, and the procurer of their preservation slain in the midst of the city. He was on other accounts a venerable, and very just man; and besides the grandeur of that nobility, and dignity, and honour, of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of purity, even with regard to the meanest of the people; he was a prodigious lover of liberty, and an admirer of democracy in government; and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage, and preferred peace above all things; for he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were not to be conquered. He also foresaw that of necessity a war would follow, and that unless the Jews made up matters with them very dexterously, they would be destroyed: to say all in a word, if Ananus had survived they had certainly compounded matters; for he was a shrewd man in speaking and persuading the people, and had already gotten the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war. And the Jews had then put abundance of delays in the way of the Idumeans, if they had had such a general as he was, Jesus was also joined with him; and although he was inferior to him upon the comparison, he was superior to the rest; and I cannot but think that it was because God had doomed this city to destruction, as a polluted city, and was resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these its great defenders and wellwishers, while those that a little before had worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship, and had been esteemed venerable by those that dwell on the whole habitable earth when they came into our city, were cast out naked, and seen to be the food of dogs and wild beasts. And I cannot but imagine that virtue itself groaned at these men's case, and lamented that she was here so terribly conquered by wickedness. And this at last was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

3. Now after these were slain, the zealots and the multitude of Idumeans fell upon the people as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats; and, for the ordinary sort, they were destroyed in what place soever they caught them; and for the bystanders and the youth, they first caught them and bound them, and shut them up in prison, and put off their slaughters, in hopes that some of them would turn over to their party; but none of them would comply with their desires, but all of them preferred death before being enrolled among such wicked wretches as acted against their own country. But this refusal of theirs brought upon them terrible torments; for they were so scourged and tortured, that their bodies were not able to sustain their torments, till at length, and with difficulty, they had the favour to be slain. These whom they caught in the day-time, were slain in the night, and then their bodies were carried out and thrown away, that there might be room for other prisoners; and the terror that was upon all the people was so great, that no one had courage enough either to weep openly for the dead man that was related to him,
or bury him; but those that were shut up in their own houses, could only shed tears in secret, and durst not even groan without great caution, lest any of their enemies should hear them; for if they did, those that mourned for others soon underwent the same death with those whom they mourned for. Only in the night-time they would take up a little of their dust and bring their bones and ashes together, and even some that were the most ready to expose themselves to danger, would do it in the day-time: and there were twelve thousand of the better sort who perished in this manner.

4. And now these zealots and Idumeans were quite weary of barely killing men, so they had the impudence of setting up fictitious tribunals and judicatures for that purpose; and as they intended to have Zacharias, the son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens, slain,—so what provoked them against him was, that hatred of wick- edness and love of liberty which were so eminent in him; he was also a rich man, so that by taking him off, they did not only hope to seize his effects, but also to get rid of a man that had great power to destroy them. So they called together, by a public proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, for a show, as if they were real judges, while they had no proper authority. Before these was Zacharias accused of a design to betray their polity to the Romans, and having traitorously sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or sign of what he was accused; but they affirmed themselves that they were well persuaded that so it was, and desired that such their affirmation might be taken for sufficient evidence. Now when Zacharias clearly saw that there was no way remaining for his escape from them, as having been treacherously called before them, and then put in prison, but not with any intention of a legal trial, he took great liberty of speech, in that despair of life he was under. Accordingly he stood up, and laughed at their pretense, and in a few words convicted them of the crimes laid to his charge; after which he turned his speech to his accusers, and went over distinctly all their transgressions of the law, and made heavy lamentations upon the confusion they had brought public affairs into: in the meantime the zealots grew tumultuous, and had much ado to abstain from drawing their swords, although they designed to preserve the appearance and show of judicature to the end. They were also desirous, on other accounts, to try the judges, whether they would be mindful of what was just at their own peril. Now the seventy judges brought in their verdict, that the person accused was not guilty,—as choosing rather to die themselves with him, than to have his death hid at their doors; whereupon there arose a great clamour of the zealots upon his acquittal, and they all had indignation at the judges, for not understanding that the authority that was given them was but in jest. So two of the boldest of them fell upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, and slew him; and as he fell, they shouted, "Thou hast also our verdict, and this will prove a more sure acquittal to thee than the other." They also threw him down out of the temple immediately in the valley beneath it. Moreover they struck the judges with the backs of their swords, by way of abuse, and thrust them out of the court of the temple, and spared their lives with no other design than that, when they were dispersed among the people in the city, they might become their messengers to let them know they were no better than slaves.

5. But by this time the Idumeans repented of their conduct, and were displeased at what had been done; and when they were assembled together by one of the zealots, who had come privately to them, he declared to them what a number of wicked pranks they had themselves done in conjunction with those that invited them, and gave a particular account of what mischief had been done against their metropolis.—He said, that they had taken arms, as though the high-priests were betraying their metropolis to the Romans, but had found no indication of any such treachery: but that they had succoured those that had pretended to believe such a thing, while they did themselves the works of war and tyranny after an insolent manner. It had been indeed their business to have hindered them from such their proceedings at the first, but seeing they had once been partners with them in shedding the blood of their own countrymen, it was high time to put a stop to such crimes, and not continue to afford any more assistance to such as are subverting the laws of their forefathers; for that if any had taken it ill that the gates had been shut against them, and they had been forced into captivity, yet that those who had excluded them have been punished, and Ananus is dead, and that almost all those people have been destroyed in one night's time. That one may perceive many of themselves now repenting for what they had done, and might see the horrid barbarity of those that had invited them, and that they had no regard to such as had saved them; that they were so impudent as to perpetrate the vilest things, under the eyes of those who had supported them, and that their wicked actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumeans, and would be so laid to charge, till somebody obstructs their proceedings, or separates himself from the same wicked action; that they therefore ought to retire home, since the imputation of treason appears to be a calumny, and that there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the government of the city was secured by such walls as cannot easily be thrown down; and, by avoiding any further fellowship with these bad men, to make some excuse for themselves, as to what they had been so far deluded, as to have been partners with them kitherto.
CHAPTER VI.

HOW THE ZELOTS, WHEN THEY WERE FREE FROM THE IDUMAENS, SLEW A GREAT MANY MORE OF THE CITIZENS; AND HOW VESPASIAN DISSUADED THE ROMANS, WHEN THEY WERE VERY EARNEST TO MARCH AGAINST THE JEWS, FROM PROCEEDING IN THE WAR AT THAT TIME.

§ 1. The Idumeans complied with these persuasions; and in the first place, they set those that were in the prisons at liberty, being about two thousand of the populace, who therefore fled away immediately to Simon, one whom we shall speak of presently. After which these Idumeans retired to Jerusalem, and went home; which departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties; for the people, not knowing of their repentance, pulled up their courage for a while, as eased of so many of their enemies, while the zealots grew more insolent, not as deserted by their confederates, but as freed from such men as might hinder their design, and put some stop to their wickedness. And certainly, if the Idumeans had not, by any means, nor any deliberation in their enormous practises, but made use of the shortest methods for all their executions; and what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice sooner than any one could imagine; but their thirst was chiefly after the blood of valiant men, and men of good families; the one sort of whom they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear; for they thought their whole security lay in leaving no potent men alive; on which account they slew Goriôn, a person eminent in dignity, and on account of his family also; he was also for democracy, and of so great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whatsoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free-speaking. Nor did Niger of Pere'a escape their hands; he had been a man of great valour in their war with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city, and, as he went, he frequently cried out, and showed the scars of his wounds; and when he was drawn out of the gates, and despaired of his preservation, he besought them to grant him a burial; but, as if he had been strangled him by two hands not to grant him any spot of earth for a grave, which he chiefly desired of them, so did they slay him [without permitting him to be buried]. Now when they were slaying him, he made this imprecation upon them, that they might undergo both famine and pestilence in this war, and besides all that, they might come to the mutual slaughter of one another; all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men, and was what came most justly upon them, when not long afterward they tasted of their own madness, in their mutual seditions one against another. So when this Niger was killed, their fears of being overturned were diminished, and indeed there was no part of the people but they found out some pretense to destroy them; for some were therefore slain, because they had had differences with some of them; and as to those that had not opposed them in times of peace, they watched seasonable opportunities to gain some accusation against them; and if any one did not come near them at all, he was under their suspicion as a proud man; if any one came with boldness, he was esteemed a contemner of them; and if any one came as aiming to oblige them, he was supposed to have some treacherous plot against them; while the only punishment of crimes, whether they were of the greatest or smallest sort was death. Nor could any one escape, unless he were very inconsiderable, either on account of the meanness of his birth, or on account of his fortune.

2. And now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans deemed this sedition among their enemies to be of great advantage to them, and were very earnest to march to the city; and they urged Vespasian as their lord and general in all cases, to this point, and said to him, That "the providence of God is on our side, by settling on them a variance against one another; that still the change in such cases may be sudden, and the Jews may quickly be at one again, either because they may be tired out with their civil miseries, or repent of such doings." But Vespasian replied, that they were greatly mistaken in what they thought fit to be done, as those that, upon the theatre love to make a show of their hands, and of their weapons, but do it at their own hazard, without considering what was for their advantage and for their security; for that if they go and attack the city immediately, they shall but occasion their enemies to unite together, and shall convert their force, now it is in its height, against themselves; but if they stay awhile they shall have fewer enemies, because they will be consumed in this sedition; that God acts as general of the Romans better than he can do, and is giving the Jews up to them without any pains of their own, and granting their army a victory without any danger; that therefore it is their best way, while their enemies are destroying each other with their own hands, and falling into the greatest misfortunes, which is that of sedition, to sit still as spectators of the dangers they run into, rather than to fight hand to hand with men that love murdering, and are mad one against another. "But if any one imagines that the glory of victory, when it is gotten without fighting, will be more insipid, let him know this much, that a glorious success, quietly obtained, is more profitable than the dangers of a battle; for we ought to esteem those that do what is agreeable to temperance and prudence, no make a greater noise. Therefore, for that reason, I gained great reputation by their actions in war; that he will lead on his army with greater force when their enemies are diminished, and his own army refreshed after the continual labours they had undergone. However, that this is not a proper time to propose to ourselves the glory of victory; for that the Jews are not now employed in making of armour or building of walls, nor indeed of getting together auxiliaries, while the advantage will be on their side who gave them such opportunity of delay; but that the Jews are vexed to pieces every day by their civil wars and disensions, and are under greater misfortunes than, if they were once taken, could be inflicted on them by us. Whether therefore, any one has regard to what is for our safety, he ought to suffer those Jews to destroy one another; or whether he hath regard to the greater glory of the action, we ought by no means to meddle with these men, now they are afflicted with a distemper at home; for should we conquer them, it would be said the conquest was not owing to our bravery, but to their sedition."}

3. And now the commanders joined in their ap-
prohibition of what Vespasian had said, and it was
soon discovered how wise an opinion he had given;
and indeed many there were of the Jews that de-
serted every day, and fled away from the zealots,
although their flight was very difficult, since they
had guarded every passage out of the city, and
slew every one that was caught at them, as taking
it for granted they were going over to the Romans;
yet did he that gave them money get clear off,
while he that gave them none was voted a traitor.
So the upshot was this, that the rich perished in
their flight by money, while none but the poor were
slain. Along all the roads also vast numbers of
dead bodies lay in heaps, and even many of those
that were so zealous in deserting, at length choose
rather to perish within the city; for the hopes of
burial made death in their own city appear of the
two less terrible to them. But these zealots came
at last to that degree of barbarity, as not to bestow
a burial either on those in the city, or on those
that lay along the roads; but as if they had made
an agreement, that every man should follow the laws of his
country and the laws of nature, and, at the same
time that they defiled men with their wicked ac-
tions, they would pollute the Divinity itself also,
they left the dead bodies to putrefy under the sun;
and the same punishment was allotted to such as
buried any, as to those that deserted, which was
no other than death; while he that granted
the favour of a grave to another, would presently stand
in need of a grave himself. To say all in a word,
no other gentle passion was so entirely lost among
them as mercy; for what were the greatest objects
of city did most of all irritate these wrathes, and
they transferred their rage from the living to those
that had been slain, and from the dead to the liv-
ing. Nay, the terror was so very great, that he
who survived called them that were first dead
happy, as being at rest already; as did those that
were under torture in the prisons, declare, that,
upon this comparison, those that lay unburied
were the happiest. These men, therefore, trampled
upon all the laws of man, and laughed at the laws
of God; and for the oracles of the prophets, they
ridiculed them as the tricks of jugglers; yea, they
 spared not even the word concerning the [rewards of] virtue, and [punishments of] vice,
which when these zealots violated, they occasioned
the fulfilling of those very prophecies belonging to
their own country: for there was a certain ancient
oracle of those men, that the city should then be
taken and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war,
when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their
own hand should pollute the temple of God." Now,
while these zealots did not [quite] disbelieve these
predictions, they made themselves the instruments
of their accomplishment.

† This prediction, that the city (Jerusalem) should then "be taken, and the sanctuary burnt by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their own hands should pollute that temple"; or, as it is in v. xxvi. § 9, ser. I., "when any one should begin to stay his countrymen in the city," is waiting in our present copies of the Old Testament, in Eusebius's "Life of St. Remigius," in the "Antiquities" of Josephus, in the "Jewish War" of Flavius Josephus, and in the "Book of Wars" of Josephus. It was not laughed at by the seditionists, who, by very many means, soon exactly fulfilled. However, I cannot but here take notice of Cicero's pathetic assertion upon Macro, xxi. 9, here quoted by Dr. Rushbrooke, Citt.: "It ought to be taken for granted, as a certain truth, that many predictions of the Jewish prophets were answered in their own way, but by necessity." Whereas, it seems to me so far from certain, that I think it has no evidence nor probability at all.

CHAP. VII.

IIow John Tyrannized over theRest; and What Mischiefsthed Zealots Did at Masada; and What Actions Were Performed by Phalaces.

§ 1. By this time John was beginning to tyrannize,
and thought it beneath him to accept of barely de-
signated honours that others had; and joining in to
himself by degrees a party of the most wicked of them
all, he broke off from the rest of the faction. This
was brought about by his still disagreeing with the
opinions of others, and in giving out injunctions of
his own, in a very imperious manner; so that it
was evident he was setting up a monarchical power.
Now some submitted to him out of their fear of him,
and others out of their good-will to him; for he
was a shrewd man to entice men to him, both
by deluding them and putting cheats upon them.
Nay, many there were, though they should be
safer themselves, if the causes of their past insolent
actions should now be reduced to one head, and
not to a great many. His activity was so great,
and that both in action and counsel, that he had
not a few guards about him; yet was there a great
party of his antagonists that left him; among whom
envy at him weighed a great deal, while they
thought it a very heavy thing to be in subjection
to one that was formerly their equal. But the main
reason that moved men against him was the
dread of monarchy, for they could not hope to
put an end to his power, if he had once obtained it;
and yet they knew that he would have this
pretext always against them, that they had oppo-
sed him when he was first advanced; while every
one chose rather to suffer any thing whatsoever in
war, than that, when they had been in a voluntary
slavery for some time, they should afterwards
perish. So the sedition was divided into two parts,
and John reigned in opposition to his adversaries
over one of them: but for their leaders, they
watched one another, nor did they at all, or at
least very little, meddle with arms in their quarrels;
but they sought confusion among the people,
and contended one with another which of them
should bring home the greatest prey. But be-
cause the city had to struggle with three of the greatest
mishapens, war, and tyranny, and sedition, it ap-
peared, upon the comparison, that the war was the
least troublesome to the populace of them all.
Accordingly they ran away from their own homes
to foreigners, and obtained that preservation from
the Romans, which they despaired to obtain among
their own people.

2. And now a fourth misfortune arose, in order
to bring our nation to destruction. There was
a fortress of very great strength not far from Jer-
salem, which had been built by our ancient king,
both as a repository for their effects in the hazard
of war, and for the preservation of their bodies at
the same time. It is called Masada. Those that
were called Sicarii had taken possession of it form-
iously; but at this time they over-ran the neigh-
bouring countries, aiming only to procure to them-
selves necessaries; for the fear they were then in
prevented their future ravages; but when once
they were informed that the Romans lay still,
and that the Jews were divided between sexual
and tyranny, they boldly undertook greater mil-
ters; and at the feast of unleavened bread, which the Jews celebrate in memory of their deliverance from their Egyptian bondage, when they were sent back into the country of their forefathers, they came down by night, without being discovered by those that could have prevented them, and overran a certain small city called Engaddi:—in which expedition they prevented those citizens that could have stopped them, before they could arm themselves and fight them. They also dispersed them, and cast them out of the city. As for such as could not run away, being women and children, these they slew of them above seven hundred. Afterward, when they had carried every thing out of their houses, and had seized upon all the fruits that were in a flourishing condition, they brought them into Masada. And indeed these men laid all the villages that were about the fortress waste, and made the whole country desolate; while there came to them every day from all parts not a few men as corrupt as themselves. At this time all the Jews in the country were in fear, and at rest were in motion, by means of the robbers. Now as it is in a human body, if the principal part be inflamed, all the members are subject to the same distemper, so by means of the sedition and disorder that was in the metropolis had the wicked men that were in the country opportunity to ravage the same. Accordingly, when every one of them had plundered their own villages, they then retired into the desert; yet were these men that now got together and joined in the conspiracy by parties, too small for an army, and too many for a gang of thieves: and thus, as they fell upon the holy places and the cities; yet did it now so happen that they were sometimes very ill treated by those upon whom they fell with such violence, and were taken by them as men are taken in war: but still they prevented any farther punishment as do robbers, who as soon as their ravages are discovered, run their way. Nor was there now any part of Judæa that was not in a miserable condition, as well as its most eminent city also.

2. These things were told Vespasian by deserters; for although the sedition washed all the passages out of the city, and destroyed all, whosoever they were, that came thither, yet were there some who had concealed themselves, and, when they had fled to the Romans, persuaded their general to come to their city's assistance, and save the remainder of the people; informing him withal, that it was upon account of the people's good-will to the Romans that many of them were already slain, and the survivors in danger of the same treatment. Vespasian did indeed already pity the calamities these men had gone through; but, though he was going to besiege Jerusalem, but in reality to deliver them from a [worse] siege they were already under. However he was obliged first to overthorw what remained elsewhere, and to leave nothing out of Jerusalem behind him that might interrupt him in that siege. Accordingly he marched against Gadara, the metropolis of Perea, which is a place of strength, and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dysnus [Adar]; for the men of power had sent an embassy to him, without the knowledge of the seditionists, to treat about a surrender; which they did out of the desire they had of peace, and for saving their effects, because many of the citizens of Gadara were rich men. This embassy the opposite party knew nothing of, but discovered it as Vespasian was approaching near the city. However, they despaired of keeping possession of the city, as being inferior in number to their enemies who were within the city, and seeing the Romans very near to the city; so they resolved to fly, but thought it dishonourable to do it without shedding some blood, and revenging themselves on the authors of this surrender; so they seized upon Doleus (a person not only the first in rank and family in the city, but one that seemed the occasion of sending such an embassy) and slew him, and treated his dead body after a barbarous manner, so very violent was their anger at him, and then ran out of the city. And now as the army was just upon the very point of landing, they came to Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received him from the securit of his right hand, as also a garrison of horsemen and footmen, to guard them against the excursions of the runagates; for as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them so to do, that they might thereby give them assurance that they were lovers of peace, and that, if they had a mind, they could not now make war against them.

4. And now Vespasian sent Placidus against those that had fled from Gadara, with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, while he returned himself to Cesare, with the rest of the army. But as soon as these fugitives saw the horsemen that pursued them just at their backs, and before they came to a close fight, they ran together to a certain village, which was called Bethennabrias, where finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, partly by their own consent and partly by force, they rashly and suddenly assaulted Placidus and the troops that were with him. These horsemen at the first onset gave way a little, as contriving to entice them farther off the wall; and when they had drawn them into a place fit for their purpose, they made their horse encompass them around, and throw their darts at them. So the horsemen cut off the flight of the fugitives, while the foot terribly destroyed those that fought against them; for those Jews did no more than show their courage, and then were destroyed; for as they fell upon the Romans when they were joined close together, and, as it were, walled about with their entire armour, they were not able to find any place where the darts could not at any time be able to break their ranks, while they were themselves run through by the Roman darts, and, like the wildest of wild beasts, rushed upon the points of the others' swords; so some of them were destroyed as cut with their enemies' swords upon their faces, and others were dispersed by the horsemen.

5. Now Placidus's concern was to exclude them in their flight from getting into the village: and causing his horse to march continually on that side of them, he then turned short upon them, and at the same time his men made use of their darts, and easily took their aim at those that were the nearest to them, as they made those that were farther off turn back by the terror they were in, till at last the most courageous of them brake through...
those horsemen and fled to the wall of the village. And now those that guarded the wall were in great doubt what to do; for though they could not bear the thoughts of exposing those that came from Gadar, because of their own people that were among them; and yet if they should admit them, they expected to perish with them, which came to pass accordingly; for as they were crowding together at the wall, the Roman horsemen were just ready to fall in with them. However, the guards prevented them, and shut the gates, when Placidus made an assault upon them, and, fighting courageously till it was dark, he got possession of the wall, and of the people that were in the city, when the useless multitude were destroyed; but those that were more potent ran away; and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country, and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans were upon them, they put them into great fear on every side; so they got together in great numbers, and fled to Jericho, for they knew no other place that could afford them any hope of escaping, it being a city that had a strong wall, and a great multitude of inhabitants. But Placidus, relying much upon his horsemen and his former good success, followed them, and slew all that he overtook, as far as Jordan; and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river-side, where they were stopped by the current (for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not forable) he put his soldiers in array over-against them; so the necessity the others were in, provoked them to hazard a battle, because there was no place whither they could flee. They then extended themselves a very great way along the banks of the river, and sustained the darts that were thrown at them as well as the attacks of the horsemen that beat many of them, and pushed them into the current. At which sight, hand to hand, fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into Jordan was prodigious. There were besides, two thousand and two hundred taken prisoners. A mighty prey was taken also, consisting of asses, and sheep, and camels, and oxen.

6. Now this destruction that fell upon the Jews, as it was not inferior to any of the rest in itself, so did it still appear greater than it really was; and this, because not only the whole of the country through which they had fled was filled with slaughter, and Jordan could not be passed over, by reason of the dead bodies that were in it, but because the lake Asphaltitis was also full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river. And now Placidus, after this good success that he had, fell violently upon the neighbouring smaller cities and villages; when he took Abila, and Julius and Bezemoth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltitis, and put such of the deserters into each of them as he thought proper. He then put his soldiers on board the ships, and slew such as had fled to the lake, insomuch that all Perea had either surrendered themselves, or were taken by the Romans, as far as Machraeus.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW VESPASIAN, UPON HEARING OF SOME COMMOTIONS IN GALL, MADE HAST TO FINISH THE JEWISH WAR. A DESCRIPTION OF JERICHO, AND OF THE GREAT PLAIN; WITH AN ACCOUNT RESPECTING THE LAKE ASPHALTITIS.

§ 1. In the meantime, an account came that there were commotions in Gall, and that Vindex, together with the men of power in that country, had revolted from Nero; which affair is more accurately described elsewhere. This report thus related to Vespasian, excited him to go on briskly with the war; for he foresaw already the civil wars which were coming upon them, nay, that the very government was in danger; and he thought, if he could first reduce the eastern parts of the empire to peace, he should make the wars for Italy the lighter; while therefore the winter was his hindrance [from going into the field], he put garrisons into the villages and smaller cities for their security; he put decurions also into the villages, and centurions into the cities; he besides this rebuilt many of the cities that had been laid waste; but at the beginning of the spring he took the greatest part of his army, and led it from Cesarea to Antipatris, where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city, and then, on the third day, he marched on, laying waste and burning all the neighbouring villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thammas, he passed on to Lydda and Jamnia; and when both those cities had come over to him, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him [from other places] as inhabitants therein, and then came to Emmaus, where he seized upon the passages which led thence to their metropolis, and fortified his camp, and leaving the fifth legion therein, he came to the toparchy of Bethlephem. He then destroyed that place, and the neighbouring places, by fire, and fortified, at proper places, the strong holds all about Idumea; and when he had seized upon two villages, which were in the very midst of Idumea, Betaris, and Caphartobas, he slew above ten thousand of the people, and carried into captivity above a thousand, and drove away the rest of the multitude, and placed no small part of his own forces in them, who overran and laid waste the whole mountainous country; while he, with the rest of his forces, returned to Emmaus, whence he came down through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city, by others called Neapolis (or Sichern) but by the people of that country Mabortha, to Corea, where he pitched his camp, on the second day of the month Desmus [Sivan]; and on the day following he came to Jericho; on which day Trajan, one of his commanders, joined him with the forces he brought out of Perea, all the places beyond Jordan being subdued already.

2. Hereupon a great multitude prevented their approach, and came out of Jericho, and fled to those mountainous parts that lay over-against Jerusalem, while that part which was left behind was in a great measure destroyed; they also found the city desolate. It is situated in a plain; but a naked and barren mountain, of a great length, hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Seychopolis northward, but as far as the country
Sodom, and the utmost limits of the lake Asphaltitidis southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven and uninhabited, by reason of its barrenness: there is an opposite mountain that is situated over against it, on the other side, as the last begins at Julias and the northern quarters, and extends itself southward as far as Somorror, which is the bounds of Petra, in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron Mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab.

Now the region that lies in the middle between these ridges of mountains, is called the Great Plain; it reaches from the village Ginnobrosis, as far as the lake Asphaltitidis; its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and twenty, and it is divided in the midst by Jordan. It has two lakes in it; that of Asphaltitidis, and that of Tiberias, whose nature are opposite to each other; for the former is salt and unfruitful; but that of Tiberias is sweet and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer-time, and, by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholesome air; it is all destitute of water excepting the river Jordan, which water of Jordan is the occasion why those plantations of palm-trees that are near its banks, are more flourishing, and much more fruitful, as those that are remote from it not so flourishing and fruitful.

At the point of its bending westwards, there is a fountain by Jericho, that runs very swiftly, and is very fit for watering the ground: it arises near the old city, which Joshua, the son of Nun, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan, by right of war. The report is, that this fountain, at the beginning, caused not only the blossoming of the earth and the trees, but of the children born of women; and that it was entirely of a scaly and corruptive nature to all things whatsoever, but that it was made gentle, and very wholesome and fruitful, by the prophet Elisha. This prophet was the successor of Elijah, his master, when he once was the guest of the people of Jericho, and the men of the place had treated him very kindly, he both made them amends as well as the country, by a lasting favour; for he went out of the city to this fountain, and threw into the current an earthen vessel full of salt; after which he stretched out his righteous hand unto heaven, and pouring out a mild drink-offering, he made this supplication,—That the current might be mollified, and that the veins of fresh water might be opened: that God also would bring into the place more temperate and fertile air for the current, and would bestow upon the people of that country plenty of the fruits of the earth, and a succession of children; and that this prolific water might never fail them, while they continued to be righteous. To these prayers Elisha joined proper operations of his hands, after a skilful manner, and changed the fountain; and that water, which had been the occasion of barrenness and famine before, from that time did supply a numerous posterity, and afforded great abundance to the country. Accordingly, the power of it is so great in watering the ground, that if it do but once touch a country, it affords a sweeter nourishment than other waters do, when they lie so long upon them, till they are satisfied with them. For which reason, the advantage gained from other waters, when they flow in great plenty, is but slight compared with this. This water is great in that it even flows in little quantities; accordingly it waters a larger space of ground than any other waters do, and passes along a plain of seventy furlongs long, and twenty broad; wherein it affords nourishment to those most excellent gardens that are thick set with trees. There are in it many sorts of palm-trees that are watered by it, different from each other in taste and name; the better sort of them, when they are pressed, yield an excellent kind of honey, not much inferior in sweetness to other honey. This country withal produces honey from bees; it also bears that balsam which is the most precious of all the fruits in that place, cypress-trees also, and those that bear myrrh and aloes; so that he who should pronounce this place to be divine would not be mistaken, wherein is such plenty of trees produced as are very rare, and of the most excellent sort. And indeed, if we speak of those other fruits, it will not be easy to light on any climate in the habitable earth that can well be compared to it,—what is here sown comes up in such clusters: the cause of which seems to me to be the warmth of the air and the fertility of the water; the warmth calling forth the sprouts, and making them spring up, making every one of them take root firmly, and supplying that virtue which it stands need of in summer-time. Now this country is then so sadly burnt up, that nobody cares to come at it; and if the water be drawn up before sun-rising, and after that exposed to the air, it becomes exceeding cold, and becomes of a nature quite contrary to the ambient air: as in winter again it becomes warm; and if you go into it, it appears very gentle. The ambient air is here also of so good a temperature, that the people of the country are clothed in linen only, even when snow covers the rest of Judea. This place is one hundred and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, and sixty from Jordan. The country, as far as Jerusalem, is desert and stony; but that as far as Jordan and the lake Asphaltitidis lies lower indeed, though it be equally desert and barren. But so much shall suffice to have been said about Jericho, and of the great happiness of its situation.

4. The nature of the lake Asphaltitidis is also worth describing. It is, as I have said already, bitter and unfruitful. It is so light [i.e. thick] that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it; nor is it easy for any one to make things sink therein to the bottom, if he had a mind so to do. Accordingly, when Vespasian went to see it, he commanded that some who could not swim, should have their hands tied behind them, and be thrown into the deep, when it so happened that they all swam as if a wind had forced them upwards. Moreover, the change of the colour of this lake is wonderful, for it changes its appearance three times every day; and as the rays of the sun differ upon it, the light is variously reflected. However, it casts up black clods of bitumen in many parts of it; these swim at the top of the water, and resemble both in shape and bigness headless bullets: and when the labourers that belong to the lake come to it, and catch hold of it—it hangs together, they draw it into the ship: but when the ship is full, it is not easy
the rest, for it is so tenuous as to make the ship hang upon its oars till they set it loose with the menstrual blood of women, and with urine, to which alone it yields. This bitumen is not only useful for the caulking of ships, but for the cure of men's bodies: accordingly it is mixed in a great many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, where it is extended as far as Zacar, in Arabia; and its breadth is a hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom borders upon it. It was of old a most happy land, both for the fruits it bore and the riches of its cities, although it be now all burnt up. It is related how, for the impunity of its inhabitants, it was burnt by lightning; in consequence of which there are still the remains of that divine fire; and the traces [or shadows] of the five cities are still to be seen, as well as the ashes growing in their fruits, which fruits have a colour as if they were fit to be eaten; but if you pluck them with your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. And thus what is related of this land of Sodom hath these marks of credibility which our very sight affords us.

CHAPTER IX.

THAT VESPASIAN, AFTER HE HAD TAKEN GADARA, MADE PREPARATION FOR THE Siege of JERUSALEM; BUT THAT, UPON HIS HEARING of the DEATH of NERO, HE CHANGED HIS INTENTIONS: AS ALSO, CONCERNING SIMON of GERSA.

§ 1. And now Vespasian had fortified all the places round about Jerusalem, and erected citadels at Jericho and Adida, and placed garrisons in them both, partly out of his own Romans, and partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa, and delivered to him a body of horsemen, and a considerable number of footmen. So when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men who had not prevented him by flying away; but he took their families captive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder them of their effects; after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages, while the men of power fled away, and the weaker part were destroyed, and what was remaining was all burnt down. And now the war having gone through all the mountainous country, and all the plain country also, those that were at Jerusalem were deprived of the liberty of going out of the city; for as to such as had a mind to desert, they were watched by the zealots; and as to such as were not yet on the side of the Romans, their army kept them in, by compassing the city round about on all sides.

2. Now as Vespasian was returned to Cesarea, and was getting ready with all his army to march directly to Jerusalem, he was informed that Nero was dead, after he had reigned thirteen years and eight days. But as to any manner in which he abused his power in the government, and committed the management of affairs to those vile wretches, Nymphidius and Tigellinus, his unworthy freed-men; and how he had a plot laid against him by them, and was deserted by all his guards, and ran away with four of his most trusty freed-men, and slew himself in the suburbs of Rome; and how those that occasioned his death were, in no long time, brought themselves to punishment; how also the war in Gallia ended; and how Galba was made emperor, and returned out of Spain to Rome; and how he was accursed by the soldiers as a pusillanimous person, and slain by treachery in the middle of the market-place at Rome, and Otho was made emperor; with his expedition against the commanders of Vitellius, and his destruction thereupon; and besides what troubles there were under Vitellius, and the flight that was about the Capitol; as also how Antoninus Primus and Macrinus slew Vitellius, and his German auxiliaries, and thereby put an end to the civil war.

—I have omitted to give an exact account of them, because they are well known by all, and they are described by a great number of Greek and Roman authors; yet for the sake of the connection of matters, and that my history may not be incoherent, I have just touched upon every thing briefly. Wherefore Vespasian put off at first his expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting whether the empire would be transferred after the death of Nero. Moreover, when he heard that Galba was made emperor, he attempted nothing till he also should be advised with him some directions about the war; however, he sent his son Titus to him, to salute him, and to receive his commands about the Jews. Upon the very same errand did king Agrippa sail along with Titus to Galba; but as they were sailing in their long ships by the coasts of Achaia, for it was winter-time, they heard that Galba was slain, before they could get to him, after he had reigned seven months and as many days. After whom Otho took the government, and undertook the management of public affairs. So Agrippa resolved to go on to Rome without any terror on account of the change in the government; but Titus, by a divine impulse, sailed back from Greece to Syria, and came in great haste to Cesarea, to his father. And now they were both in suspense about the public affairs, the Roman empire being then in a fluctuating condition, and did not go on with their expedition against the Jews, but thought that to make any attack upon foreigners was now unseasonable, on account of the solicitude they were in for their own country.

3. And now there arose another war at Jerusalem. There was a son of Giara, one Simon, by birth of Gerasa, the young man, of most trusty and wise, so cunning indeed as John [of Gischala], who had already seized upon the city, but superior in strength of body and courage; on which account, when he had been driven away from that Acrabattene toparchy, which he once had, by Ananus the high-priest, he came to those robbers who had seized upon Masada. At first they suspected him, and only permitted him to come with the women he brought with him into the lower part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of it themselves. However, his manner so well agreed with theirs, and he seemed a trustworthy man, that he went out with them, and ravaged after them, and taught them all about Masada; yet when he persuaded them to undertake greater things, he could not prevail with them to do so; for as they were accustomed to dwell in that citadel, they were afraid of going

* Of these Roman affairs and insurrections under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, here only touched upon by Josephus, see Tacitus, Annals, vii. 52, 53, more largely. However, we may observe with Otho's, that Josephus writes the story of these events in the manner above said; but Otho, with the name. See also the note on ch. 31. sect. 6.
far from that which was their hiding-place; but he affecting to tyrannize, and being fond of greatness, when he had heard of the death of Ananus, left them, and went into the mountainous part of the country. So he proclaimed liberty to those in slavery, and a reward to those already free, and got together a set of wicked men from all quarters.

4. And as he had now a strong body of men about him, he over-ran the villages that lay in the mountainous country, and when there were still more and more that came to him, he ventured to go down into the lower parts of the country, and since he had many men with him, he supposed the cities, many of the men of power were corrupted by him; so that his army was no longer composed of slaves and robbers, but a great many of the populace were obedient to him as to their king. He then over-ran the Acrabattene toparchy, and the places that reached as far as the Great Idumæas; for he built a wall at a certain village called Nain, and made use of that as a fortress for his own party's security; and at the valley called Paran, he enlarged many of the caves, and many others he fenced ready for his purpose; these he made use of as reservoirs, for his treasure, and to receive his prey, and therein he laid up the fruits that he had got by rapine; and many of his partizans had their dwelling in them; and he made no secret of it that he was exercising his men beforehand, and making preparation for the assault of Jerusalem.

5. Whereupon the zealots, out of the dread they were in of his attacking them, and being willing to prevent one that was growing up to be a terror to them, went out against him with their weapons. Simon met them, and joining battle with them, slew a considerable number of them, and drove the rest before him into the city; but durst not trust so much upon his forces as to make an assault upon the walls; but he resolved first to subdue Idumæas, and as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched to the borders of their country. Hereupon the rulers of the Idumæans got together on the sudden the most warlike part of their people, about twenty-five thousand in number, and permitted the rest to be guard to their own country, by reason of the incursions that were made by the Schari that were at Masada. Thus they received Simon at their borders, where they fought him, and continued the battle all that day; and the dispute lay whether they had conquered him or been conquered by him. So he went back to Nain, as did the Idumæans return home. Nor was it long ere Simon came violently again upon their country; when he pitched his camp at a certain village called Thecoe, and sent Eleazar, one of his companions, to those that kept garrison at Herodidium, and in order to persuade them to surrender that fortress to him. The garrison received this man readily, while they knew nothing of what he came about; but as soon as he talked of the surrender of the place, they fell upon him with their drawn swords, till he found he had no place for flight, when he threw himself down from the wall into the valley beneath; so he died immediately: but the Idumæans, who were already much afraid of Simon's power, thought fit to take a view of the enemy's army before they hazarded a battle with him.

6. Now, there was one of their commanders, named Jacob, who offered to serve them readily upon that occasion, but had it in his mind to betray them. He went therefore from the village Alurus, wherein the army of the Idumæans were gotten together and came to Simon, and at the very first he agreed to betray his country to him, and took assurances upon oath from him that he should always have him in esteem, and then promised him that he would assist him in subduing all Idumæas under him; upon which account he was feasted after an obliging manner by Simon, and elevated by his mighty promises; and when he was returned to his own men, he at first belied the army of Simon, and said it was manifold more in number than it was; after which, he dexterously persuaded the commanders, and he agrees the whole multitude, to receive Simon, and to surrender the whole government up to him without fighting; and as he was doing this, he invited Simon by his messengers, and promised him to disperse the Idumæans, which he performed also; for as soon as their army was nigh them, he first of all got upon his horse, and fled, together with those whom he had corrupted: hereupon a terror fell upon the whole multitude; and before it came to a close fight, they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his own home.

7. Thus did Simon unexpectedly march into Idumæas, without bloodshed, and made a sudden attack upon the city Hebron, and took it; wherein he got possession of a great deal of prey, and plundered it of a vast quantity of fruit. Now, the people of the country say, that it is an ancient city, not only than any that in that country, but than Memphis in Egypt, and accordingly its age is reckoned at two thousand and three hundred years. They also relate that it had been the habitation of Abraham, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had removed out of Mesopotamia; and they say that his posterity descended from thence into Egypt, whose monuments are to this very time shown in that small city; the fabric of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner. There is also there shown, at the distance of six furlongs from the city, a very large turpentine-tree; and the report goes, that this tree has continued ever since the creation of the world. Thence did Simon make his progress over all Idumæas, and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but laid waste the whole country; for, besides those that were completely armed, he had forty thousand men that followed him, insomuch that he had not provisions enough to suffice such a multitude. Now, besides this want of provisions that he was in, he was of a barbarous disposition, and bore great anger at this nation, by which means it came to pass that Idumæas was greatly depopulated; and as one may see all the woods behind despoiled of their leaves by locusts, after they have been there, so was there nothing left behind Simon's army but a desert. Some places they burnt down, some they utterly demolished, and whatever grew in the country, they either trod it down or fed upon it, and by their marches they made the ground that was cultivated, harder and more untractable than that which was barren. In short, there was no sign remaining of those places that had been laid waste, that ever they had had a being.

8. This success of Simon excited the zealots...
But now sedition and civil war prevailed, not only over Judea, but in Italy also; for now Galba was slain in the midst of the Roman market-place; then was Otho made emperor, and fought against Vitiatus, who set up for emperor also; for the legions in Germany had chosen him; but when he gave battle to Velleius and Cecina, who were Vitiatus's generals, at Botracum, in Gall, Otho gained the advantage on the first day; but on the second day Vitiatus's soldiers had the victory; and after much slaughter, Otho slew himself, when he had heard of this defeat at Brixia, and after he had managed the public affairs three months and two days. Otho's army also came over to Vitiatus's generals, and he came himself down to Rome with his army; but in the meantime Vespasian removed from Cesarea, on the fifth day of the month Dassius [Sivan], and marched against those places of Judea which were not yet overthrown. So he went up to the mountainous country, and took those two toparchies that were called the Gophnitiek and Aerabattene toparchies. After which he took Bethel and Ephraim, two small cities; and when he had put garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jerusalem, in which march he took many prisoners, and many captives. But Cerealis, one of his commanders, took a body of horsemen and footmen, and laid waste that part of Judea which was called the Idumæan. They attacked Caphathara, which pretended to be a small city, and took it at the first onset, and burnt it down. He also attacked Capharabim, and laid siege to it, for it had a very strong wall; and when he expected to spend a very long time in that siege, those that were within opened their gates on the sudden, and came to beg pardon, and surrendered themselves up to him. When Cerealis had conquered them he went to Hebron, and saw that city an ancient city. I was told that he was in a mountainous country not far off Jerusalem; and when he had broken into the city by force, what multitude and young men were left therein he slew, and burnt down the city; so that now all the places were taken, except Herodium, and Masada, and Macherus, which were in the possession of the robbers, so Jerusalem was what the Romans at present aimed at.

10. And now as soon as Simon had set his wife free, and recovered her from the zealots, he returned back to the remains of Idumea, and driving the nation all before him from all quarters, he compelled a great number of them to retire to Jerusalem; he followed them himself also to the city, and encompassed the wall all round again; and when he lighted upon any labourers that were coming thither out of the country, he slew them. Now this Simon, who was without the wall, was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves, as were the zealots who were within it more heavy upon them than both of the other; and during this time did the mischievous contrivances and courage [of John] corrupt the body of the Galileans; for these Galileans had advanced this John, and made him very potent, who made them a suitable requisition from the authority he had obtained by their means; for he permitted them to do all things that any of them desired to do, while their inclination to plunder was insatiable, as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich; and for the murdering of the men, and abusing of the women, it was sport to them. They also devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood, and indulged themselves in feminine wantonness, without any disturbance, till they were satiated therewith; while they decked their hair and put on women's garments, and were besmeared over with ointments; and that they might appear very comely, they had painted under their eyes, and imitated, not only the ornaments, but also the lutes of women, and were guilty of such intolerable uncleanness, that they invented unlawful pleasures of that sort. And thus did they roll themselves up and down the city, as in a brothel-house, and defiled it entirely with their impure actions: nay, while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands; and when their guilt was effeminate, they presently attacked men, and became warriors, and drew their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, and ran every body through whom they alighted upon. However, Simon waited for such as ran away from John, and was the more bloody of the two; and he who had escaped the tyrant within the wall, was destroyed by the other that lay before the gates. So that all attempts of flying and deserting to the Romans were cut off, if any had a mind so to do.

11. Yet did the army that was under John raise a sedition against him; and all the Idumeans separated themselves from him, and undertook to destroy him, and this out of their envy at his power, and hatred of his cruelty; so they got together, and slew many of the zealots, and drove the rest before them into that royal palace that was built by Grapte, who was a relation of Izates, the king of Adiabene; the Idumeans fell in with them,
and drove the zealots out thence into the temple, and betook themselves to plunder John's effects; for both he himself was in that palace, and therein had he lain up the spoils he had acquired by his tyranny. In the meantime the multitude of those zealots that were dispersed over the city ran together to the temple unto those that had fled thither, and John prepared to bring them down against the people and the Idumeans, who were not so much afraid of being attacked by them, (because they were themselves better soldiers than they,) as at their madness, lest they should privately sally out of the temple and get among them, and not only destroy them, but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together, and the high-priests with them, and took counsel after what manner they should avoid their assault. Now it was God who turned their opinions to the worst advice, and thence they devised such a remedy to get themselves free, as was worse than the disease itself. Accordingly, in order to overthrow John, they desired him also to admit Simon, and warmly pressed him to desire the introduction of a second tyrant into the city; which resolution they brought to perfection, and sent Matthias, the high-priest, to beseech this Simon to come in to them, of whom they had so often been afraid. Those also that had fled from the zealots in Jerusalem joined in this request to him, out of the desire they had of preserving their houses and their effects. Accordingly he, in an arrogant manner, granted them his lordly protection, and came into the city, in order to deliver it from the zealots. The people also made joyful acclamations to him, as their saviour and preserver; but when he came into his palace, he took care to secure his own authority, and looked upon those that had invited him to be no less his enemies than those against whom the invitation was intended.

2. And thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus [Nisan]; whereupon John, with his multitude of zealots, as being both prohibited from coming out of the temple, and having lost their power in the city (for Simon and his party had plundered them of what they had) were in despair of deliverance. Simon also made an attempt upon the temple, with the assistance of the people, while the others stood upon the cloisters and the battlements, and defended themselves from their assaults. However, a considerable number of Simon's party fell, and many were carried off wounded; for the zealots threw their darts easily from a superior place, and seldom failed of hitting their enemies; but having the advantage of situation, and having withal erected four very large towers aforesaid, these their darts might come from higher places, one at the north-east corner of the court, one above the Xystus, the third at another corner over against the lower city, and the last was erected above the top of the Fasophobia, where one of the priests stood of course, and gave a signal beforehand, with a trumpet, at the beginning of every seventh day, in the evening twilight, as also at the evening when the day was finished, as giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work, and when they were to go to work again. These men also set their engines to cast darts and stones withal, upon those towers, with their archers and slingers. And now Simon made his assault upon the temple more faintly, by reason that the greatest part of his men grew weary of that work; yet did he not leave off his opposition, because his army was superior to the others, although the darts which were thrown by the engines were carried a great way, and slew many of those that fought for him.

CHAPTER X.

HOW THE SOLDIERS, BOTH IN JUDAEA AND EGYPT, PROCLAIMED VESPASIAN EMPEROR; AND HOW VESPASIAN RELEASED JOSEPHUS FROM HIS BONDS.

§ 1. Now, about this time it was that heavy calamities came about Rome on all sides; for Vitellius was come from Germany with his soldiers, and drew along with him a great multitude of other men besides. And when the spaces allotted for soldiers could not contain them, he made all Rome itself his camp, and filled all the houses with armed men; which men, when they saw the riches of Rome with those eyes which had never seen such riches before, and found themselves shone round about on all sides with silver and gold, they had much ado to contain their covetous desires, and were ready to betake themselves to plunder, and to the slaughter of such as should stand in their way. And this was the state of affairs in Italy at that time.

2. But when Vespasian had overthrown all the places that were near to Jerusalem, he returned to Cesarea, and heard of the troubles that were at Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor. This produced indignation in him, although he well knew how to be governed, as well as to govern, and could not with any satisfaction own him for his lord who acted so madly, and seized upon the government as if it were absolutely destitute of a governor. And as this sorrow of his was violent, he was not able to support the torments he was under, nor to apply himself farther in other wars when his native country was laid waste; but then, as much as his passion excited him to avenge his country, so much was he restrained by the consideration of his distance therefrom; because fortune might prevent him, and do a world of mischief before he could himself sail over the sea of Italy, especially as it was still the winter season; so he restrained his anger, how vehement soever, it was, at this time.

3. But now his commanders and soldiers met in several companies, and consulted openly about changing the public affairs; and, out of their indignation, cried out, how "at Rome there are soldiers that live delicately, and when they have no ventured so much as to hear the name of war, the ordain whom they please for our governors, and it hopes of gain make them emperors; while you who have gone through so many labours, and are grown into years under your helmets, give leave to others to use such a power, when ye among yourselves one more worthy! any whom they have set up. Now opportunity shall they ever have of re-
generals, if they do not make use of this that is now before them! while there is so much juster reason for Vespasian's being emperor than for Viti- tellius; as they are themselves more deserving than those that made the other emperors; for that they have undergone as great wars as have the troops that come from Germany; nor are they inferior in war to those that have brought that tyrant to Rome, nor have they undergone smaller labours than they; for that neither will the Roman senate, nor people, bear such a licentious emperor as Vit- tellius, if he be compared with their chaste Vespasian; nor will they endure a most barbarous tyrant, instead of a good governor, nor choose one that hath no child,* to preside over them, instead of him that is a father; because the advancement of men's own children to dignities is certainly the greatest security kings can have for themselves. Whether, therefore, we estimate the capacity of governing from the skill of a person in years, we ought to have Vespasian,—or whether from the strength of a young man, we ought to have Titus; for both his years and his strength shall exceed the advantage both their ages, for that they will afford strength to those that shall be made emperors, they having already three legions, besides other auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings, and will have farther all the armies in the east to support them, as also those in Europe, so far as they are out of the distance and dread of Vitellius, besides such auxiliaries as they may have in Italy itself; that is, Vespasian's brother,† and his other son [Domitian]; the one of whom will bring in a great many of those young men that are of dignity, while the other is intrusted with the government of the emperors, which office of his will be no small means of Vespasian's obtaining the government. Upon the whole, the case may be such, that if we ourselves make farther delays, the senate may choose an emperor, whom the soldiers, who are the savours of the empire, will have in contempt.

4. These were the discourses the soldiers had in their several companies; after which they got together in a great body, and, encouraging one another, they declared Vespasian emperor,‡ and exorted him to save the government which was now endangered. Now Vespasian has been for a considerable time about the public, yet did not he intend to set up governor for himself, though his actions showed him to deserve it, while he preferred that safety which is in a private life before the dangers in a state of such dignity; but when he refused the empire, the commanders insisted the more earnestly upon his acceptance; and the soldiers came about him with their drawn swords in their hands, and threatened to kill him, unless he would now live according to his dignity. And when he had shown his reluctance a great while, and had endeavoured to thrust away this dominion from him, he at length, being not able to persuade them, yielded to their solicitations that would salute him emperor.

5. So upon the exhortations of Muchimus and the other commanders, that he would accept of the empire, and upon that of the rest of the army, who cried out that they were willing to be led against all his opposers, he was in the first place most upon gaining the dominion over Alexandria, as knowing that Egypt was of the greatest conse- quence, in order to obtain the entire government, because of its supplying corn [to Rome]; which corn, if he could be master of, he hoped to detrain Vitellius, supposing he should aim to keep the empire by force (for he would not be able to support himself, if the multitude at Rome should once be in want of food); and because he was desirous to join the two legions that were at Alexandria to the other legions that were with him. He also con- sidered with himself, that he should then have but to declare himself, to be a defence to him in the uncertainty of fortune; for Egypt is hard to be entered by land, and hath no good havens by sea. It hath on the west the dry deserts of Libya; and on the south Syene, that divides it from Ethiopia, as well as the eataracts of the Nile, that cannot be sailed over; and on the east the Red Sea, extending as far as Coptus; and it is fortified on the north by the land that reaches to Syria, together with that called the Egyptian Sea, having no haven in it for ships. And thus is Egypt walled about on every side. Its length between Pelusium and Syene is two thousand furlongs, and the passage by sea from Plinthium to Pelusium, is three thousand six hundred furlongs. Its river Nile is navigable as far as the city called Elephantine, the forenamed eataracts hindering ships from going any farther. The haven also of Alexandria is not entered by the mariners without difficulty, even in times of peace; for the passage inward is narrow, and full of rocks, that lie under the water, which oblige mariners to turn from a straight direction: its left side is blocked up by works made by men's hands on both sides; on which right side lies the island called Plauras, which is situated against the entrance, and supports a very great tower, that affords the sight of a fire to such as sail within three hundred furlongs of it, that ships may cast anchor a great way off in the night-time, by reason of the difficulty of sailing nearer. About this island are built very great piers, the handwork of men, against which when the sea dashes itself, and its waves are broken against those boundaries, the navigation becomes very troublesome, and the entrance through the narrow a passage is rendered very dangerous: yet is the haven itself, when you are got into it, a very safe one, and of thirty furlongs in largeness; into which is brought what the country wants, in order to its happiness; as also what abundance the country affords more than it wants itself, is hence distributed into all the habitable earth.

6. Justly, therefore did Vespasian desire to obtain that government, in order to corroborate his attempts upon the whole of the empire; so he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and of Alexandria, and informed him what the army had put him upon, and how he, being forced to accept of the burden of the

* The Roman authors that now remain, say Vitellius had children; whereas Josephus introduces here the Roman soldiers in Judaea saying he had none. Which of these assertions was the truth I know not. Spinzius thinks he has given a peculiar reason for calling Vitellius's children illegitimate, in de Num. p. 609, 610: to which it appears very difficult to give a just answer.

† This brother of Vespasian was Flavius Sabinus, son Statilius in- terpreted, as it is seen in sect. 1, and in Vespasian, sect. 2. He is also mentioned by Josephus, procli. sect. 4.

‡ It is plain by the nature of the thing, as well as by Josephus and Dio Cassius, that Vespasian was first of all called emperor in Judaea, and not till some time afterward in Egypt. Whereas Titus's and Statilius's present epistles must be corrected, when they both say that he was first proclaimed in Egypt, and that on the kalends of July, which was thirty days previously the third of the months of the civil year, before Tiberius Alexander; indeed the kalends of July before he was proclaimed in Judaea. I suppose the month they there intended was June, and not July, as the copies now have it; nor does Titus's omissions imply this, as Essay on the Revelation, page 355.
government, was desirous to have him for his confederate and supporter. Now as soon as ever Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the legions and the multitude to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, both of whom willingly complied with him, as already acquainted with the courage of the man, from his conduct in their neighborhood. Accordingly Vespasian, looking upon himself as already intrusted with the government, got all things ready for his journey to Rome. Now fame carried this news abroad more suddenly than any one could have thought; that he was emperor over the east, upon which every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices and oaths for such good news; the legions also that were in Mysia and Pannonia, who had been in commotion a little before, on account of this insolent attempt of Vitellius, were very glad to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, upon his coming to the empire. Vespasian then removed from Cyrrhus to Syria, where many embassages came to him from Syria, and many from other provinces, bringing with them from every city crowned, and the congratulations of the people. Mucianus came also, who was the president of the province, and told him with what alacrity the people [received the news of his advancement], and how the people of every city had taken the oath of fidelity to him.

7. So Vespasian's good fortune succeeded to his wishes everywhere, and the public affairs were, for the greatest part, already in his hands; upon which he considered that he had not arrived at the government without Divine Providence, but in a righteouse kind of fate had brought the empire under his power; for as he called to mind the other signals, which had been a great many everywhere, that foretold he should obtain the government, so did he remember what Josephus had said to him when he ventured to forestal his coming to the empire while Nero was alive; so he was much concerned that this man was still in bonds with him. He then called for Mucianus, together with his other commanders and friends, and in the first place, he informed them what a valiant man Josephus had been, and what great hardships he had made here under the siege of Jotapata. After that he related those predictions of his \(*\) which he had then suspected as fictions, suggested out of the fear he was in, but which by time been demonstrated to be divine. "It is a shameful thing (said he) that this man who hath foretold my coming to the empire beforehand, and been the minister of a divine message to me, should still be retained in the condition of a captive or prisoner." So he called for Josephus, and commanded that he should be set at liberty; whereupon the commanders promised them several glorious things, from this requis't Vespasian made to a stranger. Then Josephus went with his father, and said, "O father, it is but just that the scandal [of a prisoner] should be taken off Josephus, together with his iron chain; for if we do not barely loose his bonds; but cut them to pieces, he will be like a man that hath never been bound at all." For that is the usual method as to such as have been bound without cause. This advice was agreed to by Vespasian also; so there came a man and cut the chain to pieces; while Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward, and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to futurities also.

CHAPTER XI.

THAT UPON THE CONQUEST AND SLAUGHTER OF VITELLIUS, VESPAlian HASTENED HIS JOURNEY TO ROME; BUT TITUS HIS SON RETURNED TO JERUSALEM.

§ 1. AND NOW, when Vespasian had given answers to the embassages, and had disposed of the places of power justly; and according to every one's desires, he came to Antioch, and consulting which way he had best take, he preferred to go to Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria, because he saw that Alexandria was sure to him already, but that the affairs at Rome were put into disorder by Vitellius; so he sent Mucianus to Italy, and committed a considerable army both of horsemen and footmen to him; yet was Mucianus afraid of going by sea, because it was the middle of winter; so he led his army on foot through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

2. In the meantime Antonius Primus took the third of the legions that were in Mysia, for he was president of that province, and made haste, in order to fight Vespasian; whereupon Vespasian sent Cecina, with a great army, having a mighty confidence in him, because of his having beaten Otho. This Cecina marched out of Rome in great haste, and found Antonius about Cremona in Galli, which city is in the borders of Italy; but when he saw there the enemy was bivouacked in good order, he durst not fight them, and as he thought a retreat dangerous, so he began to think of betraying his army to Antonius. Accordingly, he assembled the centurions and tribunes that were under his command, and persuaded them to go over to Antonius, and this by diminishing the reputation of Vespasian, and by exaggerating the power of Vespasian. He also told them, that with the one there was no more than the bare name of dominion; but with the other was the power of it; and that it was better for them to prevent necessity, and gain favour, and, while they were likely to be overcome in battle, to avoid the danger beforehand, and go over to Antonius willingly; that Vespasian was set of himself to subdue what had not yet submitted, without their assistance, while Vitellius could not preserve what he had already with it.

3. Cecina said this, and much more to the same purpose, and persuaded them to comply with him; and both he and his army deserted; but still the very same night the soldiers repeuted of what they had done, and a fear seized on them, lest perhaps Vespasian who sent them should get the better; and drawing their swords, they assaulted Cecina, in order to kill him; and the thing had been done by

\* As Daniel was preferred by Darius and Cyrus, on account of his being a priest of the temple, as a Babylonian, the greatness of that monarchy was preserved, and the subsequent existence of the Medes and Persians, Dan. v. and vi. As Josephus, when he was a prisoner, was set at liberty, and honourably treated by Nebuchadnezzar, on account of his having foretold the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, Jer. xl. I-7; so was our Josephus set at liberty and honourably treated, on account of his having foretold the expected destruction of Jerusalem. And Josephus is the most eminent instance of the interposition of Divine Providence, and of the mystery of divine predictions in the great revolutions of the four monarchies. Several such-like examples are both, in the serv'd and other histories; as in the case of Joseph in Egypt, and of Judah in the high-priest, in the days of Alexander the Great, &c.

\# This is well observed by Josephus, that Vespasian, in order to secure his success, and establish his government at first, distributed his forces and placed upon the foot of justice, and bestowed on them such as best deserved them, and were best fit for them. Which was no diminution in a mere humane, oath to put those rulers and ministers of state to shame, who, professing Christianity, act otherwise, and thereby expose themselves and their kingdoms to vice and destructions.
them, if the tribunes had not fallen upon their knees, and besought them not to do it: so the soldiers did not kill him, but put him in bonds, as a traitor, and were about to send him to Vitellius. When [Antonius] Primus heard of this, he raised up his men immediately, and made them put on their armour, and led them against those that had revolted; hereupon they put themselves in order of battle, and made resistance for a while, but were soon beaten, and fled to Cremona; then did Primus take his horsemen, and cut off their entrance into the city, and encompassed and destroyed a great multitude of them before the city, and fell into the city together with the rest, and gave leave to his soldiers to plunder it. And here it was that many strangers, who were merchants, as well as many of the people of that country, perished, and among them Vitellius's whole army, being thirty thousand and two hundred, while Antonius lost no more of those that came with him from Marseilles than four thousand and five hundred; he then loosed Cecina, and sent him to Vespasian, to tell him the good news. So he came, and was received by him; and covered the scandal of his treachery by the unexpected honours he received from Vespasian.

4. And now, upon the news that Antonius was approaching, Sabinus took courage at Rome, and assembled those cohorts of soldiers that kept watch by night, and in the night-time seized upon the capitol; and, as the day came on, many men of character came over to him, with Dominian, his brother's son, whose encouragement was of very great weight for compassing the government. Now, Vitellius was not much concerned at this Primus, but was very angry with those that had revolted with Sabinus; and thirsting, out of his natural barbarity, after noble blood, he sent out part of the army which came along with him to fight against the capitol; and many bold actions were done on this side and on the side of those that held the temple. But at last, the soldiers that came from Germany, being too numerous among the others, got the hill in their possession, where Dominian, and many other of the principal Romans, providentially escaped, while the rest of the multitude were entirely cut to pieces, and Sabinus himself was brought to Vitellius and then slain: the soldiers also plundered the temple of its ornaments, and set it on fire. But now within a day's time came Antonius, with his army, and was met by Vitellius and his army; and having had a battle in three several places, the last were all destroyed. Then did Vitellius come out of his palace, in his cups, and satiated with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as in the last extremity, and being drawn along through the multitude, and abused with all sorts of torments, had his head cut off in the midst of Rome, having retained the government eight months and five days: and had he lived much longer, I cannot but think the empire would not have been sufficient for his lust. Of the others that were slain, were numbered above fifty thousand. This battle was fought on the third day of the month Apelleus [Caslen]; on the next day Mucianus came into the city with his army, and ordered Antonius and his men to leave off killing: for they were still searching the houses, and killing many of Vitellius's soldiers and many of the populace, as supposing them to be of his party, preventing by their rage any accurate distinction between them and others. He then produced Domitian, and recommended him to the multitude, until his father should come himself: so the people being now freed from their fear, made acclamations of joy for Vespasian, as for their emperor, an. kep festival-days for his confirmation, and for the destruction of Vitellius.

5. And now, as Vespasian was come to Alexandria, this good news came from Rome, and at the same time came embassies from all his own habitable earth, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and though this Alexandria was the greatest of all cities next to Rome, it proved too narrow to contain the multitude that then came to it. So upon this confirmation of Vespasian's entire government, which was now settled, and upon the unexpected deliverance of the public affairs of the Romans from ruin, Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained unsubdued in Judea. However, he himself made haste to go to Rome, as the winter was now almost over, and soon set the affairs of Alexandria in order, but sent his son Titus, with a selected part of his army, to destroy Jerusalem. So Titus marched on foot as far as Nicopolis, which is distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria; there he put his army on board some large ships, and sailed upon the river along the Mendesian Nymus, as far as the city Tmolus; there he got out of the ships, and walked on foot, and lodged all night at a small city called Tanis. His second station was Heracleopolis, and his third Pelausium; he then refreshed his army at that place for two days; and on the third passed over the mouths of the Nile at Pelausium; he then rested one month in the desert, and pitched his camp at the temple of Casian Jupiter, and on the next day at Ostracine. This station had no water; but the people of the country make use of water brought from other places. After this he rested at Rhinocolura, and from thence he went to Raphia, which was his fourth station. The city is the beginning of Syria. For his fifth station he pitched his camp at Gada; after which he came to Ascalon, and from thence to Jamnia, and after that to Dappa, and from Dappa to Cesarea, having taken a resolution to gather all his other forces together at that place.

* The numbers in Josephus, ch. ix. sect. 2, 3, for Gaul 7 months 2 days, for 8 months 2 days, and here for Vitellius, 8 months 2 days, do not agree with any Roman historians: who also disagree among themselves. And, indeed, Scaliger justly complains, as Dr. Pufendorf observes on chap. ix. sect. 2, that this period is very confused and uncertain in the ancient authors. They were probably some of them con-

† There are coins of this Casian Jupiter still extant, as Späthel here informs us.
BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF NEAR SIX MONTHS.

FROM THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM, TO THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE SEDITIONS AT JERUSALEM, AND WHAT TERRIBLE MISERIES AFFLICTED THE CITY BY THEIR MEANS.

§ 1. WHEN therefore Titus had marched over that desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner forementioned, he came to Cesarea, having resolved to set his forces in order at that place, before he began the war. Nay, indeed, while he was assisting his father at Alexandria, in settling that government which had been newly conferred upon them by God, it so happened that the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and parted into three factions, and that one faction fought against the other; which partition in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of divine justice. Now as to the attack the zealots made upon the people, and which I esteem the beginning of the city's destruction, it hath been already explained after an accurate manner; as also whence it arose, and to how great a mischief it was increased; but for the present sedition, one should not mistake if he called it a sedition begotten by another sedition, and to be like a wild beast grown mad, which for the want of food from abroad, fell now upon eating its own flesh.

2. For Eleazar, the son of Simon, who made the first separation of the zealots from the people, and made them retire into the temple, appeared very angry at John's insolent attempts, which he made every day upon the people; for this man never left off murdering: but the truth was, that he could not bear to submit to a tyrant who set up after him. So he being desirous of gaining the entire power and dominion to himself, revolted from John, and took to his assistance Judas the son of Chelcius, and Simon the son of Eron, who were among the men of greatest power. There was also with him Hexekiah the son of Chobar, a person of eminence. Each of these were followed by a great many of the zealots, these seised upon the inner court of the temple, and laid their arms upon the holy gates, and over the holy fronts of that court; and because they had plenty of provisions, they were of good courage, for there was a great abundance of what was consecrated to sacred uses, and they scrupled not the making use of them; yet were they afraid, on account of their small number; and when they had laid up their arms there, they did not stir from the place they were in. Now as to John, what advantage he had above Eleazar in the multitude of his followers, the like disadvantage he had in the situation he was in, since he had his enemies over his head; and as he could not make any assault upon them without terror, so was his anger too great to let them be at rest; nay, although he suffered more mischief from Eleazar and his party than he could inflict upon them, yet would not he leave off assaulting them, insomuch that there were continual sallies made one against another, as well as darts thrown at one another, and the temple was defiled everywhere with murders.

3. But now the tyrant Simon, the son of Gioras, whom the people had invited in, out of the hopes they had of his assistance in the great distresses they were in, having in his power the upper city, and a great part of the lower, did now make more vehement assaults upon John and his party, because they were fought against from above also; yet was he beneath their situation, when he attacked them, as they were beneath the attacks of the others above them. Whereby it came to pass, that John did both receive and inflict great damage, and that easily, as he was fought against on both sides; and the same advantage that Eleazar and his party had over him, since he was beneath them, the same advantage had he, by his higher situation, over Simon. On which account he easily repelled the attacks that were made from beneath, by the weapons thrown from their hands only; but was obliged to repel those that threw darts from the temple above him, by his engines of war; for he had such engines as threw darts, and javelins, and stones, and that in no small number, by which he did not only defend himself from such as fought against him, but slew moreover many of the priests, as they were about their sacred ministrations; for notwithstanding these men were mad with all sorts of impiety, yet did they still admit those that desired to offer their sacrifices, although they took care to search the people of their own country beforehand, and both suspected and watched them; while they were not so much afraid of strangers, who, although they had gotten leave of them, to come into that court, were yet often destroyed by this sedition: for those darts that were thrown by the engines came with that force, that they went over all the buildings, and the temple itself, and fell upon the priests, and those that were about the sacred offices; insomuch that many persons who came thither with great zeal from the ends of the earth, to offer sacrifices at this celebrated place, which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down before their own sacrifices themselves, and sprinkled that altar which was

4 The Levites.
venerable among all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, with their own blood; till the dead bodies of strangers were mingled together with those of their own country, and those of profane persons with those of the priests, and the blood of all sorts of dead carcasses stood in lakes in the holy courts themselves. And now, "O most wretched city, what misery so great as this didst thou suffer from the Romans, when they came to purify thee from thy intestine hatred? For thou couldst be no longer a place fit for God, nor couldst thou longer continue in being, after thou hadst been a sepulchre for the bodies of thine own people, and hadst made the holy house itself a burying-place in this civil war of thine! Yet mayst thou again grow better, if, previous from henceforth, thou expressest the anguish of that God who is the author of thy destruction."

But I must restrain myself from these passions by the rules of history, since this is not a proper time for domestic lamentation, but for historical narration; I therefore return to the operations that follow in this sedition.

4. And now there were three treacherous factions in the city, the one parted from the other. Eleazar and his party, that kept the sacred first-fruits, came against John in their cups. Those that were with John plundered the populace, and went out with zeal against Simon. This Simon had his supply of provisions in the city, and his name was very resounding. When, therefore, John was assaulted on both sides, he made his men turn about, throwing his darts upon those citizens that came up against him, from the cloisters he had in his possession, while he opposed those that attacked him from the temple by his engines of war; and if at any time he was freed from those that were above him, which happened frequently, from their being drunk and tired, he sailed out with a great number upon Simon and his party; and this he did always in such parts of the city as he could come at, till he set fire on those houses that were full of corn, and of all other provisions. The same thing was done by Simon, when, upon the others' retreat, he attacked the city also; as if they had, on purpose, done it to serve the Romans, by destroying what the city had laid up against the seige, and by thus cutting off the nerves of their own power. Accordingly, it so came to pass, that all the places that were about the temple were burnt down, and were become an intermediate desert space, ready for fighting on both sides; and that almost all the corn was burnt, which would have been sufficient for a seige of many years. So they were taken by the means of famine, which it was impossible they should have been, unless they had thus prepared the way for it by this procedure.

5. And now, as the city was engaged in a war on all sides, from these treacherous crowds of wicked men, the people of the city, between them, were like a great body torn in pieces. The aged men and the women were in such distress by their in-ternal calamities, that they wished for the Romans; and earnestly hoped for an external war, in order to their delivery from their domestic miseries. The citizens themselves were under a terrible consterna-tion and fear; nor had they any opportunity of taking counsel, or of changing their conduct; nor were there any hope of coming to an agreement with their enemies; nor could such as had a mind fly away; for guards were set at all places, and the heads of the robbers, although they were sedi-tious one against another in other respects, yet did they agree in killing those that were for peace with the Romans, or were suspected of an inclination to desert them, as their common enemies. They agreed in nothing but this, to kill those that were innocent. The noise also of those that were fighting was incessant, both by day and by night; but the lamentations of those that mourned exceeded the other; nor was there ever any occasion for them to leave off their lamentations, because their calamities came perpetually one upon another, although the deep consternation they were in prevented their outward wailing; but being constrained by their fear to conceal their inward passions, they were inwardly tormented, without daring to open their lips in groans. Nor was any regard paid to those that were still alive, by their relations; nor was there any care taken of burial for those that were dead, but every one deserted to his own affairs. Nay, John abused the sacred materials, and employed them in the construction of his engines of war; for the people and the priests had formerly determined to support the temple, and raise the holy house twenty cubits higher; for king Agrrippa had at a very great expense, and with very great pains, brought thither such materials as were proper for that purpose, being pieces of timber very well worked seeing, both for their straightness and their largeness: but the war coming on, and interrupting the work, John had them cut, and prepared them for any purpose, he finding them long enough to oppose from them those his adversaries that fought him from the temple that was above him. He also had them brought and erected behind the inner court over-against the west end of the clois-ters, where alone he could erect them: whereas, the other sides of that court had so many steps as would not let them come nigh enough the cloisters.

6. Thus did John hope to be too hard for his enemies by these engines constructed by his in-sincerity; but God himself demonstrated that his pain-

4 This is an excellent reflection of Josephus, including his hopes of the people, very contrary from their reports, see Antiqu. ch. vii. sect. 46, which is the grand "Hope of Israel," as Maimonides in his commentaries, that the things reported by the Sibyl, and the Sibyl herself, about the destruction of Jerusalem, were not meant on that subject, of which the Jewish prophets were every-where full. See the principal of those prophecies collected together at the end of the Essay on the Revelation, page 732, No. 6.

5 This destruction of such a vast quantity of corn and other provi-sions occasioned many yearly losses of the inhabitants, and of the terribile famine, which continued incredible numbers of Jews in Jerusalem, during its siege. Nor globally would the Romans have taken this city, after all, had not those seditions Jews been so inflamed as thus mainly to destroy, what Josephus here justly styles "The nerves of their power."
would prove of no use to him, by bringing the Ro-
man upon him before he had reared any of his 
towers; for Titus, when he had gotten together 
part of his forces about him, and had ordered the 
rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched out of 
Cesarea. He had with him those three legions 
that had accompanied his father, when he laid Ju-
dea waste, together with that twelfth legion which 
had been formerly beaten with Cestius; which le-
gion, as it was otherwise remarkable for its valour, 
sad it march on now with greater alacrity to 
avenge themselves on the Jews, as remembering 
what they had formerly suffered from them. Of 
these legions, he ordered the fifth to meet him, by 
going through Emmaus, and the tenth to go up by 
Jericho; he also moved himself, together with the 
rest; besides whom marched those auxiliaries that 
came from the kings, being now more in number 
than before, together with a considerable number 
that came to his assistance from Syria. Those also 
that had been selected out of these four legions, 
and sent with Mucianus to Italy, had their places 
filled up of these soldiers that came out of 
Egypt with Titus, who were two thousand men, 
chosen out of the armies at Alexandria. There 
followed him also two thousand, drawn from those 
that guarded the river Euphrates; and, as also, 
there came Tiberius Alexander, who was a friend of his, 
most valuable, both for his good-will to him, and 
for his prudence. He had formerly been governor 
of Alexandria, but was now thought worthy to be 
general of the army [under Titus]. The reason of 
this was, that he had been the firs, who en-
couraged Vespasian very lately to accept this his 
new dominion, and joined himself to him with great 
fidelity, when things were uncertain, and fortune 
had not yet declared for him. He also followed 
Titus as a counsellor, very useful to him in this 
war, both by his age and skill in such matters.

CHAPTER II.

HOW TITUS MARCHED TO JERUSALEM, AND HOW HE 
WAS IN DANGER, AS HE WAS TAKING A VIEW OF 
THE CITY. OF THE PLACE ALSO WHERE HE PITCH-
ED HIS CAMP.

§ 1. Now, as Titus was upon his march into the 
every's country, the auxiliaries that were sent by 
the kings marched first, having all the other auxili-
aries with them; after whom followed those who 
were to prepare the roads, and measure out the 
camp; then came the commander's baggage, and 
after that the other soldiers, who were completely 
armed to support them; then came Titus himself, 
with him another select body; and then came the 
pikemen; after whom came the horse 
belonging to that legion. All these came before 
the engines; and after these engines, followed the 
tribunes and the leaders of the cohorts, with their 
select bodies; after these came the ensigns, with 
the eagles; and before those ensigns, came the 
trumpeters belonging to them; next these came 
the main body of the army in their ranks, every 
rank being six deep; the servants belonging to 
every legion came after these; and before these 
last their baggage; the mercenaries came last, 
and those that guarded them brought up the rear. Now 
Titus, according to the Roman usage, went in the 
front of the army after a decent manner, and 
marched through Samaria to Ephraim, a city that 
had been formerly taken by his father but not 
garrisoned by Roman soldiers; and when he 
had lodged there one night, he marched on in the 
morning; and when he had gone as far as a day's 
march, he pitched his camp at that valley which 
the Jews, in their own tongue, call "the Valley of 
Thorns," near a certain village called Gabaoshoul, 
which signifies "the Hill of Saul," being distant from 
Jerusalem about thirty furlongs. There it 
was that he chose out six hundred select horsemen, 
and went to take a view of the city, to observe what 
strength it was, and how courageous the Jews were 
whether when they saw them they came to a direct battle, they would be 
afrighted and submit; for he had been informed, 
what was really true, that the people who were 
fallen under the power of the seditions, and the 
robbers, were greatly desirous of peace; but being 
too weak to rise up against the rest, they lay still.

2. Now, so long as he rode along the straight 
road which led to the wall of the city, nobody 
appeared out of the gates; but when he went out 
of that road, and declined towards the tower 
Peophia, he found the gate open. And, consequently, 
an immense number of the Jews leaped out upon him, 
at the tower called the "Women's Towers," 
through that gate which was over against the monu-
ments of queen Helens, and intercepted his horse 
and standing directly opposite to those that still ran 
along the road, hindered them from joining those 
that had declined out of it. They intercepted Titus 
also, with a few others. Now it was here impossible 
for him to go forward, because all the places 
had trenches dug in them from the wall, to pre-
serve the gardens round about, and were full of 
gardens obliquely situated, and of many hedges; 
and to return back to his own men, he saw it was 
also impossible, by reason of the multitude of 
the enemies that lay between them; many of whom 
did not so much as know that the king was in 
any danger, but supposed him still among them. So he 
perceived, that his preservation must be wholly 
owing to his own courage, and turned his horse 
about, and cried out aloud to those that were about 
him to follow him, and ran with violence into the 
midst of his enemies, in order to force his way 
through them to his own men. And hence we may 
principally learn, that both the success of war, 
and the dangers that kingery are in, are under 
the providence of God; for while such a number of 
darts were thrown at Titus, when he had neither 
his head-piece on, nor his breast-plate, (for, as I 
told you, he went out not to fight, but to view the 
city), none of them touched his body, but went 
aside without hurting him; as if all of them missed 
him on purpose, and only made a noise as they 
passed by him. So he diverted those perpetually 
with his sword that came on his side, and over-

"We may here note, that Titus is here called "a king," and "Omar," by Josephus, even while he was no more than the emperor's son, and his cousin Tiberius Alexander, who was only a general, and even just as the New Testament says "Archelaus reigned," or "was king," (Matt. ii. 23) though he was properly no more than a viceroy, as Josephus 
turned many of those that directly met him, and made his horse ride over those that were overthrow. The enemy indeed made a great shout at the sudden of Caesar, and exhorted one another to rush upon him. Yet did these against whom he marched, fly away, and go off from him in great numbers; while those that were in the same danger with him, kept up close to him, though they were wounded both on their backs, and on their sides; for they had each of them but this one hope of escaping, if they could assist Titus in opening himself a way, that he might not be encompassed round by his enemies before he got away from them. Now, there were two of those that were with him, but at some distance; the one of whom the enemy encompassed round, and slew him with their darts, and his horse also; but the other they slew, as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and came safe to the camp. So this success of the Jews’ first attack, raised their minds, and gave them an ill-grounded hope; and this short inclination of fortune on their side, made them very courageous for the future.

3. But now, as soon as that legion that had been at Emmaus was joined to Caesar at night, he remounted therewith when it was day, and came to a place called Scopus; from whence the city began already to be seen, and a plain view might be taken of the great temple. Accordingly, this place, on the north quarter of the city and adjoining thereto, was a plain, and very properly named Scopus [the prospect]; and was no more than seven furlongs from it. And here it was that Titus ordered a camp to be fortified for two legions that were to be together; but ordered another camp to be fortified, at three furlongs farther distance behind them, for the fifth legion; for he thought, that, by marching in the night, they might be tired, and might deserve to be covered from the enemy, and with less fear might fortify themselves: and, as these were now beginning to build, the tenth legion, who came through Jericho, was already come to the place, where a certain part of armed men had formerly lain, to guard that pass into the city, and had been taken before by Vespasian. These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the mount of Olives, which lies over-against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley, interposed between them, which is named Cedron.

4. Now, when hitherto the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war, now suddenly come upon them after a violent manner, put the first stop to their contentions one against another; and, as the seditious now saw with astonishment the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to think of an awkward sort of concord, and said one to another,—what do we here, and what do we mean, when we suffer three fortified walls to be built to coop us in, that we shall not be able to breathe from hence? and do we securely build a kind of city in opposition to us, and while we sit within our own walls, and become spectators only of what they are doing, with our hands idle, and our armour laid by, as if they were about somewhat that was for our good and advantage. We are, it seems, so did they cry out, only consumed against ourselves, while the Romans are about to consume us. This did encourage one another when they were gotten together, and took their armour immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and bid upon the Romans with great enragedness, and with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. These Romans were caught in different parties, and this in order to perform their several works, and on that account had in great measure laid aside their arms; for they thought the Jews would not have ventured to make a sally upon them; and had they been disposed so as supposed their sedition would have distracted them. So they were put into disorder unexpectedly; when some of them left their works they were about, and immediately marched off, while many ran to their arms, but were smitten and slain before they could turn back upon the enemy. The Jews became still more and more in number, as encouraged by the good success of those that first made the attack; and, while they had such good fortune, they seemed, both to themselves and to the enemy, to be many more than they really were. They described the way of the fighting at this time; the Romans sent a man to a stand, who had been constantly used to fight skillfully in good order, and with keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders that were given them; for which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Now when these Romans were overtaken, and turned back upon the Jews, they put a stop to their career; when they did not take care enough of themselves through the vehemency of their pursuit, they were wounded by them; but, as still more and more Jews rallied out of the city, the Romans were at length brought into confusion, and put to flight, and ran away from their camp. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succours immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice, and brought those back that were running away, and fell himself upon the Jews on their flank, with those select troops that were with him, and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and put them all to flight, and made them run hastily down the valley. Now as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so, when they were gotten over it, they turned about, and stood over-against the Romans, having the valley between them, and there fought with them. Then did they continue the fight till noon; but, when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that came to the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, to prevent the Jews from making any more sallies, and ware sallied fighting at this time; the Romans sent the rest of the legion to the upper part of the mountain, to fortify their camp.

5. This success of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight; and as the watchman, who was placed upon the wall, gave a signal by shaking his garment, there came out a fresh multitude of Jews, and that with such mighty violence, that one might compare it to the running of the most terrible wild beasts. To say the truth, none of those that opposed them could sustain the fury with which they made their attacks; but, as if they had been cast
out of an engine, they brake the enemies' ranks to pieces, who were put to flight, and ran away to the mountain; none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the scorrivity. Now these others, who were his friends, despised the danger they were in, and were ashamed to leave their general, earnestly exhorting him to give way to these Jews that are fond of dying, and not to run into such dangers before those that ought to stay before him; to consider what his fortune was, and not, by supplying the place of a common soldier, to venture to turn back upon the enemy so suddenly; and this because he was general in the war, and lord of the habitable earth, on whose preservation the public affairs do all depend. These persuasions Titus seemed not so much as to hear, but opposed those that ran upon him, and smote them on the face; and, when he had forced them to go back, he slew them: he also fell upon great numbers as they marched down the hill, and thrust them forward; while those men were so amazed at his courage and his strength, that they could not fly directly to the city, but declined from him on both sides, and pressed after those that fled up the hill; yet did he still fall upon their flank, and put a stop to their fury. In the meantime, a disorder and a terror fell again upon those that were fortifying their camp at the top of the hill, upon their seeing those beneath them running away, insomuch that the whole legion was dispersed, while they thought that the sallies of the Jews upon them were plainly insupportable, and that Titus was himself put to flight; because they took it for granted that, if he had staid, the rest would never have fled for it. Thus were they encompassed on every side by a kind of panic fear, and some dispersed themselves one way, and some another, till certain of them saw their general in the very midst of an action, and, being under great concern for him, they loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion; and now shame made them turn back, and they reproached one another, that they did not much the least move from the stakes by Cæsar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews, and declining from the straight declivity, they drove them in heaps into the bottom of the valley. Then did the Jews turn about and fight them; but as they were themselves retiring, and now, because the Romans had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them into the valley. Titus also pressed upon those that were near him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp; while he, and those that were with him before, opposed the enemy, and kept them from doing further mischief; insomuch that, if I may be allowed neither to add anything out of flattery, nor to diminish anything out of envy, but to speak the plain truth, Cæsar did twice deliver that entire legion when it was in jeopardy, and gave them a quiet opportunity of fortifying their camp.

CHAPTER III.

HOW THE SEDITION WAS AGAIN REVIVED WITHIN JERUSALEM, AND YET THE JEWS CONTRIVED SNARES FOR THEIR ROMANS, HOW TITUS ALSO THREATENED HIS SOLDIERS FOR THEIR UNGOVERNABLE RASHNESS.

§ 1. As now the war abroad ceased for a while, the sedition within was revived; and on the feast of unleavened bread, which was now come, it being the fourteenth day of the month Nisan when it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians, Eleazar and his party opened the gates of this [immost court of the] temple, and admitted such of the people as were desirous to worship God into it. But John made use of this festival as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable of his own party, the greater part of whom were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it; which armed men, when they were gotten in, threw their garments away, and presently appeared in their armour. Upon which their was a very great disorder and disturbance about the holy house; while the people who had no concern in the sedition opposed them with a strong assault was made against all without distinction, as the zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from their battlements before they came to an engagement, and fled away into the subterranean caverns of the temple; while the people that stood trembling at the altar, and about the holy house, were rolled on heaps together, and trampled upon, and were beaten both with wooden and with iron weapons without mercy. Such also, as had differences with others, slew many persons that were quiet, out of their own private enmity and hatred, as if they were opposite to the seditious; and all those that had formerly offended any of these plotters, were now known, and were now led away to the slaughter; and, when they had done abundance of horrid mischief to the guiltless, they granted a truce to the guilty, and let these go off that came out of the caverns. These followers of John also did now seize upon this inner temple, and upon all the warlike engines therein, and then ventured to oppose Simon. And thus that sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

2. But Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer to the city than Scopus, placed as many of his choice horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient, opposite to the Jews, to prevent their sallying out upon them, while he gave orders for the whole
turned many of those that directly met him, and made his horse ride over those that were overthrown. The enemy indeed made a great shout at the boldness of Caesar, and exhorted one another to rush upon him. Yet did these against whom he marched, fly away, and go off from him in great numbers; while those that were in the same danger with him, kept up close to him, though they were wounded both on their backs, and on their sides; for they had each of them but this one hope of escaping, if they could assist Titus in opening himself a way, that he might not be encompassed round by his enemies before he got away from them. Now, there were two of those that were with him, but at some distance; the one of whom the enemy encompassed round, and slew him with their darts, and his horse also; but the other they slew, as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and came safe to the camp. So this success of the Jews' first attack, raised their minds, and gave them an ill-grounded hope; and this short inclination of fortune on their side, made them very courageous for the future.

But it happened as was that legion that had been at Emmaus was joined to Caesar at night, he removed thence, when it was day, and came to a place called Scopus; from whence the city began already to be seen, and a plain view might be taken of the great temple. Accordingly, this place, on the north quarter of the city and adjoining thereto, was a plain, and very properly named Scopus [the prospect]; and was no more than seven furlongs from it. And here it was that Titus ordered a camp to be fortified for two legions that were to be together; and also ordered another camp to be fortified, at three furlongs farther distance behind them, for the fifth legion; for he thought that, by marching in the night, they might be tired, and might deserve to be covered from the enemy, and with less fear might fortify themselves; and, as these were now beginning to build, the tenth legion, who came through Jericho, was already come to the place, where a certain part of armed men had formerly lain, to guard that pass into the city, and had been taken before by Vespasian. These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the mount of Olives, which is now called the Mount of Olives, or a city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley, intervened between them, which is named Cedron.

4. Now, when hither to the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war, now suddenly come upon them after a violent manner, put the first stop to their contentions one against another; and, as the seditions now saw with astonishment the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to think of an awkward sort of concord, and said one to another, What do we here, and what do we mean, when we suffer three fortified walls to be built to coop us in, that we shall not be able to breathe freely while the enemy is seriously building a kind of city in opposition to us, and while we sit still within our own walls, and become spectators only of what they are doing, with our hands idle, and our armour laid by, as if they were about somewhat that was for our good and advantage. We are, it seems, so did they cry out, only courageous against ourselves, while the Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed by our sedition. Thus did they encourage one another when they were gotten together, and took their armour immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with great eagerness, and with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. These Romans were caught in different parties, and this in order to perform their several works, and on that account had in great measure raised their arms; for they thought the Jews would not have ventured to make a sally upon them; and had they been disposed so to do they supposed their sedition would have distracted them. So they were put into disorder unexpectedly; when some of them left their works they were about, and immediately marched off, while many ran to their arms, but were smitten and slain before they could turn back upon the enemy. The Jews became still more and more in number, as encouraged by the good success of those that first made the attack; and, while they had such good fortune, they seemed, both to themselves and to the enemy, to be more many than they really were. The disorderly way of their fighting at first put the Romans also to a stand, who had been constantly used to fighting skilfully in good order, and with keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders that were given them; for which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Now when these Romans were overtaken, and turned back upon the Jews, they put a stop to their career; yet, when they did not take care enough of themselves, through the vehemency of their pursuit, they were wounded by them; but, as still more and more Jews sallied out of the city, the Romans were at length brought into confusion, and put to flight, and ran away from their camp. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succours immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice, and brought those back that were running away, and fell upon himself upon the Jews on their flank, and select troops that were towards a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and put them all to flight, and made them run away hastily down the valley. Now as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so, when they were gotten over it, they turned about, and stood over-against the Romans, having the valley between them, and there fought with them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but, when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that came to the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, to prevent the Jews from making any more sallies, and then sent the rest of the legion to the upper part of the mountain, to fortify their camp.

5. This march of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight; and as the watchman, who was placed upon the wall, gave a signal by shaking his garment, there came out a fresh multitude of Jews, and that with such mighty violence, that one might compare it to the running of the most terrible beasts. To say the truth, none of those that opposed them could sustain the fury with which they made their attacks; but, as if they had been cast...
out of an engine, they brake the enemies' ranks to pieces, who were put to flight, and ran away to the mountain; none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the activity. Now these others, who were his friends, despised the danger they were in, and were ashamed to leave their general, earnestly exhorting him to give way to these Jews that are fond of dying, and not to run into such dangers before those that ought to stay before him; to consider what his fortune was, and not, by supplying the place of a common soldier, to venture to turn back upon the enemy so suddenly; and this because he was general in the war, and lord of the habitable earth, on whose preservation the public affairs do all depend. These persuasions Titus seemed not so much as to hear, but opposed those that ran upon him, and smote them on the face; and, when he had forced them to go back, he slew them: he also fell upon great numbers as they marched down the hill, and thrust them forward; while those men were so amazed at his courage and his strength, that they could not fly directly to the city, but declined from him on both sides, and pressed after those that fled up the hill; yet did he still fall upon their flank, and put a stop to their fury. In the meantime, a disorder and a terror fell again upon those that were fortifying their camp at the top of the hill, upon their seeing those beneath them running away, insomuch that the whole legion was dispersed, while they thought that the sallies of the Jews upon them were plainly insupportable, and that Titus was himself put to flight; because they took it for granted that, if he had staid, the rest would never have fled for it. Thus were they encompassed on every side by a kind of panic fear, and some dispersed themselves one way, and some another, till certain of them saw their general in the very midst of an action, and, being under great concern for him, they loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion, and now some made them turn back, and they reproached one another, that they did worse than run away, by deserting Caesar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews, and declining from the straight declivity, they drove them in heaps into the bottom of the valley. Then did the Jews turn about and fight them; but as they were themselves retiring, and now, because the Romans had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them into the valley. Titus also pressed upon those that were near him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp; while he, and those that were with him before, opposed the enemy, and kept them from doing further mischief; insomuch that, if I may be allowed neither to add any thing out of flattery, nor to diminish any thing out of envy, but to speak the plain truth, Caesar did twice deliver that entire legion when it was in jeopardy, and gave them a quiet opportunity of fortifying their camp.

CHAPTER III.

HOW THE SEDITION WAS AGAIN REVIVED WITHIN JERUSALEM, AND YET THE JEWS CONTINUED SNARES FOR THE ROMANS. HOW TITUS ALSO THREATENED HIS SOLDIERS FOR THEIR UNGOVERNABLE RASHNESS.

§ 1. As now the war abroad ceased for a while, the sedition within was revived; and on the feast of unleavened bread, which was now come, it being the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus [Nisan] when it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians, Eleazar and his party opened the gates of this [inmost court of the] temple, and admitted such of the people as were desirous to worship God into it.* But John made use of this festival as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable of his own party, the greater part of whom were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it; which armed men, when they were gotten in, threw their garments away, and presently appeared in their armour. Upon which their was very great order and disturbance about the holy house; while the Jews, who had no concern in the sedition, supposed that this assault was made against all without distinction, as the zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from their battlements before they came to an engagement, and fled away into the subterranean caves of the temple; while the people that stood trembling at the altar, and about the holy house, were rolled on heaps together, and trampled upon, and were beaten both with wooden and with iron weapons without mercy. Such also, as had differences with others, slew many persons that were quiet, out of their own private enmity and hatred, as if they were opposite to the sedition; and all those that had formerly offended any of these plotters, were now known, and were now led away to the slaughter; and, when they had done abundance of horrid mischief to the guiltless, they granted a truce to the guilty, and let these go off that came out of the caverns. These followers of John also did now seize upon this inner temple, and made all the warlike engines therein, and then ventured to oppose Simon. And thus that sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

2. But Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer to the city than Scopus, placed as many of his choice horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient, opposite to the Jews, to prevent their sallying out upon them, while he gave orders for the whole

* Here we see the true occasion of those vast numbers of Jews that were in Jerusalem during this siege by Titus, and perished therein; that the siege began at the Feast of the Passover, when such multitudes of Jews and provincials of the gate were come from all parts of the empire, and from every country, in order to their own festival. See the note, b. vi. ch. 14. sect. 2. Tacitus himself informs us, that the number of men, women, and children, in Jerusalem, when it was besieged by the Romans, as he had been informed, was 600,000. This information must have been taken from the Romans; for Josephus never mentions, on the latter of those that were besieged, or that they knew, that of the vulgar, carried dead out of the gates, and buried in the public burying-ground of the city, as was the number of 600,000, ch. xiii. 2. However, when Cestius Gallus came first to the siege, that sum in Tae-

itsus is no way disgraceful to Josephus's history, though they were become much more numerous when Titus encountered the city.
being seventy cubits high, it both afforded a prospect of Arabia's sun-rising, as well as it did of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. Moreover, it was an octagon, and over against it was the tower Hippicus; and hard by two others were erected by king Herod, in the old wall. These were for largeness, beauty, and strength, beyond all that were in the habitable earth: for besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his magnificence towards the city on other occasions, he built these after such an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own private affections, and dedicated these towers to the memory of those three people who were nearest to him, and from whom he named them. They were his brother, his friend, and his wife. This wife he had slain out of his love [and jealousy], as we have already related; the other two he lost in war, as they were courageously fighting. Hippicus, so named from his friend, was square; its length and breadth each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it had no vacancy in it. Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, there was a reservoir twenty cubits deep, over which there was a house of two stories, whose height was twenty five cubits, and divided into several places, which were battlements of two cubits, and turrets all round of three cubits high, insomuch that the entire height added together amounted to fourscore cubits. The second tower which he named from his brother Phasaelus, had its breadth and its height equal, each of them forty cubits; over which a cloister went round about, whose height was ten cubits, and it was covered from enemies by breastworks and bulwarks. There was also built over that cloister another tower, parted into magnificent rooms and a place for bathing; so that this tower wanted nothing that might make it appear to be a royal palace. It was also adorned with battlements and turrets, more than was the foregoing, and the entire altitude was about ninety cubits; the appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharos, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria, but was much larger than it in compass. This was now converted to a house, wherein Simon exercised his tyrannical authority. The third tower was Mariamne, for that was his queen's name; it was solid as high as twenty cubits; its breadth and its length were twenty cubits, and were equal to each other; its upper buildings were more magnificent, and had greater variety than the other towers had; for the king thought it most proper for him to adorn which was denominated from his wife, better than those denominated from men, as these were built stronger than this that bore his wife's name. The entire height of this tower was fifty cubits. Then as these towers were so very tall, they appeared much taller by the place on which they stood; for that very old wall wherein they were, was built on a high hill, and was itself a kind of elevation that was still thirty cubits taller; over which were the towers situated, and thereby were made much higher to appearance. The largeness also of the stones was wonderful, for they were not made of common small stones, nor of such large ones only as men could carry, but they were of white marble, cut out of the rock; each stone was twenty cubits in length, and ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so exactly united to one another, that each tower looked like one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally, and afterwards cut by the hands of the artificers into present shape and corners; so little not at all, did their marks or connections appear. Now as these towers were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjoined, which exceeded all my ability to describe it; for it was so very curious as to want no cost or skill in its construction, but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits, and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large bed-chambers, that would contain beds for a hundred guests a-piece, in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed; for a large quantity of those towers were covered together. Their roofs were also wonderful, both for the length of the beams and the splendour of their ornaments. The number of the rooms was also very great, and the variety of the figures that were about them was prodigious; their furniture was complete, and the greatest part of the vessels that were put in them was of silver and gold. There were besides many porticoes, one beyond another, round about, and in each of those porticoes curious pilasters; yet were all the courts that were exposed to the air everywhere green. There were moreover several groves, and long walks, with, deep canals, and cisterns, that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There were withal many dove-courts * of tame pigeons about the canals; but, indeed, it is not possible to give a complete description of these palaces; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the robbers hath consumed; for these were not burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plotters; as we have already related, in the beginning of their rebellion. That fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves.

CHAPTER V.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE.

§ 1. Now this temple as I have already said, was built upon a strong hill. At first, the plain at the top was barely sufficient for the holy house and the altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice; but when king Solomon, who was the person that built the temple, had built a wall to it on its east side, there was then added one cloister founded on a bank cast up for it, and on the other parts the holy house stood naked; but in future ages the people added new banks, and the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the

* These dove-courts in Josephus, built by Herod the Great, are in the opinion of Roland, the very same that are mentioned by the heralds, and named by them "Herod's dove-sources." Nay, it is barely reason to suppose otherwise, since in both accounts they were expressly pignaca pigeons which were kept in them.

1 See the descriptions of the temple hereunto belonging, ch. xv. But note, that what Josephus here says of the original dimensions of the Mount Moriah, that it was quite insufficient for the temple, use of that first it held only one cloister, or court of Solomon's building, and that the foundations were forced to be added some utensils afterwards by pleasure, in order it is capable of the cloisters for the other courtyards, &c. in without all foundation in the Scriptures, and not at all confirmed in any text. All that is, or can be true, is this—that when the court of the Gentiles was long afterwards to be covered with cloister, and there was no breadth or depth sufficient for walls to be laid by it, the western part was extended, and the southwards narrowed, the Simon being of exceeding small ground, and the temple supported by great pillars and arches under the ground, and as Josephus speaks elsewhere, Antiqu. b. xvi. ch. 11. sect. 8, and in b. xvi. sect. 9, and where he mentions the temple as many, and describes, p. 109, the external ground on the day
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Wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterward for the compass of the entire temple; and when they had built walls on three sides of the temple round about, from the bottom of the hill, and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for (in which work long ages were spent by them, as well as all their sacred treasures were exhausted, which were still replenished by those tributes which were sent to God from the whole habitable earth), they then encompassed their upper courts with cloisters, as well as they [afterward] did the lowest [court of the] temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of three hundred cubits, and in some places more; yet did not the entire depth of the foundations appear, for they brought earth, and filled up the valleys, as being desirous to make them on a level with the narrow streets of the city; wherein they made use of stones of forty cubits in magnitude; for the great plenty of money they then had, and the liberality, made the stipulation of theirs to succeed to an incredible degree; and what could not be so much as hoped for as ever to be accomplished, was, by perseverance and length of time, brought to perfection.

2. Now, for the works that were above these foundations, these were not unworthy of such foundations; for all the cloisters were double, and the pillars to them belonging were twenty-five cubits in height, and supported the cloisters. These pillars were of one entire stone each of them, and that stone was white marble; and the roofs were adorned with cedar, cunningly graven. The magnificence and excellency, and the harmony of the joints in these cloisters, afforded a prospect that was very remarkable; nor was it on the outside adorned with any work of the painter or engraver. The cloisters [of the outmost court] were in breadth thirty cubits, while the entire compass of it was, by measure, six furlongs, including the tower of Antonia; those entire courts that were exposed to the air were laid with stones of all sorts. When you go through these [first] cloisters, unto the second, they were of a temple, the altars of which were in the temple made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits; its construction was very elegant; upon it stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, and some in Roman letters, that "no foreigner should go within that sanctuary? for that second [court of the] temple was called "the Sanctuary," and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the first court. This court was four-square, and had a wall about it peculiar to itself; the height of its buildings, although it was on the outside forty cubits, was doubled; and the length of height was but twenty-five cubits; for it being built over against a higher part of the hill with steps, it was no farther to be entirely discerned within, being covered by the hill itself. Beyond these fourteen steps there was the distance of ten cubits: this was all plain, whence there were other steps, each of five cubits a-piece, that leads to the gates, which gates on the north and south sides were eight, on each of those sides four, and of necessity two on the east; for since there was a partition built for the women on that side, as the proper place where they were to worship, there was a necessity of a second gate for them; this gate was cut out of its wall, over-against the first gate. There was also on the other sides one southern and one northern gate, through which was a passage into the court of the women; for as to the other gates, the women were not allowed to pass through them; nor when they went through their own gate could they go beyond their own wall. This place was allotted to the women of our own country, and of other countries, provided they were of the same nation, and that equally; the western part of this court had no gate at all, but the wall was built entirely on that side; but then the cloisters which were betwixt the gates, extended from the wall inward, before the chambers; for they were supported by very fine and large pillars. These cloisters were single, and, excepting their magnitude, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

3. Now nine of these gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver, as were the jambs of their doors and their lintels; but there was one gate that was without [the inward court of] the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold. Each gate had two doors, whose height was severally thirty cubits, and their breadth fifteen. However, they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side rooms, and those, both in breadth and in length, built like towers, and their height was above forty cubits. Two pillars did also support these rooms, and were in circumference twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal to another; but that the Corinthian gate, which opened into the court over against the gate of the holy house itself, was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits; and its doors were forty cubits; and it was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other. These nine gates had that silver and gold poured upon them by Alexander, the father of Tiberius. Now there were fifteen steps, which led away from the wall of the court of the women to this greater gate; whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter.

4. As to the holy house itself, which was placed in the midst [of the inmost court] that most sacred part of the temple, it was ascended to by twelve steps; and in front its height and its breadth were equal, and each a hundred cubits, though it was behind thirty cubits narrower; for on its front it had what may be styled shoulders on each side, that passed twenty cubits farther. Its first gate was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five cubits broad; but this gate had no doors; for it represented the umbilicus, or waist, of Heaven, and that it cannot be excluded from any place. Its front was covered with gold all over, and through it the first part of the house, that was more inward did all of it appear; which, as it was very large, so did all the parts of the more inward appear to shine to those that saw them; but as the entire house was divided into
within, it was only the first part of it that was open to our view. Its height extended all along to ninety cubits in height, and its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty; but that gate which was at this end of the first part of the house was, as we have already observed, all over covered with gold, as was its whole wall about it: it had also golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man's height; but then this house, as it was divided into two parts, the inner part was lower than the appearance of the outer, and had golden doors of fifty-five cubits altitude, and sixteen in breadth; but before these doors there was a veil of equal largeness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curian, embroidered with blue and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple, and of a con-
texture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colours without its mystical interpreta-
tion, but was a kind of image of the universe; for by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine flax the earth, by the blue the sky; and by the purple those two of them having their colours this foundation of their resemblance; but the fine flax and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one, and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the [twelve] signs, representing living creatures.

5. When any person entered into the temple, its floor received them. This part of the temple therefore was in height sixty cubits, and its length the same; whereas its breadth was but twenty cubits; but still that sixty cubits in length was divided again, and the first part of it cut off at forty cubits, and had in it three things that were very wonderful and famous among all mankind; the candlestick, the table [of shew-bread], and the altar of incense. Now the seven lamps signified the seven planets; for so many there were springing out of the candlestick. Now, the twelve loaves that were upon the table signified the circle of the zodiac and the year; but the altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of sweet-smelling spices with which it was replenished, signified that God is possessor of all things that live in the universe habitable and habitable parts of the earth, and that they are all to be dedicated to his use. But the innmost part of the temple of all was twenty cubits. This was also separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all. It was inaccessible and inviolable, and not to be seen by any; and was called the Holy of Holies. Now, about the sides of the lower part of the temple there were little houses, with passages out of one into another; there were a great many of them, and they were three stories high; there were also entrances on each side into them from the gate of the temple. But the superior part of the temple had no such little houses any farther, because the temple was there narrower, and forty cubits higher, and of a smaller body than the lower parts of it. Thus we collect that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to a hundred cubits.

6. Now the outward face of the temple in its front wanted nothing but was likely to surprise either men's minds or their eyes: for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and, at the first rising of the sun, reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for, as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. On its top it had spikes with sharp points, to prevent any pollu-
tion of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones, some of them were forty-five cubits in length, in height, and in breadth. Before this temple stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth; each of which dimensions was fifty cubits. The figure it was built in was a square, and it had corners like horns; and the passage up to it was by an insensible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch it at any time. There was a wall of partition, about a cubit in height, made of fine stones, and so as to be grateful to the sight; this encompassed the holy house and the altar, and kept the people that went on the courses of the temple from those that had the consecrations and the leprosy were excluded out of the city entirely; women also, when their courses were upon them, were shut out of the temple; nor when they were free from that impurity, were they allowed to go beyond the limit before-mentioned; men also, that were not thoroughly pure, were prohibited to come into the inner [court of the] temple; my, the priests themselves that were not pure, were prohibited to come into it also.

7. Now all those of the stock of the priests that could not minister by reason of some defect in their bodies, came within the partition together with those that had no such imperfection, and had their share with them by reason of their stock, but still made use of none except their own private garments; for nobody but he that officiated had on his sacred garments; but then these priests that were without any blemish upon them, went up to the altar clothed in fine linen. They abstained chiefly from wine, out of this fear, lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their minis-
tration. The high-priest did also go up with them; not always indeed, but on the great and new moons, and if any festival belonging to our nation, which we celebrate every year, happened. When he officiated, he had on a pair of breeches that reached beneath his privy parts to his thighs, and had on an inner garment of linen, together with a blue garment, round, without seam, with fringe-work, and reaching to the feet. There were also golden bells that hung upon the fringes, and pomegranates intermixed among them. The bells signified thunder, and the pomegranates lightning. But that circle that tied the garment to the breast, was embroidered with various colours of gold, and purple, and scarlet, as also of fine linen and blue; with which colours, we told you before, the veils of the temple were embroidered also. The like embroidery was upon the ephod; but the quantity of gold therein was greater. Its figure was that of a stomacher for the breast. There were upon it two golden buttons like small shields, which buttoned the ephod to the garment; in these buttons were enclosed two very large and very excellent sardonyxes, having the names of the tribes of that nation engraved upon them: on the other part were hung twelve stones, three in a row one way, and four in the other; a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald: a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire;
an agate, an amethyst, and a figure; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysoprase; upon every one of which was engraved one of the forementioned names of the tribes. A mitre also of fine linen encompassed his head, which was tied by a blue riband, about which there was another golden crown, in which was engraven the sacred name [of God]: it consists of four vowels. However, the high-priest did not wear these garments at other times, but a more plain habit; he only did it when he went into the most sacred part of the temple, which he did but once a year, on that day when our custom is for all of us to keep a fast to God. And thus much concerning the city and the temple; but for the customs and laws hereto relating, we shall speak more accurately another time; for there remain a great many things thereto relating, which have not been here touched upon.

8. Now, as to the tower of Antonia, it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple; of that on the west, and that on the north; it was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice; it was the work of king Herod, wherein he demonstrated his natural magnanimity. In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth pieces of stone, from its foundation, both for ornament, and that any one who would either try to get over or to go down it, might not be able to hold his feet upon it. Next to this, and before you come to the edifice of the tower itself, there was a wall three cubits high; but within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia itself was built upon, to the height of forty cubits. The inward parts had the largeness and form of a palace, it being parted into all kinds of rooms and other conveniences, such as courts, and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps; insomuch that, by having all conveniences that cities wanted, it might seem to be composed of several cities, but by its magnificence, it seemed a palace; and as the entire structure resembled that of a tower, it contained also four other distinct towers at its four corners; whereof the others were but fifty cubits high; whereas that which lay upon the south-east corner was seventy cubits high, that from thence the whole temple might be viewed; but on the corner where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guard (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion) went several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations; for the temple was a fortress that guarded the city, as was the tower of Antonia a guard to the temple; and in that tower were the guards of those three.

There was also a peculiar fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod's palace; but for the hill Bezotha, it was divided from the tower of Antonia, as we have already told you; and as that hill on which the tower of Antonia stood, was the highest of these three, so did it adjure to the new city, and was the only place that hindered the sight of the temple on the north. And this shall suffice at present to have spoken about the city and the walls about it, because I have proposed to myself to make a more accurate description of it elsewhere.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE TYRANTS SIMON AND JOHN. HOW ALSO, AS TITUS WAS GOING AROUND THE WALL OF THE CITY, NICANOR WAS WOUNDED BY A DART; WHICH ACCIDENT PROVOKED TITUS TO PRESS ON THE SIEGE.

§ 1. Now the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditious that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumeans. Those ten thousand had fifty commanders, over and above this Simon one supreme. The Idumeans that paid him homage were five hundred; and among these commanders, among whom those of the greatest fame were Jacob, the son of Sossas, and Simon, the son of Cathias. John, who had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men, under twenty commanders; the zealots also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred, and had the same commander they had formerly, Eleazar, together with Simon, the son of Arius. Now, while these factions fought one against another, the people were their prey on all sides, as we have said already; and that great number of the people who would not join with them in their wicked practices, were plundered by both factions. Simon held the upper city, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as went from Siloam to the east, and which went down to the palace of Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabeni, beyond Euphrates; he also held the fountain, and the Acre, which was no other than the lower city; he also held all that reached to the palace of queen Helens, the mother of Monobazus; but John held the temple, and the parts thereto adjoined, for a great way, as also Ophla, and the valley called the "Valley of Cedron"; and when the parts that were interposed between their possessions were burnt by them, they left a space wherein they might fight with each other; for this internal sedition did not cease, even when the Romans were encamped near their very walls. But although they had grown wiser, at the first onset the Romans made upon them, this lasted but a while; for they returned to their former madness, and separated from each other, and fought it out, and did every thing that the besiegers could desire them to do; for they never suffered any thing that was worse from the Romans than they made each other suffer; nor was there any misery endured by the city after these men's actions that could be esteemed new. But it was most of all unhappy before it was overthrown, while those that took it did it a greater kindness; for I venture to affirm, that the sedition destroyed the city, and the Romans destroyed the sedition, which it was a much harder thing to do than to destroy the walls; so that we may justly ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, and the just vengeance taken on them by the Romans; as to which matter let every one determine by the actions on both sides.

2. Now, when affairs within the city were in this posture, Titus went round the city on the outside with some chosen horsemen, and looked about for a proper place where he might make an impression upon the walls; but as he was in doubt where he could possibly make an attack on any side (for the place was no way accessible where the valleys were, and on the other side the first wall
appeared too strong to be shaken by the engines), I therefore thought it best to make his assault upon the monument of John the high-priest; for there it was that the first fortification was lower, and the second was not joined to it, the builders neglecting to build the wall strong where the new city was not much inhabited; here also was an easy passage to the third wall, through which he thought to take the upper city, and, through the tower of Antonia, the temple itself. But at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends, whose name was Necanor, was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached, together with Joseph, the high priest, and another man, and he attempted to discourse to those that were upon the wall, about terms of peace; for he was a person known by them. On this account it was that Caesar, as soon as he knew their vehemence, that they would not bear even such as approached them to what tended to their own preservation, provoked to press on the siege. He also at the same time gave his soldiers leave to set the suburbs on fire, and ordered that they should bring timber together, and raise banks against the city; and, when the Jews had built two and a half walls, in order to set about those works, he placed those that shot darts and the archers in the midst of the banks that were then raising; before whom he placed those engines that threw javelins, and darts, and stones, that he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works, and might hinder those that were upon the wall from being able to obstruct them. So the trees were now cut down immediately, and the suburbs left naked. But now while the timber was carrying to raise the banks, and the whole army was earnestly engaged in their works, the Jews were not, however, quiet; and it happened that the people of Jerusalem, who had been hitherto plundered and murdered, were now of good courage, and supposed they should have a breathing-time, while the others were very busy in opposing their enemies without the city, and that they should now be avenged on those that had been the authors of their miseries, in case the Romans did but get the victory.

3. However, John stood behind, out of his fear of Simon, even while his own men were earnest in their efforts against the walls without; and yet did not Simon lay still, for he lay near the place of the siege: he brought his engines of war, and disposed of them at due distances upon the wall, both those which they took from Cestius formerly, and those which they got when they seized the Garrison that lay in the tower of Antonia. But though they had these engines in their possession, they had so little skill in using them, that they were in a great measure useless to them; but a few there were who had been taught by deserters how to use them, which they did use, though after an awkward manner. So they cast stones and arrows at those that were making the banks; they also ran out upon them by companies, and fought with them. Now those that were at work covered themselves with hurdles spread over their banks, and their engines were opposed to them when they made their excursions. The engines, that all the legions had ready prepared for them, were admirably contrived; but still more extraordinary ones belonged to the third legion: those that threw darts and those that threw stones, were more formidable and larger than the rest, by which they not only repelled the excursions of the Jews, but drove those away that were upon the walls also. Now, the stones that were cast, were of the weight of a talent, and were carried two furlongs and farther. The blow they gave was no way to be sustained, not only by those that stood first in the way, but by those that were beyond them for a great space. As for the Jews, they at first watched the coming of the stone, for it was of a white colour, and could therefore not only be perceived by the great noise it made, but could be seen also before it came, by its brightness; accordingly, the watchmen that sat upon the towers gave them notice when the engine was let go, and the stone came from it, and cried out in their own country language, "The son comes!" so that those were in its way stood off, and threw themselves down upon the ground; by which means, and by their Thus guarding themselves, the stone fell down and did them no harm. But the Romans contrived how to prevent that, by blacking the stones, which those, who knew them, made use of the same way after the battle of Aegospotami, so as to render them invisible to the eye, and they now used them in the same manner; and the Roman engines used in raising the banks in quiet, but they did not fraudulently and boldly exerted themselves, and repelled them both by night and by day.

4. And now, upon the finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was from the wall, and this by lead and line, which they threw to it from their banks; for they could not measure it any otherwise, because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves; and when they found that the engines could reach the wall, they brought them thither. Then did Titus set his engines at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them, and gave orders that they should go to work; and when thereupon a prodigious noise echoed round about from three places, and that on the sudden there was a great noise made by the citizens that were within the city, and no less a terror fell upon the seditious themselves; whereupon both sorts, seeing the common danger they were in, conformed to make a like defence. So these of different factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as in concert with their enemies; whereas, they ought, however, notwithstanding the Roman contrivance and their own rashness.

What should be the meaning of this signal or watchword, when the watchmen saw a mass coming from theengine, "May our most beloved and beloved by what mistake there is in the reading, I cannot tell. The MSS. both Greek and Latin, agree in this reading: and I cannot approve of any groundless conjectural alteration of the text from DT06, to DT16; for if the word be a proper name, it cannot be a -stone, but that the arrow or dart carried from Cestius has DT16 been made by Dr. Hudson, and not corrected by Newberry. But the MSS. both Greek and Latin, agree in his first edition. Dr. Bright, the editor of the Hebrew, or had the Jews then used the pure Hebrew at Jerusalem, the manuscript was not so good as he supposes, for he says there is no El in the Hebrew, and in that case a correction might have been made only advised. But Josephus writes his former edition for the one of the Jews beyond Ephraim, and on in the Chaldee language: now he did this second edition in the Greek language; and so was the Greek word for son, instead of the Hebrew bin, and was used, not only in Chaldee, but that in Aramaic, as the New Testament informs us. And also lets us know, that the very Romans of Josephus, made the same divagation of El to El, and also of Bar Giora, as we learn from Xenophon, p. 257. Eusebius takes note, "Thus many will here look for a mystery, as though the meaning were, that the stone had come now to the Jews, without the Jews nation; which is indeed the truth of the fact, but hardly what the Jews could have meant; nor can it be the case that we have a threatening so oft, that he would come at the head of the Romans away for their destruction. But even this may be the degree of probability. If I were to make an assignment by more conjectures, I would read ΠΕΙΣΟΤ instead of DT06, though the likeness be not so great in DT16, because that is the word used by Josephus just before, as has been already noted on this very occasion, while DT06 the arrow or dart, is only a poetical word, and never used by Josephus, when here, and is indeed not writable in the ancient this engine is discharging arrows or darts, but great stones, at this time.
standing God did not grant them a lasting concord, in these present circumstances, to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly, Simon gave those that came from the temple leave, by proclamation, to go upon the wall; John also himself, though he could not believe Simon was in earnest, gave them the same leave. So on both sides they laid aside their hatred and their peculiar quarrels, and formed themselves into one body; they then ran round the walls, and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw them at the machines, and shot darts perpetually upon those that impelled those engines which battered the wall; nay, the bolder sort leaped out by troops upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those that belonged to them, and beat them, not so much by any skill they had, as principally by the boldness of their attacks. However, Titus himself sent assistance to those that were the hardest set, and placed both horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought the fire to them; he also thereby repelled those that should have burnt or even killed the towers themselves; the engines to work in good earnest; yet did not the wall yield to these blows, excepting where the battering-ram of the fifteenth legion moved the corner of a tower, while the wall itself continued unhurt; for the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower, which was extant far above it; nor could the fall of that part of the tower, easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it.

§ 1. Now, on the next night, a most surprising disturbance fell upon the Romans; for whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of three towers of fifty cubits high, that by setting men upon them at every bank, he might from thence drive those away who were upon the wall, it so happened that one of these towers fell down about midnight; and as its fall made a very great noise, fear fell upon the army, and they, supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them, ran all to their arms. Whereupon a disturbance and a tumult arose among the legions, and as nobody could tell what had happened, they went on after a disconsolate manner; and seeing no enemy appear, they were afraid one of another, and every one demanded of his neighbour the watch-word with great earnestness, as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now they were like people under a panic fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with it; and then, though with some difficulty, they got clear of the disturbance they had been under.

§ 2. Now, the machines were very troublesome to the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously; for they shot at them out of their lighter engines than those towers, as they did also by those that threw darts, and the archers, and those that slung stones. For neither could the Jews reach those that were over them, by reason of their height; and it was not practicable to take them, nor to overturn them, they were so heavy, nor to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron. So they retired out of the reach of the darts, and did no longer endeavour to hinder the impression of their rams, which, by continually beating upon the wall, did gradually prevail against it; so that the wall already gave way to the Nico, for by that name did the Jews themselves call the greatest of their engines, because it conquered all things. And now, they were for a long while grown weary of fighting, and of keeping guards, and were retired to lodge in the night-time at a distance from the wall. It was on other accounts also thought by them to be superfluous to guard the wall, there being, besides that, two other fortifications still remaining, and they being aloft.
ful, and their counsels having been ill-concerted on all occasions; so a great many grew lazy, and retreated. When the Romans mounted the breach, while Nico had made one, and all the Jews left the guarding the wall, and retreated to the second wall; so those that had gotten over the wall, opened the gates, and received all the army within it. And thus did the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artemisius [Jyar], when they demolished a great part of it, as well as they did of the northern parts of the city, which had been demolished also by Cestus formerly.

And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called "the camp of the Assyrians," having seized upon all that lay as far as Cedron, but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews' darts. He then presently began his attacks, upon which the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended that wall; while John and his faction did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple, and fought the Romans before the monument of king Alexander; and Simon's army also took for their share the spot of ground that was near their station, and fortified it as far as to that gate where water was brought in to the temple Hippicus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and that frequently also, and in bodies together out of the gates, and there fought the Romans; and when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those fights, as wanting the skill of the Romans. But when they fought them from the walls, they were too hard for them, the Romans being encouraged by their power, joined to their skill, as were the Jews by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that hardness which is natural to our nation under calamities; they were also encouraged still by the hope of deliverance, as were the Romans by the hopes of subduing them in a little time. Nor did either side grow weary; but attacks and fightings upon the wall, and perpetual sallies out in bodies were practised all the day long; nor were there any sort of warlike engagements that were not then put in use. And the night itself had much ado to part them, when they began to fight in the morning; nay, the night itself was passed without sleep on both sides, and was more uneasy then the day to them, while the one was afraid lest the wall should be taken, and the others lest the Jews should make sallies upon their camps; both sides also lay in their armour during the night-time, and thereby were ready at the appearance of light to go to the battle. Now, among the Jews the ambition was who should undergo the first dangers, and thereby gratify their commanders. Above all, they had a great veneration and dread of Simon; and to that degree was be regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command they were ready to kill themselves with their own hands. What made the Romans so courageous, was their usual custom of conquering and bleeding off in being defeated, their constant wars, and perpetual warlike exercises, and the grandeur of their dominion; and what was now the chief encouragement.—Titus, who was present everywhere with them all; for it appeared a terrible thing to grow weary while Caesar was there, and fought bravely as well as they did, and was himself at once an eye-witness of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and he who was to reward them also. It was besides esteemed an advantage at present not to have any further assistance from Caesars, who account many of them appeared to have more alacrity than strength to answer it. And now, as the Jews were about this time standing in array before the wall, and that in a strong body, and while both parties were throwing their darts at each other, Longinus, one of the equestrian order, leaped out of the army of the Romans, and leaped into the very midst of the army of the Jews; and as they dispersed themselves upon this attack, he slew two of their men of the greatest courage; one of them he struck in his mouth, as he was coming to meet him; the other was slain by that very dart that he drew out of the body of the other, with which he ran this man through his side as he was running away from him; and when he had done this, he first of all ran out of the midst of his enemies to his own side. So this man signaled himself for his valour, and many there were who were ambitious of gaining the like reputation. And now the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered themselves from the Romans, and were only solicitous about what mischief they could do them; and death itself seemed a small matter to them. If at the same time they could only kill one of their enemies. But Titus took care to secure his own soldiers from harm, as well as to have them overcome their enemies. He also said that inconsiderate violence was madness; and that this alone was the true courage that was joined with good conduct. He therefore commanded his men to take care, when they fought their enemies, that they received no harm from them at the same time; and thereby showed themselves to be truly valiant men.

And now Titus brought one of his engines to the middle of the north part of the wall, in which a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the arrows. These men lay still for a while, as in great fear, under their breast-plates; but when the wall was shaken, they arose; and Castor did then stretch out his hand, as a petitioner, and called for Caesar, and by his voice moved his compassion, and begged of him to have mercy upon them: and Titus in the innocence of his heart, believing him to be causing, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, and with the working of the battering-ram, and forbade them to shoot at the petitioners, and bade Castor say what he had a mind to say to him. He said that he would come down, if he would give him his right hand for his security. To which Titus replied, that he was well pleased with such an agreeable conduct, and would be well pleased if all the Jews would be of his mind; and that he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now five of the ten dissembled with him, and pretended to beg mercy; while the rest cried out aloud, that they would never be slaves to the Romans, while it was in their power they could taste of freedom. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed; Castor also sent to Simon, and told him that they might take some time for consultation about what was to be done, because he would decline the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent thus to him, he appeared openly to exhort those that were obstinate to accept of Titus's hand for their security; but they seemed very angry at,
and brandished their naked swords upon the breastworks, and struck themselves upon their breast, and fell down as if they had been slain. Hereupon Titus, and those with him were amazed at the courage of the men; and as they were not able to see exactly what was done, they admired at their great fortitude, and piled their calamity. During this interval, a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in his nose; whereupon he presently pulled out the dart, and showed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment; so Caesar reproved him that shot the dart, and sent Josephus, who then stood by him, to give his right hand to Castor. But Josephus said that he would not go to him, because these pretended petitioners meant nothing that was good; he also restrained those friends of his who were zealous to go to him. But still there was one Xenas, a deserter, who said he would go to him. Castor also called to them, that somebody should come and receive the money which he had with him; this made Xenas the more earnestly to run to him with his bosom open. Then did Castor take up a great stone, and threw it at him, which missed him, because he guarded himself against it; but still it wounded another soldier that was coming to him. When Caesar understood that this was a delusion, he perceived that mercy in war is a pernicious thing, because such cunning tricks have less place under the exercises of greater severity. So he caused the engine to work more strongly than before, on account of his anger at the deceit put upon him. But Castor and his companions set the tower on fire when it began to give way, and leaped through the flame into a hidden vault that was under it; which made the Romans further suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW THE ROMANS TOOK THE SECOND WALL TWICE, AND GOT ALL READY FOR TAKING THE THIRD WALL.

§ 1. Now Caesar took this wall there on the fifth day after he had taken the first; and when the Jews had fled from him, he entered into it with a thousand armed men, and those of his choice troops, and this at a place where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market for cloth, and where the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall. Wherefore, if Titus had either demolished a larger part of the wall immediately, or had come in, and according to the law of war, had laid so much as was left, his victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any loss to himself; but now, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by not being willing, when he was able to afflict them more than he needed to do, he did not widen the breach of the wall in order to make a safer retreat upon occasion; for he did not think they would lay snares for him that did them such a kindness. When therefore he came in, he did not permit of his soldiers to kill any of those who were taken, nor yet to destroy their houses neither; nor, by giving leave to the seditionists if they had a mind, to fight without any harm to the people, and promised to restore the people's effects to them; for he was very desirous to preserve the city for his own sake, and the temple for the sake of the city. As to the people, he had them of a long time ready to comply with his proposals; but as to the fighting men, this humanity of his seemed a mark of his weakness; and they imagined that he made these proposals because he was not able to take the rest of the city. They also threatened death to the people, if they should refuse any one of them say a word about a surrender. They moreover cut the throats of such as talked of a peace, and then attacked those Romans that were come within the wall. Some of them they met in the narrow streets, and some they fought against from their houses, while they made a sudden sally out at the upper gates, and assaulted such Romans as were beyond the wall, till those that guarded the wall were so affrighted, that they leaped down from their towers, and retired to their several camps; upon which a great noise was made by the Romans that were within, because they were encompassed round on every side by their enemies, as also by them that were without, because they were in fear for those that were left in the city. Thus did the Jews grow more numerous perpetually, and had great advantages over the Romans, by their full knowledges of those narrow lanes; and they wounded a great many of them, and fell upon them, and drove them out of the city. Now these Romans were at present forced to make the best resistance they could; for they were not able, in great numbers, to get out at the breach in the wall, it was so narrow. It is also probable that all those that were gotten within had been cut to pieces, if Titus had not sent them succours; for he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of these narrow lanes, and he stood himself where was the greatest multitude of his enemies, and with his darts he put a stop to them; as with him did Domitius Sabinus also, a valiant man, and one that in this battle appeared so to be. Thus did Caesar continue to shoot darts at the Jews continually, and to hinder them from coming upon his men, and this until all his soldiers had re-stated out of the tower.

2. And thus were the Romans driven out, after they had possessed themselves of the second wall. Whereupon the fighting men that were in the city were lifted up in their minds, and were elevated upon this their good success, and began to think that the Romans would never venture to come into the city any more; and that, if they kept within itself, they should not be any more conquered; for God had blinded their minds for the transgressions they had been guilty of, nor could they see how much greater forces the Romans had than those that were now expelled, no more than they could discern how a famine and a thirst grew upon them; for hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public miseries, and drunk the blood of the city. But now poverty had for a long time seized upon the better part, and a great many had died already for want of necessaries; although the seditious indeed supposed the destruction of the people to be an easement to themselves; for they desired that none others might be preserved but such as were against a peace with the Romans, and were resolved to live in opposition to them, and they were pleased with the destruction of all the contrary opinion were consumed, as being then freed from a heavy burden; and this was their disposition of mind with regard to those that were within the city, while they covered themselves with the
CHAPTER IX.

TITUS, WHEN THE JEWS WERE NOT AT ALL MOLLIFIED BY HIS LEAVING OFF THE SIEGE FOR A WHILE, SADLY AGAINT PROPOSED THE SAME; BUT SOON SENT JOSEPHUS TO DISCOURSE WITH HIS OWN COUNTRYMEN ABOUT PEACE.

§ 1. A RESOLUTION was now taken by Titus, to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the seditionaries an interval for consideration, and to see whether the demolishing of their second wall would not make them a little more compliant, or whether they were not somewhat afraid of a famine, because the spoil they had gotten by rapine would not be sufficient for them long; so he made use of this relaxation, in order to compass his own designs. Accordingly, as the usual appointed time when he must distribute subsistence-money to the soldiers, was now come, he gave orders that the commanders should put the army into battle array, in the face of the enemy, and then give every one of the soldiers their pay. So the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases wherein their arms before lay covered, and marched with their breast-plates on; as did the horsemen lead their horses in their fire-trappings. Then did the places that were before the city, shine very splendidly for a great way; nor was there anything so grateful to Titus's own men, or so terrible to the enemy as that sight; for the whole old wall and the north side of the temple were full of spectators, and one might see the houses full of such as looked at them; nor was there any part of the city which was not covered over with their multitudes; nay, a very great consternation seized upon the hardest of the Jews themselves, when they saw all the army in the same place, together with the fineness of their arms, and the good order of their men; and I cannot but think that the seditionaries would have changed their minds at that sight, unless the crimes they had committed against the people had been so horrid, that they despair'd of forgiveness from the Romans; but as they believed death with torments must be their punishment, if they did not go on in the defence of the city, they thought it much better to die in war. Fate also prevailed so far over them, that the innocent were to perish with the guilty, and the city was to be destroyed with the seditionaries that were in it.

2. Thus did the Romans spend four days in bringing this subsistence-money to the several legions; but, on the fifth day, when no signs of peace appeared to come from the Jews, Titus divided his legions, and began to raise banks, both at the tower of Antonia, and at John's monument. Now his designs were to take the upper city at that monument, and the temple at the tower of Antonia; for if the temple were not taken, it would be dangerous to keep the city itself; so at each of these parts he raised him banks, each legion raising one. As for those that wrought at John's monument, the Idumeans, and those that were in arms with Simon, made sallies upon them, and put some stop to them; while John's party and the multitude of zealots with them, did the like to those that were before the tower of Antonia. These Jews were now too hard for the Romans, not only in direct fighting, because they stood upon the higher ground, but because they had now learned to use their own engines; for their continual use of them, one day after another, did by degrees improve their skill about them; for of one sort of engines for darts they had three hundred, and forty for stones; by the means of which they made it more tedious for the Romans to raise their banks; but then Titus, knowing that the city would be either saved or destroyed for himself, did not only proceed earnestly in the siege, but did not omit to have the Jews exhorted to repentance; so he mixed good counsel with his works for the siege; and being sensible that exhortations are more effectual than arms, he persuaded them to surrender the city, now in a manner already taken, and thereby to save themselves, and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language; for he imagined they might yield to the persuasion of a countryman of their own.

3. So Josephus went round about the wall, and tried to find a place that was out of the reach of their darts, and yet within their hearing, and besought them, in many words, to spare themselves, to spare their country and their temple, and not to be more obdurates in these cases than foreigners themselves; for that the Romans, who had so relation to those things, had a reverence for their sacred rites and places, although they belonged to their enemies, and had till now kept their cities out of manly necessity, while such as were brought up under them, and, if they were preserved, will be the only people that will reap the benefit of them, hurry on to have them destroyed. That certainly they have seen their strongest walls demolished, and that the wall still remaining, was weaker than those that were already taken. That they must know the Roman power was invincible, and that they had been used to serve them; for, that in case it be allowed a right thing to fight for liberty, that ought to have been done at first, but for them that have once fallen under the power of the Romans, it is better to return to them for so many long years, to pretend to shake off that yoke afterward, was the work of such as had a mind to die miserably, not of such as were lovers of liberty. Besides, men may well enough grudge at the dishonour of owning ignoble masters over them, but ought not to do so to those who have all things under their command: for what part of the world is there that hath escaped the Romans, unless it be such as are of no use, for violent death or violent cold? And evident it is, that fortune is as all hands gone over to them; and that God, when he had shown the Roman power over this dominion, is now settled in Italy. That, moreover, it is a strong and fixed law, even among brute beasts, as well as among men, to yield to those that are less
strong for them; and to suffer those to have dominion who are too hard for the rest in war; for
which reason it was that their forefathers, who were far superior to them both in their souls and
bodies, and other advantages, did yet submit to the Romans; which they would not have suffered, had
they not known that God was with them. As for
themselves, what can they depend on in this their
opposition, when the greatest part of the city is
already taken? and when those that are within it
are under greater miseries than if they were taken,
although their walls be still standing! For that the
Romans are not unequainted with that famine
which is in the city, whereby the people are already
consumed, and the fighting men will in a little time
be so too; for although the Romans should leave
off the siege, and not fall upon the city with their
swords in their hands, yet was there an insuperable
war that beset them within, and was augmented
every hour, unless they were able to wage war with
favor, and that the power of foreign forces should
not be able to contain it. And, could the monopoly
of their natural appetites. He added this farther,
How right a thing it was to change their conduct,
before their calamities were become incurable, and
to have recourse to such advice as might preserve
them, while opportunity was offered them for so
for that the Romans would not be mindful of
their past actions to their disadvantage, unless
they persevered in their insolent behaviour to the
end; because they were naturally mild in their
complaints, and preferred what was profitable, be-
fore what their passions dictated to them; which
profit of theirs lay not in leaving the city without
inhabitants, nor the country a desert; on which
account Caesar did now offer them his right hand
for their security. Whereas, if he took the city by
force, he would not save any one of them, and
this especially, if they rejected his offers in these
their utmost distresses; for the walls that were
already taken, could not but assure them that the
third wall would quickly be taken also; and though
their fortifications should prove too strong for the
Romans to break through them, yet would the fa-
mous Roman generals gain the city.

4. While Josephus was making this exhortation
for the Jews, many of them justified upon him from
the wall, many reproached him; nay, some threw
their darts at him; but when he could not himself
persuade them by such open good advice, he betook
himself to the histories belonging to their own na-
tions; and cried out aloud, "O miserable creatures!
Are you so unmerciful of those that used to assist
you, that you will fight by your weapons and by
your hands against the Romans? When did we ever
conquer any other nation by such means? and when
was it that God, who is the same God, who saved
the Jewish people, did not avenge them when they
had been injured? Will not you turn again, and look
back, and consider whence it is that you fight with
such violence, and how great a Supporter you have
profanely abused? Will you recall to mind the pro-
igious things done for your forefathers and this
holy place, and how great enemies of yours were
by him subdued under you? I even tremble my-
self in declaring the works of God before your ears,
that are unworthy to hear them: however, hearken
to what you may be informed how you fight, not
only against the Romans, but against God himself.
In old times there was one Neco, king of Egypt,
who was also called Pharaoh: he came with a pro-
digious army of soldiers, and seized queen Sarah,
the mother of our nation. What did Abraham our
progenitor then do? Did he defend himself from
this injurious person by war, although he had three
hundred and eighteen captains under him, and
an immense army under each of them? Indeed, he
did them to be no number at all without God's
assistance, but spread out his hands towards this
holy place, which you have now polluted, and
reckoned upon him as upon his invincible supporter,
instead of his own army. Was not our queen sent
back, without any defilement, to her husband, the
very next evening?—while the king of Egypt fled
away, adoring this place which you have defiled by
shedding thereon the blood of your countrymen;
and he also trembled at those visions which he saw
in the night-season, and bestowed both silver and
gold on the Hebrews, as on a people beloved of
God. Shall I say nothing, or shall I mention the
removal of our fathers into Egypt, who, when they
were used tyrannically, and were fallen under the
power of foreign forces, did not despair; neither
were they cast down, nor did they sink, and might have defended themselves by war
and by fighting, did yet do nothing but commit
themselves to God! Who is there that does not
know that Egypt was over-run with all sorts of
wild beasts, and consumed by all sorts of distem-
ners? how their land did not bring forth his fruit!
how the Nile failed of water; how the ten plagues
of Egypt followed one upon another and how, by
those means, our fathers were sent away, under a
guard, without any bloodshed, and without running
any dangers, because God conducted them as his
peculiar servants! Moreover, did not Pharaoh
groan under the ravage the Assyrians made, when
they carried away our sacred ark as did their idol
Dagon, and as also did that entire nation of those
that carried it away, how they were smitten with a
loathsome distemper in the secret parts of their
bodies, when their very bowels came together
with what they had eaten, till those hands that
stole it away were obliged to bring it back again,
and that with the sound of cymbals and tim-
necks, and other instruments of music, in order to appease the
anger of God for their violation of God's
property? It was God who then became our general, and
accomplished these great things for our fathers, and
because they did not meddle with war and fighting,
but committed it to him to judge about their affairs.
When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, brought along
with him all Asia, and encompassed this city round
with his army, did he fall by the hands of men!
were not those hands lifted up to God in prayers,
without meddling with their arms, when an angel
of God destroyed that prodigious army in one night?
At last the Assyrian king, as he rose next day, found
a hundred four thousand dead, and the spoils of
the city; and when he, with the remainder of his army,
 fled
away from the Hebrews, though they were unequalled,
and did not pursue them! You are also acquainted

* Josephus supposes, in this his admirable speech to the Jews, that
necessarily Abraham only, or Pharaoh of Egypt, had the temple
in Jerusalem, or towards Jerualem itself; in which were Mount
Olympus, and Mount Mount Olympus, and in which the sacred
place stood; and this long before either the Jewish tabernacle or tem-
ple was built; nor was this pouring out of the holy water of the
Jordan, when it in three or four days' journey, on purpose to offer
up to the sun those lands there, unaccountable to such a notion.

Note here, that Josephus, in this his same admirable speech, calls
the Styrians, or, even the Philistians, the most south part of Asia
or Persia; which in the ancients was called Aegyptus, or Egypt;
and the ancient style, which was so chosen among the
ancient writers. Note also, that Josephus might well put the Jews in
the same situation, as he does before, and here too, and
thinks of the calumny which raged on the assanmary, of the
Assyrians, in the time of Sennacherib, of the Jews, and he rose
himself, and fed them up, and went on, as he supposed, beyond
that very spot of ground where the Assyrians army lay 700 years before,
and which is marked the very name of it. Camp of the A-STYIAN is to
be seen, p. 203. See chaps, viii. sect. 2. And chapter, xiii. sect. 10.
with the slavery we were under at Babylon, where the people were captives for seventy years; yet were they not delivered into freedom again before God made Cyrus his gracious instrument in bringing it about; accordingly they were set free by him, and did again restore the worship of their Deliverer at his temple. And, to speak in general, we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any success by war, or failed of success, when without war they committed themselves to God. When they sated at home they conquered, as pleased their judges, but when they went out to fight they were always disappointed: for example, when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and our king Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to what predictions were made to him by Jeremiah the prophet, he was at once taken prisoner, and saw the city and the temple demolished. Yet how much greater was the moderation of that king, than is that of your present governors, and that of the people then under him, than is that of you at this time! for when Jeremiah cried out aloud, how very angry God was at them, because of their transgressions, and told them that they should be taken prisoners, unless they would surrender up their city, neither did the king nor the people put him to death; but for you (to pass over what you have done within the city, which I am not able to describe, as your wickedness deserves) you abuse me, and throw darts at me, who only exhort you to save yourselves, as being provoked when you are put in mind of your sins, and cannot bear the very mention of those crimes which you every day perpetrate. For another example, when Antiochus, who was an impostor, lay before this city, and when he had been guilty of many indignities against God, and our fore-fathers met him in arms, they then were slain in the battle, this city was plundered by our enemies, and our sanctuary made desolate for three years and six months. And what need I bring any more examples? Indeed, what can it be that hath stirred up an army of the Romans against our nation? is it not the impetu of the inhabitants? Whence did our servitude commence? Was it not derived from the seditions that were among our fore-fathers, when the madness of Aristocles and Hyrcanus, and our mutual quarrels, brought Pompey upon this city, and when God reduced those under subjection to the Romans, who were unworthy of the liberty they had enjoyed! After a siege, therefore, of three months, they were forced to surrender themselves, although they had been guilty of such offences with regard to our sanctuary and our laws, as you have; and this while they had much greater advantages to go to war than you have. Do not we know what end Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to, under whose reign God provided that this city should be taken again upon account of the people's offences? When Herod, the son of Antipater, brought upon us Susias, and Susias brought upon us the Roman army, they were then encompassed and besieged for six months. till, as a punishment for their sins, they were taken, and the city was plundered by the enemy. Thus it appears, that arms were never given to our nation; but that we are always given up to be fought against, and to be taken; or I suppose, that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God, and then only to disregard the assistance of men when they resign themselves up to their arbitrator, who is above. As for you, what have you done of those things that are recommended by our legislators! and what have you not done of those things that be hath condemned! How much more impious are you than those who were so quickly taken! You have not avoided so much as those sins which are usually done in secret; I mean thefts, and treacherous plots against men, and adulteries. You are quarrelling about rapines and murders, and invent strange ways of wickedness. Nay, the temple itself is become the receptacle of all, and this divine place is polluted by the hands of those of our country; which place hath yet been reverenced by the Romans when it was at a distance from them, when they have suffered many of their own customs to give place to our law. And, after all this, do you expect Him whom you have so impiously abused to be your supporter! To be sure then you have a right to be petitioners, and to call on Him to assist you, so pure are your hands! Did your king [Hezekiah] lift up such hands in prayer to God against the king of Assyria, when he destroyed their very army in a night! And do the Romans commit such wickedness as did the king of Assyria, that you may have reason to hope for the like vengeance upon them! Did not that king accept of money from our king upon this condition, that he should not destroy the city, and yet, contrary to the oath he had taken, he came down to burn the temple! while the Romans do demand no more than that accustomed tribute which our fathers paid to their fathers; and if they may but once obtain that, they neither aim to destroy this city, nor to touch this sanctuary; nay, they will grant you besides, that your possessions will be free, and your possessions secured to you, and will preserve your holy laws inviolate to you. And it is plain madness to expect that God should appear as well disposed towards the wicked as towards the righteous, since he knows when it is proper to punish men for their sins immediately; accordingly he brake the power of the Assyrians the very first night that they pitched their camp. Wherefore, had he judged that our nation was worthy of freedom, or the Romans of punishment, he had immediately inflicted punishment upon those who had lied upon the Assyrians, when Pompey began to meddle with our nation, or when after him Susias came against us, or when Vespasian laid waste Gauls, or lastly, when Titus came first of all near to the city: although Magnus and Susias did not only suffer nothing, but took the city by force; as did Vespasian go from the war he made against us to receive the empire; and as for Titus, those spoils that were formerly almost dried up when they were under your power, since he is come, run more plentifully than they did before; accordingly, you know that Silvanus, as well as all the other springs that were without the city, did so far fail, that water was sold by distinct measures; whereas they now have such a great quantity of water for your enemies, as is sufficient not only for drink both for themselves and their cattle, but for watering their gardens also. The same wonderful sign you had also experience of formerly, when the fore-mentioned king of Babylon made war against us, and...
when he took the city and burnt the temple; while yet I believe the Jews of that age were not so impius as you are. Wherefore I cannot but suppose that God is fled out of his sanctuary, and stands on the side of those against whom you fight. Now, even a man, if he be but a good man, will fly from an impure house, and will hate those that are in it; and do you persuade yourselves that God will abide with you in your iniquities, who sees all secret things, and hears what is kept most private? Now, what crime is there, I pray you, that is so much as kept secret among you, or is concealed by you! nay, what is there that is not open to your very enemies! for you show your transgressions after a pompous manner, and contend one with another which of you shall be more wicked than another; and you make a public demonstration of your iniquity, as if it were virtue! However, there is a place left for preservation, if you be willing to accept of it; and God is easily reconciled to those that confess their faults, and repent of them. O hard-hearted wretches as you are! I cast away all your arms, and take pity of your country already going to ruin; return from your wicked ways, and have regard to the excellency of that city which you are going to betray, to that excellent temple with the donations of so many countries in it. Who could bear to be the first to set that temple on fire! who could be willing that these things should be no more? and what is there that can better deserve to be preserved! O insensible creatures, and more stupid than are the stones themselves! And if you cannot look at these things with discerning eyes, yet, however, have pity upon your families, and set before every one of your eyes your children, and wives, and parents, who will be gradually consumed either by famine or by war. I am sensible that this danger will extend to my mother, and wife, and to that family of mine who have been by no means ignoble, and indeed to one that hath been very eminent in old time; and perhaps you may imagine that it is on their account only that I give you this advice; if that be all, kill them: nay, take my own blood as a reward, if it may but procure your preservation; for I am ready to die in case you will but return to a sound mind after my death."

CHAPTER X.

HOW A GREAT MANY OF THE PEOPLE HUNGEFESTLY ENDAYOURED TO DESSERT TO THE ROMANS; AS ALSO WHAT INTOLERABLE THINGS THOSE THAT STAYED BEHIND SUFFERED BY FAMINE, AND THE SAD CONSEQUENCES THEREOF.

§ 1. As Josephus was speaking thus with a loud voice, the sedition would neither yield to what he said, nor did they deem it safe for them to alter their conduct; but as for the people, they had a great inclination to desert to the Romans; accordingly, some of them sold what they had, and even the most precious things that had been laid up as treasures by them, for a very small matter, and swallowed down pieces of gold, that they might not be found out by the robbers; and when they had escaped to the Romans, went to stool, and had wherewithal to provide plentifully for themselves; for Titus let a great number of them go away into the country, whither they pleased; and the main reasons why they were so ready to desert were these: That now they should be freed from those miseries which they had endured in that city, and yet should not be in slavery to the Romans; however, John and Simon, with their factions, did, with care, watch those men’s going out than they did the coming in of the Romans; and, if any one did but afford the least shadow of suspicion of such an intention, his throat was cut immediately.

2. But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them whether they staid in the city or attempted to get out of it, for they were equally destroyed in both cases; for every such person was put to death under this pretence, that they were going to desert, but in reality that the robbers might get what they had. The madness of the sedition did also increase together with their famine, and both those miseries were every day inflamed more and more; for there was no corn which anywhere appeared publicly, but the robbers came running into, and searched men’s private houses; and then, if they found none, they tormented them worse, because they had denied they had any; and if they found none, they tormented them worse, because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The indication they made use of whether they had any or not, was taken from the bodies of those miserable wretches which, if they were in any case, they supposed they were in no want at all of food; but if they were wasted away, they walked off without searching any farther: nor did they think it proper to kill such as these, because they saw they would very soon die of themselves for want of food. Many there were indeed who sold what they had for one measure; it was of wheat, if they were of the richer sort; but of barley, if they were poorer. When these had so done, they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and ate the corn they had gotten; some did it without grudging it, by reason of the extremity of the want they were in, and others baked bread of it, according as necessity and fear dictated to them; a table was nowhere laid for a distinct meal, but they snatched the bread out of the fire, half baked, and ate it very hastily.

3. It was now a miserable case, and a sight that would justly bring tears into our eyes, how men stood as to their food, while the more powerful had more than enough, and the weaker were lamenting [for want of it]. But the famine was too hard for all other passions, and it was destructive to nothing so much as to modesty; for what was otherwise worthy of reverence, was in this case despised; insomuch that children pulled the very morsels that their fathers were eating, out of their very mouths, and what was still more to be pitied, so did the mothers do as to their infants; and when those that were most dear were persishing under their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops that might preserve their lives; and while they ate after this manner, yet were they not concealed in so doing; but the sedition every where went about, and immediately, and snatched away from them what they had gotten from others; for when they saw any house shut up, this was to them a signal that the people within had gotten some food; whereupon they broke open the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating, almost up out of their very throats, and this by force; the old men, who held their food fast, were beaten; and if the wo-
men hid what they had within their hands, their hair was torn for so doing; nor was there any commiseration shown either to the aged or to infants, but they lifted up children from the ground as they hung upon the morsels they had gotten, and shook them down upon the floor; but they were more barbarously cruel to those that had prevented their coming in, and had actually swallowed what they were going to seize upon, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of their right. They also invented terrible methods of torment to discover where any food was, and they were these: to stop up the passages of the privy parts of the miserable wretches, and to drive sharp stakes upon their fundamentis; and a man was forced to bear what it is terrible even to hear, in order to make him confess that he had but one loaf of bread, or that he might discover a handful of barley-meal that was concealed; and this was done when these tormentors were not themselves hungry; for the thing had been less barbarous had necessity forced them to it; but this was done to keep their madness in exercise, and as making preparations of provisions for themselves on the following days. These men went also to meet those that had crept out of the city by night, as far as the Roman guards, to gather some plants and herbs that grew wild; and when these people thought they had got clear of the enemy, these snatched from them what they had brought with them, even while they had frequently entreated them, and that by calling upon the tremendous name of God, to give them back some part of what they had brought; though these would not give them the least crumb; and they were to be well contented that they were only spoilt, and not slain at the same time.

4. These were the afflictions which the lower sort of people suffered from these tyrants' guards; but for the men that were in dignity, and withal were rich, they were carried before the tyrants themselves; some of whom were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and so were destroyed; others of them were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans: but the readiest way of all was this, to suborn somebody to affirm that they were resolved to desert to the enemy; and he who was utterly despoiled of what he had by Simon, was sent back again to John, as of those who had been already plundered by John, Simon got what remained; insomuch that they drank the blood of the populace to one another, and divided both the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them; so that although, on account of their ambition after dominion, they contended with each other, yet did they very well agree in their wicked practices; for he that did not communicate what he had got by the miseries of others to the other tyrant, seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only; and he that did not partake of what was so communicated to him, grieved at this, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

5. It is therefore impossible to go distinctly over every instance of the Hebræo-nation, but shall therefore speak my mind here at once briefly;—That neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries, nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was, from the beginning of the world. Finally, they brought the Hebrew nation into contempt, that they might themselves appear comparatively less impious with regard to strangers. They confessed what was true, that they were the slaves, the scum, and the spurious abortive and offspring of our nation, while they overthrew the city themselves, and forced the Romans, whether they would or no, to gain a melancholy reputation, by setting gloriously against them, and did almost draw that fire upon the temple, which they seemed to think came too slowly; and, indeed, when they saw the temple burning, from the upper city, they were neither troubled at it, nor did they shed any tears on that account, while yet these passions were discovered among the Romans themselves; which circumstances we shall speak of hereafter in their proper place, when we come to treat of such matters.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW THE JEWS WERE CRUCIFIED BEFORE THE WALLS OF THE CITY. CONCERNING ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES; AND HOW THE JEWS OVERTHREW THE BANKS THAT HAD BEEN RAISED BY THE ROMANS.

§ 1. So now Titus's banks were advanced a great way, notwithstanding his soldiers had been very much distressed from the wall. He then sent a party of horsemen, and ordered they should by ambuscades for those that went out into the valleys to gather food. Some of these were indeed fighting men, who were not contented with what they got by rapine; but the greater part of them were poor people, who were deterred from deserting, by the concern they were under for their own relations: for they could not hope to escape away, together with their wives and children, without the knowledge of the seditious; nor could they think of leaving these relations to be slain by the robbers on their account; but the severity of the famine made them hold in thus going out; so nothing remained but that, when they were concealed from the robbers, they should be taken by the enemy; and when they were going to be taken, they were forced to defend themselves, for fear of being punished: as, after they had sought, they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy: so they were first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures before they died, and were then crucified before the wall of the city. This miserable procedure made Titus greatly to pity them, while they caught every day five hundred Jews; may, some days they caught more; yet did it not appear to be safe for him to let loose those that were taken by force to go their way; and to set a guard over so many, he saw would be to make such as guarded them useless to him. The main reason why he did not forbid that cruelty, was this, that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield at that sight, out of fear lest they might themselves afterwards be liable to the same cruel treatment. So the soldiers, out of the wrath and hatred they bore the Jews, nailed those they caught, one after another, to the crosses, by way of jest; when their multitude was so great, that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses wanting for the bodies. 

* Roland very properly takes notice here, how justly this judgment came upon the Jews, when they were cruel to each other; and further, that the Romans wanted room for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies of these Jews, since they had, brought this judgment on themselves by the crucifixion of their Messiah.
2. But so far were the sedition from repenting at this sad sight, that, on the contrary, they made the rest of the multitude believe otherwise; for they brought the relations of those that had deserted, upon the wall, with such of the populace as were very eager to go over upon the security offered them, and shown them what miseries those underwent, who fled to the Romans; and told them that those who were caught, were suppliants to them, and not such as were taken prisoners. This sight kept many of those within the city who were so eager to desert, till the truth was known; yet did some of them run away immediately, as unto certain punishment, esteeming death from their enemies to be a quiet departure, if compared with that by famine. So Titus commanded that the hands of many of those that were caught should be cut off, that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of the calamity they were under, and sent them in to John and Simon, with this exhortation, that they would now at length leave off [their madness], and not force him to destroy the city, whereby they would have those advantages of repentance, even in their utmost distress, that they would preserve their own lives, and so fine a city of their own, and that temple which was their peculiar. He then went round about the banks that were cast up, and hastened them, in order to show that his words should in no long time be followed by his deeds. In answer to which, the sedition cast reproaches upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, that they contemned death, and did well to preferring it before slavery; that they would do all the mischief to the Romans they could while they had breath in them; and that for their own city, since they were, as he said, to be destroyed, they had no concern about it, and that the world itself was a better temple to God than this. That yet this temple would be preserved by him that inhabited therein, whom they still had for their assistant in this war, and did therefore laugh at all his threatenings, which would come to nothing; because consumed, a perishable thing, and the world stood upon God only. These words were mixed with reproaches, and with them they made a mighty clamour.

3. In the meantime Antiochus Ephiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the Macedonian Band about him, all of the same age, tall, and just past their childhood, armed, and instructed after the Macedonian manner, whence it was that they took that name. Yet were many of them unworthy of so famous a nation; for it had so happened, having the king of the Chians, they flourished more than other kings that were under the power of the Romans, till a change happened in his condition; and when he was become an old man, he declared plainly that we ought not to call any man happy before he is dead. But this son of his, who was then come hither before his father was decaying, said that he could not but wonder what made the Romans so tardy in making their attacks upon the wall. Now he was a warlike man, and naturally bold in exposing himself to dangers; but also so strong a man, that his boldness seldom failed of having success. Upon this, either smiling, and said he would share the pains of an attack with him. However, Antiochus went as he then was, and with his Macedonians made a sud-
did they leave their enemies till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and set their machines on fire; and though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with their enemies' swords, yet did they not withdraw themselves out of the dangers they were in, till the fire had wrought harm of the instruments; but when the flame went up, the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines. Then did the Jews hinder their succours from the wall, and fought with those that endeavoured to quench the fire, without any regard to the danger their bodies were in. So the Romans pulled the engines out of the fire, while the hurdles that covered them, were on fire; but the Jews caught hold of the battering-rams through the flame itself, and held them fast, although the iron upon them was become red-hot; and now the fire spread itself from the engines to the banks, and prevented those that came to defend them; and all this while the Romans were encompassed round about with the flame; and, despairing of saving their works from it, they retired to their camp. Then did the Jews become still more and more in number by the coming of those that were within the city to their assistance; and as they were very bold upon the good success they had had, their violent assaults were almost irresistible; nay, they proceeded as far as the fortifications of the enemy's camp, and fought with their guards. Now there stood a body of soldiers in array before that camp, which succeeded one another by turns in their armour; and as to those, the law of the Romans was terrible, that he who left his post there, let the occasion be whatsoever it might, he was to die for it; so that body of soldiers, preferring rather to die in fighting courageously, than as a punishment for their own cowardice, stood firm; and at the necessity these men were in of standing to it, many of the others that had run away, out of shame, turned back again; and when they had set their engines against the wall, they kept the multitude from coming more of them out of the city; [wherein they could the more easily do] because they had made no provision for preserving or guarding their bodies at this time; for the Jews fought now hand to hand with all that came in their way, and, without any caution, fell against the points of their enemy's spears, and attacked them bodies against bodies; for they were now too hard for the Romans, not so much by their other warlike actions, as by these courageous assaults they made upon them; and the Romans gave way more to their boldness than they did to the sense of the harm they had received from the other.

6. And now Titus was come from the tower of Antonia, whether he was gone to look out for a place for raising other banks, and reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own walls to be in danger, when they had taken the walls of their enemies and sustained the fortune of men besieged, while the Jews were allowed to sally out against them, though they were already in a sort of prison. He then went round about the enemy with some chosen troops, and fell upon their flank himself; so the Jews, who had been before assaulted in their faces, which about to Titus, and continued the fight. The arrows were more among and amongst, and the dust that was raised so far hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so far hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could discern an enemy from a friend. However, the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength, as from their despair of deliverance. The Romans also would not yield, by reason of the regard they had to glory, and to their reputation in war, and because Caesar himself went into the danger before them; inasmuch that I cannot but think the Romans would in the conclusion have now taken the whole multitude of the Jews, so very angry were they at them, had these not prevented the upshot of the battle, and retired into the city. However, seeing the banks of the Romans demolished, the Romans were very much cast down upon the loss of what had cost them so long pains, and this in one hour's time! and many indeed despaired of taking the city with their usual engines of war only.

CHAPTER XII.

TITUS THOUGHT FIT TO ENCOMPASS THE CITY ROUND WITH A WALL; AFTER WHICH THE PAIRS CONSUMED THE PEOPLE BY WHOLE HOUSES AND FAMILIES TOGETHER.

§ 1. And now did Titus consult with his commanders what was to be done. Those that were of the warmest tempers, thought he should bring the whole army against the city and storm the wall; for that hitherto no more than a part of their army had fought with the Jews; but that in case the entire army was to come at once, they would not be able to sustain their attacks, but would be overwhelmed by their darts: but of those that were for a more cautious management, some were for raising their banks again; and others advised to let the banks alone, but to lie still before the city, to guard against the coming out of the Jews, and against their carrying provisions into the city, and to leave the enemy to the famine, and this without direct fighting with them; for that despair was not to be conquered, especially as to those who are desirous to die by the sword, while a more terrible misery is reserved for them. However, Titus did not think it fit for so great an army to lie entirely idle, and that yet it was in vain to fight with those that would be destroyed one by another; he also showed them how impracticable it was to cast up any more banks, for want of materials, and to guard against the Jews' coming out, still more impracticable; as also, to encompass the whole city round with his army, was not very easy, by reason of the multitude and the difficulty of the situation; and on other accounts dangerous, upon the saith the Jews might make out of the city; for although they might guard the known passages out of the place, yet would they, when they found themselves under the greatest distress, contrive secret passages out as being well acquainted with all such places; and if any provisions were carried in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer delayed. He also owned, that he was afraid that the length of time thus to be spent, would diminish the glory of his success; for though it be true, that length of time will perfect every thing, yet, that to do what we do must build a wall round about the whole city.
which was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way, and that then they would either entirely despair of saving the city, and so would surrender it up to him, or be still the more easily conquered when the famine had farther weakened them; for that besides this wall, he would not lose the entirely at rest afterward, but would take care then to have banks raised again, when those that would oppose them were become weaker: but that if any one should think such a work to be too great and to be finished without much difficulty, he ought to consider that it is not fit for Romans to undertake any small work, and that none but God himself could with ease accomplish any great thing whatsoever.

2. These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work; and indeed there now came upon the soldiers a certain divine fury, so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them, nor did only one legion strive with another, but the lesser divisions of the army did the same; insomuch that each soldier was ambitious to please his decurion, each decurion his centurion, each centurion his tribune, and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superior commanders, while Caesar himself took notice of and rewarded the like contention in those commanders; for he went round about the works many times every day, and took a view of what was done. Titus began the wall from the Camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and drew it down to the lower parts of Canepolis; thence it went along the valley of Cedron to the Mount of Olives; it then bent towards the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristeron, and that other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley which reaches to Sioaon; whence it bended again to the west, and went down to the valley of the Fountain, beyond which it went up again at the monument of the high-priest, and encompassing that mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and was carried on as far as a certain village called "The House of the Erebinthi"; after which it encompassed Herod's monument, and there on the east, was joined to Titus's own camp, where it began. Now the length of this wall was forty furlongs, one only abated. Now at this wall without were erected thirteen places to keep garrisons in, the circumference of which, put together, amounted to ten furlongs; the whole was completed in three days: so that what would naturally have required some months, was done in so short an interval as is incredible. When Titus had therefore encompassed the city with this wall, and put garrisons into proper places, he went round the wall at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to Alexander; the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch in the night-time, and who should go all night long round the spaces that were interposed between the garrisons. When the soldiers went off from the Jews together with their liberty of going out of the city. Then did the famine widen its progress, and devoured the people by whole houses and families; the upper rooms were full of women and children that were dying by famine; and the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged; the children also and the young men wandered about the market-places like shadows, all swelled with famine, and fell down dead whereversoever their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick themselves were not able to do it; and those that were hearty and well, were deterred from doing it by the great multitude of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty there was how soon they should die themselves; for many died as they were burying others, and many went to their coffins before that fatal hour was come! Nor was there any lamentation made under these calamities, nor were heard any mournful complaints; but the famine confounded all natural passions; for those who were just going to die, looked upon those that were gone to their rest before them with dry eyes and open mouths. A deep silence also, and a kind of deadly night, had seized upon the city; while yet the robbers were still more terrible than those miseries were themselves; for they brake open those houses which were no other than graves of dead bodies, and plundered them of what they had; and carrying off the coverings of their bodies, went out laughing, and tried the points of their swords on their dead bodies; and, in order to prove what mettle they were made of, they thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground; but for those that entreated them to lend them their right hand, and their sword to dispatch them, they were too proud to grant their requests, and left them to be consumed by the famine. Now every one of these died with their eyes fixed upon the temple, and left the seditious alive behind them. Now the seditions as first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury, as not enduring the stench of their dead bodies. But afterwards, when they could not do that, they had them cast down from the walls into the valleys beneath.

4. However, when Titus, in going his rounds along those valleys, saw them full of dead bodies, and the thick putrefaction running about them, he gave a groan; and spreading out his hands to heaven, called God to witness that this was not his doing; and such was the sad case of the city itself. But the Romans were very joyful, since none of the seditious could now make sailies out of the city, because they were themselves disconsolate; and the famine already touched them also. These Romans besides had great plenty of corn and other necessaries out of Syria, and out of the neighbouring provinces; many of whom would stand near to the wall of the city, and show the people what great quantities of provision they procured, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famine, by the great plenty, even to satiety, which they had themselves. However, when the seditions still showed no inclination of yielding, Titus, out of his commiseration of the people that remained, and out of his earnest desire of rescuing what was still left out of these miseries, began to raise his banks again, although materials for them were hard to be come at; for all the trees that were about the city, had been already cut down for the making of the banks. Yet did they use all means to bring them other materials from the distance of ninety furlongs, and thereby raised banks in four parts, much greater than the former, though this was done only at the tower of Antonia. So Caesar went his rounds through the legions, and hastened
on the works, and showed the robbers that they were now in his hands. But these men, and those only, were incapable of repenting of the wickedness they had been guilty of; and separating their souls from their bodies, they used them both, as if they belonged to other folks, and not to themselves. For no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor could any pain affect their bodies, since they could still tear the dead bodies of the people as dogs do, and fill the prisons with those that were sick.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GREAT SLAUGHTERS AND SACRIFICE THAT WERE IN JERUSALEM.

§ 1. Accordingly Simon would not suffer Matthaeus, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without torment. This Matthias was the son of Buthus, and was one of the high-priests, one that had been very faithful to the people, and in great esteem with them; he, when the multitude were distressed by the zealots among whom John was numbered, persuaded the people to admit this Simon to come in to assist them, while he had made no terms with him, nor expected anything that was evil from him. But when Simon was come in, and had gotten the city under his power, he esteemed him that had advised them to admit him, as his enemy equally with the rest, as looking upon that advice as a piece of his simplicity only: so he had him then brought before him, and condemned to die for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defence. He condemned also his three sons to die with him; for as to the fourth, he prevented him by running away to Titus before. And when he begged for this, that he might be slain before his sons, and that as a favour, on account that he had procured the gates of the city to be opened to him, he gave orders that he should be slain the last of them all; so he was not slain till he had seen his sons slain before his eyes, and that by being produced over against the Romans; for such a charge had Simon given to Annas, the son of Banadus, who was the most barbarous of all his guards. He also jestingly told him, and told him that he might now see whether those to whom he intended to go over, would send him any succours or not; but still he forbade their dead bodies should be buried. After the slaughters of these, a certain priest, Ananias, the son of Masaumbulus, a person of eminency, as also Aristeus, the scribe of the sanhedrim, and born at Emmaus, and with them fifteen men of figure among the people, were slain. They also kept Josephus's father in prison, and made public proclamation, that no citizen whosoever should either speak to him himself, or go into his company among others, for fear he should betray them. They also slew such as joined in lamenting these men, without any former examination.

2. Now when Judas, the son of Judas, who was one of Simon's under officers, and a person intrusted by him to keep one of the towers, saw this procedure of Simon, he called together ten of those under him that were most faithful to him (perhaps this was done, partly out of pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death; but, principally, in order to provide for his own safety) and spoke thus to them: "How long shall we bear these miseries? or, what hopes have we of deliverance by this continuing faithful to such wicked wretches? Is not the famine already come against us, and are not the Romans within the city? Is not Simon become unfaithful to his benefactors? and is there not reason to fear he will very soon bring us to the like punishments, while the security the Romans offer us be sure? Come on, let us surrender up this wall, and save ourselves and the city. Nor will Simon be very much hurt, if, now he despairs of deliverance, he be brought to justice a little sooner than he thinks on." Now these ten were prevailed upon by these arguments; so he sent the rest of those that were under him, some one way and some another, that no discovery might be made of what they had resolved upon. Accordingly he called to the Romans from the tower, about the third hour; but they, some of them out of pride, despised what he said, and others of them did not believe him to be in earnest, though the greatest number delayed the matter, as believing they should get possession of the city in a little time, without any hazard: but when Titus was just coming thither with his armed men, Simon was acquainted with the matter before he came, and presently took the tower into his own custody, before it was surrendered, and seized upon these men, and put them to death in the sight of the Romans themselves; and when he had mangled their dead bodies, he threw them down before the wall of the city.

3. In the meantime, Josephus, as he was going round the city, had his head wounded by a stone that was thrown at him; upon which he fell down as giddy. Upon which fall of his, the Jews made a sally, and he had been hurried away into the city, if Cæsar had not sent men to protect him immediately; and, as these men were fighting, Josephus was taken up, though he heard little of what was done. So the seditious supposed they had now slain the man whom they were the most desirous of killing, and made therewith a great noise, by way of rejoicing. This accident was told in the city; and the multitude that remained, became very disconsolate at the news, as being persuaded that he was really dead, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans; but when Josephus's mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she said to those that watched after her, That she had always been of opinion, since the siege of Jotapata, that he would be slain, and she would never enjoy him alive any more. She also made great lamentation privately to the maidservants that were about her, and said, That this was all the advantage she had of bringing so extraordinary a person as this son into the world; that she should not be able even to bury that son of hers, by whom she expected to have been buried herself. However, this false report did not put his mother to pain, nor afford merriment to the robbers long; for Josephus soon recovered of his wound, and came out, and cried out aloud, That it would not be long before they should feel for this wound they had given him. He also made a fresh exhortation to the people to come out, upon the security that would be given them. This sight of Josephus, encouraged the people greatly, and brought a great consternation upon the seditions.

4. Hereupon some of the deserters, having no other way, leaped down from the wall immediately,
while others of them went out of the city with stones, as if they would fight them; but thereupon, they fled away to the Romans:—but here a worse fate accompanied these, than what they had found within the city; and they met with a quicker dispatch from the too great abundance they had among the Romans, than they could have done before. For they were told that they came first to the Romans, they were pulled up by the famine, and swelled like men in a dropery; after which they all on the sudden over-fulfilled those bodies that were before empty, and so burst asunder, excepting such only as were skilful enough to restrain their appetites, and, by degrees, took in their food into bodies unaccustomed thereto. Yet did another plague seize upon those that were thus preserved; for there was found among the Syrian deserters a certain person who was caught gathering pieces of gold out of the excrements of the Jews’ bellies; for the deserters used to swallow such pieces of gold, as we told you before, when they came out; and for these did the seditious search them all; for there was a great quantity of gold in the city, insomuch that as much was now sold [in the Roman camp] for twelve Attic [drachmas], as was sold before for twenty-five; but when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the fame of it filled their several camps, that the deserters came to them full of gold. So the multitude of the Arabsians, with the Syrians, cut up those that came as supplicants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me that any misery befell the Jews that was more terrible than this, since in one night about two thousand of these deserters were thus dissected.

5. When Titus came to the knowledge of this wicked practice, he had to have surrounded those that had been guilty of it with his horse, and shot them dead; and he had done it, had not their number been so very great, and those that were liable to this punishment would have been manifold, more than those whom they had slain. However, he called together the commanders of the auxiliary troops he had with him, as well as the centurion of the legion, (for some of his own soldiers had also been guilty herein, as he had been informed,) and had great indignation against both sorts of them, and spoke to them as follows:—'What! have any of my own soldiers done such things as this, out of the uncertain hope of gain, without regarding their own weapons, which are made of silver and gold? Moreover, do the Arabsians and Syrians now first of all begin to govern themselves as they please, and to indulge their appetites in a foreign war, and then, out of their barbarity in murdering men, and out of their hatred to the Jews, because they sought the Roman laws?'—for this infamous practice was said to be spread among some of his own soldiers also. Titus then threatened that he would put such men to death, if any of them were discovered to be so insolent as to do so again; moreover, he gave it in charge to the legions that they should make a search after such as were suspected, and should bring them to him; but it appeared that the loss of money was too hard for all their dread of punishment, and a vehement desire of gain is natural to men, and no passion is so venturesome as covetousness; otherwise such passions have certain bounds, and are subordinate to fear; but in reality it was God who condemned the whole nation, and turned every course that was taken for their preservation to their destruction. This, therefore, which was forbidden by Caesar under such a threatening, was ventured upon privately against the deserters, and these barbarians would go out still, and meet those that ran away, before any saw them, and looking about them to see that no Roman spied there to stop them, and, pulled this polluted money out of their bowels; which money was still found in a few of them, while yet a great many were destroyed by the bare hope there was of thus getting by them, which miserable treatment made many that were deserting, to return back again into the city.

6. But as for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacrilege, and melted down many of the sacred utensils, which had been given to the temple; as also many of those vessels which were necessary for such as ministered about holy things, the caldrons, the dishes, and the table; nay, he did not abstain from those pouring-vessels that were sent them by Augustus and his wife; for the Roman emperors did ever both honour and adorn this temple: whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners; and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use divine things while they were fighting for the Divinity, without fear, and that such whose warfare is for the temple, should live of the temple; on which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil which the priests kept to be poured on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the inner court of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude, who, in their anointing themselves and drinking, used [each of] them above an hin of them; and here I cannot but speak my mind, and what the concern I am under dictates to me, and it is this:—I suppose that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains, the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overflowed by water, or else been destroyed by fire, as the country of Sodom2 perished by, for it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suffered such punishments; for by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed.

7. And indeed, why do I relate these particular calamities?—while Manneus, the son of Lazarus, came running to Titus at this very time, and told him that there had been carried out through that one gate, which was entrusted to his care, no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, in the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus [Nisan], when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus [Tammuz]. This was itself a prodigious multitude; and though this man was not himself set as a governor at that gate, yet was he appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying these bodies out, and so was obliged of necessity to number them, while the rest were buried by their relations, though all their burial was but this, to bring them away, and cast them out of the city. After this man there ran

* Josephus, both here and before (b. iv. ch. viii. sect. 4) extensi the land of Puteoli, not arts of them the Askaphellites, or under its nature, but near it only, as Tacitus also took the same notion from him (Hist. v. 7), which the great Roland takes to be the very truth, both in full note on this place and in his Preface (trop. t. p. 282-415); though I cannot suppose part of that region of Peninsulas to be now under the waters of the entire part of that sea; but perhaps that whole quarter...
away to Titus many of the eminent citizens, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead; and that no fewer than six hundred thousand were thrown out at the gates, though still the number of the rest could not be discovered; and they told him farther, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up therein; as also that a medimnum of wheat was sold for a talent; and that when, a while afterward, it was not possible to gather herbs, by reason all the city was walled about, some persons were driven to that terrible distress as to search the common sewers and old dung-hills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they got there; and what they of old could not so much endure to see, they now used for food. When the Romans barecly heard all this, they commiserated their case; while the seditionists, who saw it also, did not repent, but suffered the same distress to come upon themselves; for they were blinded by that fate, which was already coming upon the city, and upon themselves also.

BOOK VI.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE MONTH.
FROM THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED, TO THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.

CHAPTER I.
HA'THE MISERIES OF THE JEWS STILL GREW WORSE; AND HOW THE ROMANS MADE AN ASSAULT UPON THE TOWER OF ANTONIA.

§ 1. Titus did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day, and the seditionists were still more irritated by the calamities they were under, even while the famine preyed upon themselves, after it had preyed upon the people. And indeed the multitude of carcases that lay in heaps one upon another, was a horrid sight, and produced a pestilential stench, which was a hindrance to those that would make sallies out of the city, and fight the enemy: but as those were to go in battalions, who had been already used to ten thousand murders, and must tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along, so were not they terrified, nor did they pity men as they marched over them; nor did they deem this affront offered to the deceased to be any ill omen to themselves; but as they had their right hands already polluted with the murders of their own countrymen, and in that condition ran out to fight with foreigners, they seem to me to have cast a reproach upon God himself; as if he were too slow in punishing them; for the war was not now gone on with as if they had any hope of victory; for they gloried after a brutish manner in that despair of deliverance they were already in. And now the Romans, although they were greatly distressed in getting together their materials, raised their banks in one-and-twenty days, after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country that adjoined to the city, and that for ninety furlongs round about, as I have already related. And truly, the very view itself of the country was a melancholy thing; for those places which were before adorned with trees and pleasant gardens, were now become a desolate country every way, and its trees were all cut down; nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judea, and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw it as a desert, but lament and mourn at so great a change: for the varied laid all signs of beauty quite waste; nor, if anyone that had known the place before, had come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again; but though he were at the city itself, yet would he have inquired for it notwithstanding.

2. And now the banks were finished, they afforded a foundation for fear both to the Romans and to the Jews; for both the Jews expected that the city would be taken, unless they could burn those banks, as did the Romans expect that, if these were once burnt down, they should never be able to take it; for there was a mighty scarcity of materials, and the bodies of the soldiers began to fail with such hard labours, as did their weak faint with so many instances of ill success; yet the very calamities themselves that were in the city proved a greater discouragement to the Romans than to those within the city; for they found the fighting men of the Jews to be not at all milled among such their sore afflictions, while they had themselves perpetually less and less hopes of success, and their banks were forced to yield to the stratagems of the enemy, their engines to the firmness of their wall, and their closest fights to the boldness of their attack; and, what was their greatest discouragement of all, they found the Jews courageous souls to be superior to the multitude of the miseries they were under by their sedition, their famine, and the war itself; insomuch that they were ready to imagine that the violence of their attacks was invincible, and the acclivity they shewed would not be discouraged by their calamities; for what would not those be able to bear whom they should be fortunate, who turned their very misfortunes to the improvement of their valour. These considerations made the Romans keep a stronger guard about their banks than they formerly had done.

3. But now John and his party took care for se-
euring themselves afterward, even in case this wall should be thrown down, and fell to their work before the battering-rams were brought against them. Yet did they not compass what they endeavoured to do, but as they were gone out with their torches, they came back under great discouragement, before they came near to the banks; and the reasons were these: that in the first place, their conduct did not seem to them just, but they went out in distinct parties, and at distinct hours, and did after a slow manner, and timorously, and, to say all in a word, without a Jewish courage: for they were now defective in what is peculiar to our nation, that is, in boldness, in violence of assault, and in running upon the enemy all together, and in persevering in what they go about, though they do not at first succeed in it; but they now went out in a more languid manner than usual, and at the same time found the Romans set in array, and more courageous than ordinary, and that they guarded their banks both with their bodies and their entire arms, and behind a wall that was not half as thick as that they left no room for the fire to get among them, and that every one of their souls was in such good courage, that they would sooner die than desert their ranks; for besides their notion that all their hopes were cut off, in case their works were once burnt, the soldiers were greatly ashamed that subtilty should be quite too hard for courage, madness for armour, multitude for skill, and Jews for Romans. The Romans had now also another advantage, in that their engines for sieges co-operated with them in throwing darts and stones as far as the Jews, when they were coming out of the city; whereby the man that fell became an impediment to him that was next to him, as did the danger of going farther make them less zealous in their attempts; and for those that had run under the darts, some of them were terrified by the good order and closeness of the enemies' ranks before they came to a close fight, and others were prick'd with their spears, and turned back again; at length they reproach'd one another for their cowardice, and retired without doing any thing. This attack was upon the first day of the month Panemus [Tummas]. So, when the Jews were retreated, the Romans brought their engines, although they had all the while stones thrown at them from the tower of Antonia, and were assaulted by fire and sword, and by all sorts of darts, which necessity afforded the Jews to make use of; for although these had great dependence on their own wall, and a contempt of the Roman engines, yet did they endeavour to hinder the Romans from bringing them. Now these Romans struggled hard, on the contrary, to bring them, as deeming that this zeal of the Jews was in order to avoid any impression to be made on the tower of Antonia, because its walls was but weak, and its foundations rotten. However, that tower did not yield to the blows given it from the engines; yet did the Romans bear the impressions made by the enemies' darts which were perpetually cast at them, and did not give way to any of those dangers that came upon them from above, and so they brought their engines to bear; but then as they were beneath the other, and were sadly wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them threw their shields over their bodies, and partly with their hands, and partly with their bodies, and partly with crow's, they undermined its foundations, and with great pains they removed four of its stones. Then night came upon both sides, and put an end to this struggle for the present; however, that night the wall was so shaken by the battering-rams in that place where John had used his stratagem before, and had undermined their banks, that the ground then gave way, and the wall fell down suddenly.

4. When this accident had unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were variously affected: for though one would expect that the Jews would be discouraged, because this fall of their wall was unexpected by them, and they had made no provision in that case, yet did they pull up their courage, because the tower of Antonia itself was still standing; as was the unexpected joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall soon quenched by the sight they had of another wall, which John and his party had built within it. However, the attack of this second wall appeared to be easier than that of the former, because it seemed a thing of greater facility to get up to it through the parts of the former wall that had now been thrown down. This new wall appeared also to be much weaker than the tower of Antonia, and accordingly the Romans imagined that it had been erected so much on the sudden, that they should soon overtake it; yet did not any body venture now to go up to this wall: for such as first ventured so to do must certainly be killed.

5. And now Titus upon consideration that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hopes and good words, and that exhortations and promises do frequently make men forget the hazards they run, and, sometimes to despise death itself, got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried what he could do with his men by these methods:—"O fellow-soldiers," said he, "to make an exhortation to men to do what hath no peril in it, is on that very account inglorious to such to whom that exhortation is made; and indeed so it is in him that makes the exhortation, an argument of his own cowardice also. I therefore think, that such exhortations ought then only to be made of when affairs are in a dangerous condition, and yet are worthy of being attempted by every one themselves; accordingly, I am fully of the same opinion with you, that it is a difficult task to go up this wall; but that it is proper for those that desire reputation for their valour to struggle with difficulties in such cases, will then appear, when I have particularly shown that it is a brave thing to die with glory, and that the courage here necessary shall not go unrewarded in those that first begin the attempt; and let my first argument to move you to it be taken from what probably some would think reasonable to dissuade you, I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews, even under their ill successes; for it is unbecoming you, who are Romans and my soldiers, who have in peace been taught how to make wars, and who have also been used to conquer in those wars, to be inferior to Jews, either in action of the hand or in courage of the soul, and this especially when you are at the conclusion of your victory, and are assisted by God himself; for as to our misfortunes, they have been owing to the madness of the Jews, while their sufferings have been owing to your valour, and to the assistance God hath afforded you; for as to the seditions they have been in, and the famine they are under, and the siege they now endure, and the fall of their walls without our
gious, what can they all be but demonstrations of God's anger against them, and of his assistance afforded us? It will not therefore be proper for you, either to show yourselves inferior to those to whom you are really superior, or to betray that divine assistance which is afforded you; and indeed, how can it be esteemed otherwise than a base and unworthy thing, that while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed if they be deserted, because they have long learned to be slaves to others, do yet despise death, that they may be so no longer,—and do make sallies into the very midst of us frequently not in hopes of conquering us, but merely for a display of courage; and who have obtained possession of almost all the world that belongs to either land or sea, to whom it will be a great shame if we do not conquer them, do not once undertake any attempt against our enemies wherein there is much danger, but sit still idle, with such brave arms as we have, and only wait till the famine and fortune do our business themselves, and this when we have it in our power, with some small hazard, to gain all that we desire? For if we go up to this tower of Antonia, we gain the city; for if we cannot take any position for fighting against those within the city, which I do not suppose there will, since we shall then be upon the top of the hill,* and be upon our enemies before they can have taken breath, these advantages promise us no less than a certain and sudden victory. As for myself, I shall at present waive any commendations of those who die in war,+ and omit to speak of the immortality of those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery; yet cannot I forbear to imprest upon those who are of a contrary disposition, that they may die in time of peace, by some disaster or other, since their souls are already condemned to be thrown into the grave, together with their bodies; for what man of virtue is there who does not know that those souls which are severed from their fleshly bodies in battle by the sword, are received by the other, that purest of elements, and joined to that company which are placed among the stars; that they become good demons, and propitious heroes, and show themselves as such to their posterity afterwards? while upon those souls that are torn away in and with their dismembered bodies, comes a subterranean night to dissolve them to nothing, and a deep oblivion to take away all the remembrance of them, and this notwithstanding they be clean from all spots and defections of this world; so that, in this case, the soul at the same time comes to the utmost bounds of its life, and of its body, and of its memorial also; but since fate has determined that death is to come of necessity upon all men, a sword is a better instrument for that purpose than any disease whatsoever. Why, is it not then a very mean thing for us not to yield up that to the public benefit, which we must yield up to fate? And this discourse have I made, upon the supposition that those who at first attempt to go upon this wall must needs be killed in the attempt, though still men of true courage have a chance to escape even in the most hazardous undertakings; for, in the first place, that part of the former wall that is thrown down, is easily to be ascended; and for the new-built wall, it is easily destroyed. Do you, therefore, many of you, pull up your courage, and set about this work, and do you mutually encourage and assist one another; and this your bravery will soon break the hearts of your enemies; and perhaps such a glorious undertaking as yours is may be accomplished without bloodshed; for although it be justly to be expected that the Jews will try to hinder you at your first beginning to go up to them, yet when you have once concealed yourselves from them, and driven them away by force, they will not be able to sustain your efforts against them any longer, though a few of you prevent them, and get over the wall. As for that person who first conveys the wall, I should blush for shame if I did not make him to be envied of others, by those rewards I would bestow upon him. If such a one escape with his life, he shall have the command of others that have not his equals; although it be true said, that the greatest rewards will accrue to such as die in the attempt.++

6. Upon this speech of Titus, the rest of the multitude were affrighted at so great a danger. But there was one whose name was Sabius, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and a Syrian by birth, who appeared to be of very great fortitude, both in the actions he had done, and the courage of his soul he had shown; although any body would have thought, before he came to his work, that he was of such a weak constitution of body, that he was not fit to be a soldier; for his colour was black, his flesh was lean and thin, and lay close together; but there was a certain heroic soul that dwelt in this small body, which body was indeed much too narrow for that peculiar courage which was in him. Accordingly he was the first that rose up; when he thus spake:—"I readily surrender myself to thee, O Caesar: I first ascended the wall, and I heartily wish that my fortune may follow my courage and my resolution. And if some ill-fortune grudge me the success of my undertaking, take notice that my ill-success will not be unexpected, but that I choose death voluntarily for thy sake." When he had said this, and had spread out his shield over his head with his left hand, and had, with his right hand, drawn his sword, he marched up to the wall just about the sixth hour of the day. There followed him eleven others, and no more, that resolved to imitate his bravery, but still this was the principal person of them all, and went first as excited by a divine fury. Now those that guarded the wall shot at them from thence, and cast innumerable darts upon them from every side; they also rolled very large stones upon them, which overthrew some of those eleven that were with him. But as for Sabius himself, he met the darts that were cast at him, and though the sword was overwhelmed with the blows, yet did he not leave off the violence of his attack, before he had gotten upon the top of the wall, and had put the enemy to flight. For as the Jews were astonished at his great strength, and the bravery of his soul, and as, withal, they imagined more of them had gotten upon the wall than really had, they were put to flight. And now one cannot but complain here of

* Roland notes here, very pertinently, that the tower of Antonia stood higher than the floor of the temple; see adjoining 14; and that according to Josephus the temple stood in the same place, as Josephus says, who speaks also. See B. V. ch. ii. sect. 8.

+ In this speech of Titus we may observe the notions which the Romans then had of death, and of the happy state of those who died brave in war; and the contrary state of those who died ignominiously and in dishonour, as Josephus says. See his note here.

++ For the preceding note.
fortune, as still envious of virtue, and always hindering the performance of glorious achievements; this was the case of the man before us, when he had just obtained his purpose; for he then stumbled at a certain large stone, and fell down upon it headlong, with a very great noise. Upon which the Jews turned back, and when they saw him to be alone, and fallen down also, they threw darts at him from every side. However, he got upon his knee, and covered himself with his shield, and at the first defended himself against them, and wounded many of those that came near him; but he was soon forced to relax his right hand, by the multitude of the wounds that had been given him, till at length he was quite covered over with darts before he gave up the ghost. He was one who deserved a better fate, by reason of his bravery; but, as might be expected, he fell under so vast an attempt. As for the rest of his partners, the Jews dashed three of them to pieces with stones, and slew the rest as they were gotten up to the top of the wall; the other eight being wounded, were pulled down and carried back to the camp. These things were done upon the third day of the month Panemus, [Tannus].

7. Now two days afterward, twelve of these men that were on the fore-front, and kept watch upon the banks, got together, and called to them the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, and two others of a troop of horsemen, and one trumpeter; these went without noise about the ninth hour of the night, through the ruins to the tower of Antonia; and when they had cut the throats of the first guards of the place, as they were asleep, they got possession of the wall, and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. Upon which the rest of the guard got up on the sudden, and ran away before any body could see how many they were that were gotten up; for partly from the fear they were in, and partly from the sound of the trumpet which they heard, they imagined a great number of the enemy were gotten up. But as soon as Caesar heard the signal, he ordered the army to set out on the arris, to repair immediately, and came thither with his commanders, and first of all ascended, as did the chosen men that were with him. And as the Jews were flying away to the temple, they fell into that mine which John had dug under the Roman banks. Then did the seditious of both the bodies of the Jewish army, as well that belonging to John, as that belonging to Simon, drive them away; and indeed were no way wanting as to the highest degree of force and alacrity; for they esteemed themselves entirely ruined if once the Romans got into the temple, as did the Romans look upon the safety and conquest of the temple as a conquest. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple, while the Romans were forcing their way, in order to get possession of that temple, and the Jews were driving them back to the tower of Antonia; in which battle the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears, and both sides drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand. Now during this struggle, the positions of the men were undistinguishable on both sides, and they fought at random, the men being intermixed one with another, and confounded, by reason of the narrowness of the place; so that the noise that was made, full on the ear after an indistinct manner, because it was so very loud. Great slaughter was now made on both sides, and the combatants tried upon the bodies and the armour of those that were dead, and dashed them to pieces. Accordingly, to which side soever the battle inclined, those that had the advantage, exhibited another one to go on, as did those that were beaten make great lamentations. But still there was no room for flight, nor for pursuit, but disorderly revolutions and yreets, while the armies were intermixed one with another; but those that were in the first ranks were under the necessity of killing or being killed, without any way for escaping; for those on both sides that came behind, forced those before them to go on, without leaving any space between the armies. At length the Jews' violent zeal was too hard for the Romans' skill, and the battle already inclined entirely that way; for the fight had lasted from the ninth hour of the night till the seventh hour of the day, while the Jews came on in crowds, and had the danger the temple was in for their motive; the Romans having no more here than a part of their army; for those legions, on which the soldiers on that side depended, were not come up to them. So it was at present thought sufficient by the Romans, to take possession of the tower of Antonia.

8. But there was one Julian, a centurion, that came from Bithynia; a man he was of great reputation, whom I had formerly seen in that war, and one of the highest fame, both for his skill in war, his strength of body, and the courage of his soul. This man, seeing the Romans giving ground, and in a sad condition (for he stood by Titus at the tower of Antonia), leaped out, and of his own accord, put the Jews to flight when they were already conquerors, and made them retire as far as the corner of the inner court of the temple: from him the multitude fled away in crowds, as supposing that neither his strength nor his violent attacks could be those of a mere man. Accordingly he rushed through the midst of the Jews, as they were dispersed all abroad, and killed those that he caught. Nor, indeed, was there any sight that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Caesar, or more terrible to others than this. However, he was himself pursued by fate, which it was not possible that he who was but a mortal man should escape, for as he had shoes all full of sharp and thick nails, as had every one of the other soldiers, so when he ran on the pavement of the temple, he slipped, and fell down upon his back with a very great noise, which was made by his armour. This made those that were running away to turn back; whereupon those Romans that were in the tower of Antonia set up a great shout as they were in fear for the man. But the Jews got about him in crowds, and struck at him with their spears, and with their swords on all sides. Now he received a great many of their weapons upon his shield, and often attempted to get up again, but was thrown down by those that struck at him; yet did he, as he lay along, stab many of them with his sword. Nor was he soon killed, as being covered with his helmet and his breast-plate in all those parts of his body where he might be mortally wounded; he also pulled his neck close to his body, till all his other limbs were shattered, and nobody durst come to defend him, and then he yielded to his fate. Now Caesar was deeply affected on account of this man of so great fortitude, and especially as h—
killed in the sight of so many people; he was desirous himself to come to his assistance, but the place would not give him leave, while such as could have done it, were too much terrified to attempt it. Thus it often was: with such death a great while, and had let few of those that had given him his mortal wound go off unhurt, he had at last his throat cut, though not without some difficulty; and left behind him a great fame, not only among the Romans and with Caesar himself, but among his enemies also; then did the Jews catch up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now those that most signalized themselves, and fought most zealously in this battle of the Jewish side, were one Alexias and Gyphtheus, of John's party; and of Simon's party were Malachias, and Judas the son of Merto, and James the son of Sassus, the commander of the Idumeans; and of the zealots, two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of Jairus.

CHAPTER II.

HOW TITUS GAVE ORDERS TO DEMOLISH THE TOWER OF ANTONIA, AND THEN PERSUaded JOSEPHUS TO EXHIBIT THE JEWS AGAIN TO A SURRENDER.

§ I. And now Titus gave orders to his soldiers that were with him to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make him a ready passage for his army to come up; while he himself had Josephus brought to him (for he had been informed that on that very day, which was the seventeenth day of the month of Panemus, the sacrifice called "the Daily Sacrifice" had failed, and had not been offered to God for want of men to offer it, and that the people were grievously troubled as it) and commanded him to say the same things to John that he had said before, that if he had any malicious inclination for fighting, he might come out with as many of his men as he pleased, in order to fight, without the danger of destroying either his city or temple; but that he desired he would not defile the temple, nor thereby offend against God. That he might, if he pleased, offer the sacrifices which were now discontinued, by any of the Jews whom he should pitch upon. Upon this, Josephus stood in such a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more, and then declared to them what Caesar had given him in charge, and this in the Hebrew language. So he earnestly prayed them to spare their own city, and to prevent that fire which was just ready to seize upon the temple, and to offer their usual sacrifices to God therein. At these words of his a great sadness and silence were observed among the people. But the tyrant himself cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations besides; and at last added this withal, that he did never fear the taking of the city, because it was God's own city. In answer to which, Josephus said thus, with a loud voice: "To be sure, thou hast kept this city wonderfully pure for God's sake! the temple also continues entirely unviolated! but now hast thou been a sacrifice against him, for whose assistance thou hast not! He still receives his accustomed sacrifices! We wretched that thou art! if any one should deprive thee of thy daily food, thou wouldst esteem him to be an enemy to thee; but thou hast not! But in that, God for thy supporter in this war whom thou hast deprived of his everlasting worship! and thou impartest those sins to the Romans, who, to this very time take care to have our laws observed, and almost compel these sacrifices to be still offered in God, which have by thy means been interrupted! Who is there can avoid groans and lamentations at the changing of the thing that is made in this city, since very foreigners and enemies do now correct that impiety which thou hast occasioned: while thou, who art a Jew, and was educated in our laws, art become a greater enemy to them than the others! But still, John, it is never dishonourable to repent, and amend what hath been done amiss, even at the last extremity. Thou hast an instance before thee in Jeconiah, the king of the Jews, if thou hast a mind to save the city, who, when the king of Babylon made war against him, did, of his own accord, go out of this city before it was taken, and did undergo a voluntary captivity with his family, that the sanctuary might not be delivered up to the enemy, and that he might not see the house of God set on fire: on which account he is celebrated among all the Jews, in their sacred memorials, and his memory is become immortal, and will be conveyed fresh down to our posterity through all ages. This, John, is an excellent example in such a time of danger; and I dare venture to promise that the Romans shall still forgive thee. And take notice, that I, who make this exhortation to thee, am one of that same nation; I, who am a Jew, do make this promise to thee. And it will become thee to consider who I am that give thee this counsel, and whence I am derived; for while I am alive I shall never be in such slavery as to forsake my own kindred, or forget the laws of our forefathers. Thou hast indignation at me again, and makest a clamour at me, and reproachest me; indeed, I cannot deny but I am worthy of worse treatment than all this amounts to, because, in opposition to fate, I make this kind invitation to thee, and endeavour to force deliverance upon those whom God hath condemned. And who is there that does not know what the writings of the ancient prophets contain in them,—and particularly that of Old is which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this miserable city,—for they foretold that this city should be then taken when somebody shall begin the slaughter of his own countrymen! and are not both the city and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your countrymen! It is God therefore, it is God himself who is bringing on this city, to purge that city and temple by means of the Romans, and is going to pluck up this city, which is full of your pollutions?"
2. As Josephus spoke these words with groans, and tears in his eyes, his voice was intercepted by sobbing. However, the Romans could not but pity the affliction he was under, and wonder at his conduct. But for John, and those that were with him, they were but the more exasperated against the Romans on this account, and were desirous to get Josephus also into their power: yet did that discourse influence a great many of the better sort; and truly some of them were so afraid of the guards set by the seditions, that they tarried where they were, but still were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction. Some also there were who, watching for a proper opportunity when they might quietly get away, fled to the Romans, of whom were the high-priests John and Jesus, and of the sons of high-priests three, whose father was Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene, and four sons of Matthias, as also one son of the other Matthias, who ran away after his father's death,* and whose father was slain by Simon, the son of Gioras, with three of his sons, as I have already related; many also deserted to the Romans, together with the high-priests. Now Caesar not only received these men very kindly in other respects, but, knowing they would not willingly live after the customs of other nations, he sent them to Gophna, and desired them to remain there for the present, and told them, that when he was gotten clear of this war, he would restore each of them to their possessions again: so they cheerfully retired to that small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger. But as they did not appear, the seditions gave out again, that these deserters were slain by the Romans,—which was the first step from the rest of the way by fear of the like treatment. This trick of theirs succeeded now for a while, as did the like trick before; for the rest were hereby deterred from deserting, by fear of the like treatment.

3. However, when Titus had recalled those men from Gophna, he gave orders that they should go round the wall, together with Josephus, and show themselves to the people; upon which a great many fled to the Romans. These men also got in a great number together, and stood before the Romans, and besought the seditions, with groans, and tears, in the name of the place to receive the Romans entirely into the city, and save that their own place of residence again; but that if they would not agree to such a proposal, they would at least depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for their own use; for that the Romans would not venture to set the sanctuary on fire, but under the most pressing necessity. Yet did the seditions still more and more contradict them; and while they cast loud and bitter reproaches upon these deserters, they also set their engines for throwing of darts, and javelins, and stones, upon the sacred gates of the temple, at due distances from one another, insomuch that all the space round about within the temple might be compared to a burying-ground, so great was the number of the dead bodies therein; as might the house itself be compared to a citadel. Accordingly, these men rushed upon these holy places in their armour, that were otherwise wise unapproachable, and that while their hands were yet warm with the blood of their own people which they had shed; nay, they proceeded to such great transgressions, that the very same indignation which Jews would naturally have against Romans, had they been guilty of such abuses against them, the Romans now had, against the Jews, a still greater in regard to their own religious customs.

Nay, indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers who did not look with a sacred horror upon the holy house, and adored it, and wished that the robbers would repent before their miseries became incurable.

4. Now Titus was deeply affected with this state of things, and reproached John and his party, and said to them, "Have not you, vile wretches that you are, by our permission, put up this partition-wall before your sanctuary! Have not you been allowed to put up the pillars therto belonging, at due distances, and on it to engrave in Greek, and in your own letters, this prohibition, that no foreigner should go beyond that wall! Have we not given you leave to kill such as go beyond it, though he were a Roman? And what do you now, you pernicious villains! Why do you trample upon dead bodies in this temple? and why do you pollute this holy house with the blood both of foreigners and Jews themselves? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place (for I do not suppose it to be now regarded by any of them); I also appeal to my own army, and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to you yourselves, that I do not force you to defile this your sanctuary; and if you will but change the place whereon you will fight, no Roman shall either come near your sanctuary, or offer any affront to it; nay, I will endeavour to preserve you your holy house, whether you will or not."

5. As Josephus explained these things from the mouth of Caesar, both the robbers and the tyrant thought that these exhortations proceeded from Titus's fear, and not from his good-will to them, and grew more and more upon his soul, until he was afraid that these men were neither to be moved by commiseration towards themselves, nor had any concern upon them to have the holy house spared, he proceeded, unwillingly, to go on again with the war against them. He could not indeed bring all his army against them, the place was so narrow; but choosing thirty soldiers of the most valiant out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cerealis their commander-in-chief, he gave orders that they should attack the guards of the temple about the ninth hour of that night; but as he was now in the business of going down with them, his friends would not let him go, by reason of the greatness of the danger, and what the commanders suggested to them; for they said, that he would do more by sitting above in the tower of Antonia, as a dispenser of rewards to those that signalled themselves in the fight, than by coming down and hazarding his own person in the fore-front of them; for that they would all fight stoutly while Caesar looked upon them. With this advice Caesar complied, and said, that the only reason he had for such compliance...
with the soldiers was this, that he might be able to judge of their courageous actions, and that no valiant soldier might lie concealed, and miss of his reward; and no cowardly soldier might go unpunished; but that he might himself be an eye-witness, and assist in giving the justest award. He also made a place for all those of them, who was to be the disposer of punishments and rewards to them. So he sent the soldiers about their work at the hour forementioned, while he went out himself to a higher place in the tower of Antonia, whence he might see what was done, and there waited with impatience to see the event.

6. However, the soldiers that were sent did not find the guards of the temple asleep, as they hoped to have done; but were obliged to fight with them immediately hand to hand; as they rushed with violence upon them with a great shout. Now, as soon as the rest within the temple heard that shout of those that were upon the watch, they ran out in troops upon them. Then did the Romans receive the onset of those that came first upon them; but those that followed them fell upon their own troops, and many of them treated their own soldiers as if they had been enemies; for the great confused noise that was made on both sides, hindered them from distinguishing one another’s voices, as did the darkness of the night hinder them from the like distinction by the sight; besides that blindness which arose otherwise also from the passion and the fear, they were in at the same time; for which reason, it was all one to the soldiers who it was they struck at. However, this ignorance did less harm to the Romans than to the Jews, because they were joined together under their shields, and made their saillies more regularly than the others did, and each of them remembered their watch-word; while the Jews were perpetually dispersed abroad, and made their attacks and retreats at random, and so did not seem to one another to be enemies; for every one of them received those of their own men that came back in the dark as Romans, and made an attack upon them; so that those of them wounded by their own men than by the enemy, till, upon the coming on of the day, the nature of the fight was discerned by the eye afterward. Then did they stand in battle-array in distinct bodies, and cast their darts regularly, and regularly defended themselves; nor did either side yield or grow weary. The Romans contended with each other who should fight the most strenuously, both single men and entire regiments, as being under the eye of Titus; and every one concluded that this day would bring his promotion if he fought bravely. The great encouragements which the Jews had in view to act vigorously, were their fear for themselves and for the temple, and the presence of their tyrant, who exhorted some, and threatened and beat others to act courageously. Now, it so happened, that this fight was for the most part a stationary one, wherein the soldiers went on, and came back in a short time, and suddenly; for there was no long space of ground for either of their flights or pursuits; but still there was a tumultuous noise among the Romans from the tower of Antonia, who loudly cried out upon all occasions for their own men to give evidence of all that was done, who were too hard for the Jews, and to stay when they were retiring backward; so that there was a kind of theatre of war; for what was done in this fight could not be concealed either from Titus or from those that were about him. At length, it appeared that this

fight, which began at the ninth hour of the night, was not over till past the fifth hour of the day; and that, in the same place where the battle began, neither party could say they had made the other to retire; but both the armies left the uncertainty between them; wherein those that signalized themselves on the Roman side were a great many; but on the Jewish side, and of those that were with Simon, Judas the son of Mero, and Simon the son of Joses; of the Idumeans, James and Simon, the latter of whom was the son of Cathias, and James was the son of Soss; of those that were with John, Gypsytheus and Alexas; and, of the zealots, Simon, the son of Jairus.

7. In the meantime, the rest of the Roman army had, in seven days’ time, overthrown [some] foundations of the temple of Antonia, and had made a ready and broad way to the temple. Then did the legions come near the first court, and began to raise their banks. The one bank was over-against the north-west corner of the inner temple; another was at that northern edifice which was between the two gates; and of the other two, one was at the western cloister of the outer court of the temple; the other against its northern cloister. However, these works were thus far advanced by the Romans, not without great pains and difficulty, and particularly by being obliged to bring the materials from the distance of a hundred furrow lengths. They had farther difficulties also upon them, sometimes, by the over-great security they were in that they should overcome the Jewish snares laid for them, and by that boldness of the Jews which their despair of escaping had inspired them with; for some of their horsemen, when they went out to gather wood or hay, let their horses feed, without having their bridles on during the time of foraging; upon which horses the Jews sallied out in whole bodies, and seized them; and when this was continually done, and Cæsar believed, what the truth was, that the horses were stolen more by the Jews than by their own men than by the value of the Jews, he determined to use greater severity to oblige the rest to take care of their horses; so he commanded that one of those soldiers who had lost their horses should be capitally punished; whereby he so terrified the rest, that they preserved their horses for the time to come; for they did not any longer let them go from them to feed by themselves, but, as if they had grown to them, they went always along with them when they wanted necessaries. Thus did the Romans still continue to make war against the temple, and to raise their banks against it.

8. Now, after one day had been interposed since the Romans ascended the breach, many of the siegidi were so pressed by the famine, upon the present failure of their ravages, that they got together, and made an attack on those Roman guards that were upon the Mount of Olives, and this about the eleventh hour of the day, as supposing first, that they would not expect such an onset, and that next place, that they were then taking care of their bodies, and that therefore they should very easily beat them; but the Romans were apprised of their coming per adverbium, the day beforehand, and running together from the neighbouring camps on the sudden, prevented them from getting over their fortification, or forcing the wall that was built about them. Upon this came on a sharp fight, and here
many great actions were performed on both sides; while the Romans showed both their courage and their skill in war, as did the Jews come on them with immoderate violence and intolerable passion. The one party were urged on by shame, and the other by necessity; for it seemed a very shameful thing to the Romans, to let the Jews go, now they were taken in a kind of net; while the Jews had but one hope of saving themselves, and that was, in case they could by violence break through the Roman wall---and one, whose name was Pudens, belonging to a party of horsemen, when the Jews were already beaten and forced down into the valley together, spurred his horse on their flank with great vehemence, and caught up a certain young man belonging to the enemy by his axe, as he was running away. The man was, however, of a robust body, and in his armour; so low did Pudens bend himself downward from his horse, even as he was galloping away, and so great was the strength of his right hand, and of the rest of his body, as also such skill had he in horsemanship. So this man seized upon that horse, as upon precious treasures, and carried him as his captive to Caesar: whereupon Titus admired the man that had seized the other, for his great strength, and ordered the man that was caught to be punished [with death], for his attempt against the Roman wall, but betook himself to the siege of the temple, and to pressing on the raising of the banks. 9. In the meantime the Jews were so distressed by the fights they had been in, as the war advanced higher and higher, and creeping up to the holy house itself, that they, as it were, cut off those limbs of their body which were into hand, in order to prevent the dieter’s spreading farther; for they set the north-west cloister, which was joined to the tower of Antonia, on fire, and after that broke off about twenty cubits of that cloister, and thereby made a beginning in burning the sanctuary: two days after which, or on the twenty-fourth day of the forenamed month [Panemus or Tamuz], the Romans set fire to the cloister that joined to the other, when the fire went fifteen cubits farther. The Jews, in like manner, cut off its roof; nor did they entirely leave off what they were about, till the tower of Antonia was parted from the temple, even when it was in their power to have stopped the fire; nay, they lay still while the temple was first set on fire, and deemed this spreading of the fire to be for their own advantage. However, the armies were still fighting one against another about the temple; and the war was managed by continual sallies of particular parties against one another. 10. Now there was at this time a man among the Jews; low of stature he was, and of a despicable appearance; of no character either as to his family, or in other respects: his name was Jonathan. He went out at the high-priest John’s monument, and uttered many other insolent things to the Romans, and challenged the best of them all to a single combat; but many of those that stood there in the army huffed him, and many of them (as they might well be) were afraid of him. Some of them also reasoned thus, and that justly enough: that it was not fit to fight with a man that desired to die, because that those that utterly despairs of deliverance had, besides other passions, a violence in attacking men that could not be opposed, and had no regard to God himself; and that to hazard one’s self with a person, whom if you overcome, you do no great matter, and by whom it is hazardous that you may be taken prisoner, would be an instance, not of manly courage, but of unmanly rashness. So there being nobody that came out to accept the man’s challenge, and the Jew entitling them with a great number of reproaches, as cowards (for he was a very haughty man in himself, and a great despiser of the Romans), one whose name was Pudens, of the body of horsemen, out of his abomination of the other’s words, and of his impudence withal, and perhaps out of an insconsiderate arrogances, on account of the other’s lowness of stature, ran out to him, and was too hard for him in other respects, but was betrayed by his ill-fortune; for he fell down, and as he was down, Jonathan came running to him, and cut his throat, and then standing upon his dead body, he brandished his sword, bloody as it was, and shook his shield with his left hand, and made many acclamations to the Roman army, and exulted over the dead man, and jeered upon the Romans; till at length one Priscus, a centurion, shot a dart at him as he was leaping and playing the fool with himself, and thereby pierced him through; upon which a shout was set up both by the Jews and the Romans, though on different accounts. So Jonathan grew giddily by the pain of his wounds, and fell down upon the body of his adversary—a plain instance how suddenly vengeance may come upon men that have success in war, without any just deserving of the same.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING A STRATAGEM THAT WAS DEVISED BY THE JEWS, BY WHICH THEY BURNED MANY OF THE ROMANS; WITH ANOTHER DESCRIPTION OF THE TERRIBLE FAMINE THAT WAS IN THE CITY.

§ 1. But now the seditions that were in the temple did every day openly endeavour to beat off the soldiers that were upon the banks, and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month [Panemus or Tamuz], contrived such a stratagem as this:—They filled that part of the western cloister* which was between the beams, and the roof under them, with dry materials, as also with bitumen and pitch, and then retired from that place as though they were tired with the pains they had taken; at which procedure of theirs, many of the most insconsiderate among the Romans, who were carried away with violent passions, followed hard after them as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the cloister, and got up to it suddenly; but the prudent part of them, when they understood this unaccountable retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of those that were gone up the ladders; at which time the Jews set it all on fire; and as the flames burst out everywhere on the sudden, the Romans that were out of the danger, were seized with a very great consternation, as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded with the flames, some of them threw themselves down backwards into the city, and some among their enemies [in the temple]; as did many leap down to their own men, and broke their limbs to pieces; but

* Of the Court of the Gentiles.
great number of those that were going to take these violent methods were prevented by the fire; though some prevented the fire by their own swords. However, the fire was on the sudden carried so far as to surround those who would have otherwise perished. As for Caesar himself, he could not, however, but commiserate those that thus perished, although they got up thither without any order for so doing, since there was no way of giving them any relief. Yet was this some comfort to those that were destroyed, that every body might see that person grieve, for whose sake they came to their end; for he cried out openly to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were about him to do their utmost to relieve them. So every one of them died cheerfully, as carrying along with him these words and this intention of Caesar as a sepulchral monument. Some there were, indeed, who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad, and were preserved out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews; and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at length they all fell down dead.

2. At the last a young man among them, whose name was Longus, became a decoration to this sad affair, and while every one of them that perished were worthy of a memorial, this man appeared to deserve it beyond all the rest. Now the Jews admired this man for his courage, and were further delectors of having him slain; so they persuaded him to come down to them, upon security given him for his life. But Cornelius, his brother, persuaded him, on the contrary, not to tarnish his own glory nor that of the Roman army. He complied with this last advice, and lifting up his sword before both armies, he slew himself. Yet was there one Arcturus among those surrounded with the fire, who escaped by his subtility; for when he had with a loud voice called to him Lucius, one of his fellow-soldiers that lay with him in the same tent, and said to him, "I do leave thee heir of all I have, if thou livest!" Arcturus, upon this, came running to receive him readily; Arcturus then threw himself down upon him, and saved his own life, while he that received him was dashed so vehemently against the stone pavement by the other’s weight, that he died immediately. This melancholy accident made the Romans sad for a while, but still it made them more upon their guard for the future, and was of advantage to them against the delusions of the Jews, by which they were greatly damaged, through their unacquaintedness with the places, and with the nature of the inhabitants.

Now the house was but known as John’s tower, which he built in the war he made against Simon over the gates that led to the Xystus. The Jews also cut off the rest of that cloister from the temple, after they had destroyed those that got up to it. But the next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely, as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley that was called Cedron, and was built over it; on which account, the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

3. Now of those that perished by famine in the city, the number was prodigious, and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable; for so much as the shadow of any kind of food did anywhere appear, a war was commenced presently; and the dearest friends fell a fighting one with another about it, snatching from each other the most miserable supports of life. Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food; but the robbers would search them when they were expiring, lest any one should have concealed there, in their tents, or clothes, or pockets, or bedding; these robbers gaped and contorted their faces for want, and ran about stumbling and staggering along like mad dogs, and reeling against the doors of the houses like drunken men; they would also, in the great distress they were in, rush into the very same houses two or three times in one and the same day. Moreover, their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing, while they gathered such things as the most savoiroids animals would not touch, and endured to eat them; nor did they at length abstain from giraffes and shoes; and the very leather which belonged to their shields they pulled off and gnawed; the very wisps of old hay became food to some; and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four Attie [drachms]. But why should I describe the shameless impudence that the famine brought on men in their eating inanimate things, while I am going to relate a matter of fact, the like to which no history relates, either among the Greeks or Barbarians! It is horrible to speak of it, and incredible when heard. I had indeed willingly omitted this calamity of ours, that I might not seem to deliver what is so portentous to posterity, but that I have in the meantime witnessed to it in my own age; and besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

4. Now there was a certain woman that dwell beyond Jordan, her name was Mary; her father was Eleazar, of the village Bethzebul, which signifies the House of Hyssop. She was eminent for her family and her wealth, and had fled away to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, and was with them besieged therein at this time. The other effects of this war, which I saw by already seized in time, as soon as she had brought her out of Peron, and removed to the city. What she had treasure up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had also been carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running her house for that purpose. This put the poor woman into a very great passion, and by the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious villains, she had provoked them to anger against her; but none of them, either out of the indignation she had raised against herself, or out of the commiseration of her case, would take away her life; and if she found any food, she perceived her labours were for others, and not for herself; and it was now become impossible for her any way to find any more food, while the famine pierced through her very bowels and marrow, when also

*What Josephus observes here, that no parallel examples had been recorded before, is one of such instances, where robbers or mothers were forced by the great extremity of famine to eat their own children, as he shews; and yet the Jews are not inferior to this view of human nature, who, under the same sense, and more than that, fulfilled (as we may see in Byron’s Lectures, p. 318-319), to the same end; being supported by the fact of Bacchus, and the mother, who would not eat on the fourth day of his birth, as being too tender, and yet (by the same) the baby was nourished on the same day by his father, where they knew of no possible way to avoid death, nor were they able to nourish them- selves, but by killing and eating others. Which is the reason why Josephus, and other writers, were not more particular in the present case, may be the greater, supposing this extreme case only, and not imaginary, to warn men in their natural relations, of the consequences to others, if they are driven to the same extremity, as to force mothers to this unspeakable act, which, in all its circumstances, is not, I still suppose, known by any parallelism among the acts of mankind.\*
CHAPTER IV.

WHEN THE BARKS WERE COMPLETED, AND THE BATTERING-RAMS BROUGHT, AND COULD DO NOTHING, TITUS GAVE ORDERS TO SET FIRE TO THE GATES OF THE TEMPLE; IN NO LONG TIME AFTER WHICH, THE HOLY HOUSE ITSELF WAS BURNED DOWN, EVEN AGAINST HIS CONSENT.

§ 1. And now two of the legions had completed their barks on the eighth day of the month Louis [Ab]. Whereupon Titus gave orders that the battering-rams should be brought and set over against the western edifice of the inner temple; for before these were brought, the firmer of all the other engines had battered the wall for six days together without ceasing, without making any impression upon it; but the vast largeness and strong connexion of the stones were superior to that engine, and to the other battering-rams also. Other Romans did indeed undermine the foundations of the northern gate, and, after a world of pains, removed the outermost stones, yet was the gate still upheld by the inner stones, and stood still unburst; till the workmen despairing of all such attempts by engines and crowns, brought their ladders to the cloisters. Now the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing; but when they were gotten up, they fell upon them and fought with them; some of them they thrust down, and threw them backwards headlong; others of them they met and slew; they also beat many of those that went down the ladders again, and slew them with their swords before they could bring their shields to protect them; nay, some of the ladders they threw down from above when they were full of armed men; a great slaughter was made of the Jews also at the same time, while those that bare the ensigns fought hard for them, as seeming it a terrible thing, and what would tend to their great shame, if they permitted them to be stolen away. Yet did the Jews at length get possession of these engines, and destroyed those that had gone up the ladders, while the rest were so intimidated by what those suffered who were slain, that they retired; although none of the Romans died without having done good service before his death. Of the seditions those that had fought bravely in the former battles, did the like now; as besides them did Eleazar, the brother's son of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus perceived that his endeavours to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers and made them be killed, he gave orders to set the gates on fire.

2. In the meantime there descended to him Annanus, who came from Emmius, the most bloody of all Simon's guards, and Archelaus, the son of Magadatus, they hoping to be still forgiven, because they had the Jews at a time when they were the conquerors. Titus objected this to these men, a cunning trick of theirs; and as he formed of their other barbarities he was going in all haste to have
He told them that they were only driven to this
derision because of the utmost distress they were
in, and did not come away of their own good dis-
position; and that those did not deserve to be pre-
served, by whom their own city was set on fire, out
of which fire they now hurried themselves away.
However, the security he had promised deserters
overcame his resentments, and he dismissed them
accordingly, though he did not give them the same
privileges that he had afforded to others; and now
the soldiers had already put fire to the gates, and
the silver that was over them quickly carried the
flames to the wood that was within it, whence it
spread itself all on the sudden, and caught hold of
the cloisters. Upon the Jews’ seeing this fire all
about them, their spirits sunk, together with their
bodies, and they were under such astonishment,
that not one of them made any haste, either to de-
defend himself or to quench the fire, but they stood
as mute spectators of it only. However, they did not
so grieve at the loss of what was now burning as to
grow wiser thereby for the time to come; but as
though the holy house itself had been on fire al-
ready, they shivered their passions against the Ro-
mans. This fire prevailed during that day and the
next also; for the soldiers were not able to burn
all the cloisters that were round about together at
one time, but only by pieces.

3. But then, on the next day, Titus commanded
part of his army to quench the fire, and to make
a road for the more easy marching up of the legions,
while he himself gathered the commanders toge-
ther. Of those there were assembled the six prin-
cipal persons: Tiberius Alexander, the commander
[under the general] of the whole army; with Sex-
tus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion;
and Larcius Lepidus, the commander of the tenth
legion; and Titus Frugi, the commander of the
fifteenth legion: there was also with them Eternius,
the leader of the two legions that came from Alex-
andria; and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procur-
ator of Judea: after these came together all the
rest of the procurators and tribunes. Titus pro-
tested to these that they should give him their ad-
vice what should be done about the holy house.
Now, some of these thought it would be the best
way to act according to the rules of war [and
destroy it]; because the Jews would never leave
off rebelling while that house was standing; at
whereas it was that they used to get all toge-
ther. Others of them were of opinion, that in case
the Jews would leave it, and none of them would
lay their arms up in it, he might save it; but that
in case they got upon it, and fought any more, he
might burn it; because it must then be looked upon
not as a holy house, but as a citadel; and that the
impunity of burning it would then belong to those
that forced this to be done, and not to them. But
Titus said, that “although the Jews should get
upon that holy house, and fight us thence, yet ought
we not to revenge ourselves on things that are in-
animate, instead of the men themselves?” and that
he was not in any case for burning down so vast a
work, as that was, because this would be a mischief
to the Romans themselves, as it would be an omi-
thment to their government while it continued. So
Fronto, and Alexander, and Cerealis, grew bold
upon that declaration, and agreed to the opinion of
Titus. Then was this assembly dissolved, when
Titus had given orders to the commanders that the
rest of their forces should lie still; but that they
should make use of such as were most courageous
in this attack. So he commanded that the chosen
men that were taken out of the cohorts should
make their way through the ruins, and quench the
fire.

4. Now it is true, that on this day the Jews
were so weak, and under such consternation, that
they refrained from any attacks; but on the next
day they gathered their whole force together, and
ran upon those that guarded the outward court of
the temple, very boldly, through the east gate, and hit
about the second hour of the day. These guards
received that their attack with great bravery, and
by covering themselves with their shields before,
as if it were with a wall, they drew their squadrons
close together; yet was it evident that they could
not abide there very long, but would be overcome
by the multitude of those that sallied out upon
them, and by the heat of their passion. However,
Cesar seeing, from the tower of Antonia, that this
squadron was likely to give way, he sent some
chosen horsemen to support them. Hereupon the
Jews found themselves not able to sustain their
onset, and upon the slaughter of those in the fore-
front, many of the rest were put to flight; but as
the Romans were going off, the Jews turned upon
them and fought them; and as those Romans came
back upon them, they retreated again, until on the
fifth hour of the day they were overcome, and
shut themselves up in the inner [court of the]
temple.

5. So Titus retired into the tower of Antonia,
and resolved to storm the temple the next day,
early in the morning, with his whole army, and to
encamp round about the holy house; but, as for
that house, God had for certain long ago doomed it
to the fire; and now that fatal day was come, ac-
cording to the revolution of ages: it was the tenth
day of the month Louis [Ab], upon which it was
formerly burnt by the king of Babylon; although
these flames took their rise from the Jews them-
selves, and were occasioned by them; for upon
Titus’s retiring, the seditious lay still for a little
while, and then attacked the Romans again, when
those that guarded the holy house fought with those
that quenched the fire that was burning in the inner
[court of the] temple; but these Romans put the
Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the holy
house itself. At which time one of the soldiers,
without staying for any orders, and without any
concern or dread upon him at so great an unde-
taking, and being hurried on by a certain divine
fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that
were on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier,
he set fire to a golden window, through which there
was a passage to the rooms that were round about
the holy house, on the north side of it. As the
flames went upward the Jews made a great clamour,
such as so mighty an affliction required, and ran
together to prevent it; and now they spared not
their lives any longer, nor suffered any thing to
restrain their force, since that holy house was
perishing, for whose sake it was that they kept such
a guard about it.

6. And now a certain person came running to
Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was resting
himself in hasty after the last battle; whereupon he
rose up in great haste, and as he was, ran to the holy
house, in order to have a stop put to the fire; after
him followed all his commanders, and after them
followed the several legions, in great astonishment.
so there was a great clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army. Then did Caesar, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting, with a loud voice, and by giving a signal to them with his right hand, encourage them. And thus did he, from time to time, hear what he said, though he spake so loud, having their ears already dinned by a greater noise another way; nor did they attend to the signal he made with his right hand, neither, as still some of them were distracted with fighting, and others with passion; but as for the legions that came running thither, neither any persuasions nor any threatenings could restrain their violence, but each one's own passion was his commander at this time; and as they were crowding into the temple together, many of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters, which were still hot and smoking, and were destroyed in the same miserable way with those whom they had conquered: and when they were come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Caesar's orders to the contrary; but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditions they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance [toward quelling the fire]; they were everywhere slain, and everywhere beaten; and as for a great part of the people, they were weak and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were caught. Now, round about the altar lay dead bodies heaped one upon another; as at the steps* going up to it ran a great quantity of their blood, whither also the dead bodies that were slain above [on the altar] fell down.

7. And now, since Caesar was no way able to restrain the enthusiastic fury of the soldiers, and the fire proceeded on more and more, he went into the holy place of the temple, with his commanders, and saw it, with what in it, which he found to be of such superstition to what the relations of foreigners had contained, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted of and believed about it; but as the flame had not as yet reached to its inward parts, but was still consuming the rooms that were about the holy house, and Titus supposing what the fact was, that the house itself might yet be saved, he came in haste and endeavoured to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave order to Liberalius the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, to beat the soldiers that were refractory with their staves, and to restrain them; yet were their passions too hard for the regard they had for Caesar, and the dread they had for him who forbade them, as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehemence inclination to fight them, too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on, as having this opinion, that all the places within were full of money, and as seeing that all round about it was made of gold; and besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Caesar, when he ran so hastily out to restrain the soldiers, and threw the fire upon the hinges of the gate, in the dark; whereby the flame burst out from within the holy house itself immediately, when the commanders retired, and Caesar

with them, and when nobody any longer forbode those that were without to set fire to it; and thus was the holy house burnt down, without Caesar's approbation.

8. Now, although any one would justly lament the destruction of such a work as this was, since it was the most admirable of all the works that we have seen or heard of, both for its curious structure and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the glorious reputation it had for its holiness; yet might such a one comfort himself with this thought, that it was fate that decreed it to be, which is inevitable, both as to living creatures and as to works and places also. However, one cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating; for the same month and day were now observed, as I said before, wherein the holy house was burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first foundation, which was laid by king Solomon, till this its destruction, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the second building of it, which was done by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred and thirty-nine years and forty-five days.

CHAPTER V.

THE GREAT DISTRESS THE JEWS WERE IN UPON THE CONFLAGRATION OF THE HOLY HOUSE. CONCERNING A FALSE PROPHET, AND THE SIGNS THAT PRECEDED THIS DESTRUCTION.

§ 1. While the holy house was on fire, everything was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain; nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity; but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests, were all slain in the same manner; so that this war went round all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction, and as well those that made supplication for their lives, as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain; and because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great, one would have thought that the whole city had been on fire. Nor can one imagine any thing either greater or more terrible than this noise; for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together, and a sad clamour of the seditions, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great constellation, and made and moans at the calamity they were under; the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were in the hill; and besides many of those that were away by the famine, and their mouths almost when they saw the fire of the holy house, the cried their utmost strength, and broke out groans and outcries again: Persia did also.

* Those steps to the altar of burnt-offering seem either an improper and improper designation of Josephus, since it was unlawful to rock Sphere or Sphere in the Temple, chap. xii., and note on Amos, 7,15. chap. viii. sect. 15, or else these steps or worse, we now use were invaded before the days of Herod the Great, and had been here built by him: though the latter seems always deny it, and say that even Herod's altar was regarded by an authority only.
killed in the sight of so many people; he was desirous himself to come to his assistance, but the place would not give him leave, while such as could have done it, were terrified to attempt it. Thus, when Julian had struggled with death a great while, and had let but few of those that had given him his mortal wound go off unhurt, he had at last his throat cut, though not with some difficulty; and left behind him a great fame, not only among the Romans and with Cæsar himself, but among his enemies also; then did the Jews catch up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now those that most signalized themselves, and fought most desperately in this battle of the Jewish side, were one Alexas and Gymnethus, of John's party; and of Simon's party were Malachas, and Judas the son of Mero, and James the son of Soaman, the commander of the Idumeans; and of the zealots, two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of Jairus.

CHAPTER II.

HOW TITUS GAVE ORDERS TO DEMOLISH THE TOWER OF ANTONIA, AND THEN PERSUADED JOSEPHUS TO EXHIBIT THE JEWS AGAIN [TO A SURRENDER].

§ 1. And now Titus gave orders to his soldiers that were with him to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make him a ready passage for his army to come up; while he himself had Josephus brought to him (for he had been informed that on that very day, which was the seventeenth day of Panemus [Tamuz], the sacrifices called "the Daily Sacrifices" had failed, and had not been offered to God for want of men to offer it, and that the people were grievously troubled at it) and commanded him to say the same things to John that he had said before, that if he had any malicious inclination for fighting, he might come out with as many of his men as he pleased, in order to fight, without the danger of destroying either his city or temple; but that he desired he would not defile the temple, nor thereby offend against God. That he might, if he pleased, offer the sacrifices which were not discontinued, by any of the Jews whom he should pitch upon. Upon this, Josephus stood in such a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more, and then declared to them what Cæsar had given him charge, and this in the Hebrew language. So he earnestly prayed them to spare their own city, and to prevent that fire which was just ready to seize upon the temple, and to offer their usual sacrifices to God therein. At these words of his a great sadness and silence were observed among the people. But the tyrant himself cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations besides; and at last added this withal, that he did never fear the taking of the city, because it was God's own city. In answer to which, Josephus said thus, with a loud voice:—To be sure, thou hast kept this city wonderfully pure for the sake of the temple; thou hast been the first to pollute! Nor hast thou been guilty of any impurity against him, for whose assistance thou hopest! He still receives his accustomed sacrifices! Wilt wretch that thou art! if any one should deprive thee of thy daily food, thou wouldst esteem him to be an enemy to thee; but thou hopest to have that God for thy supporter in this war whom thou hast deprived of his everlasting worship! and thou imputest those sins to the Romans, who to this very time take care to have our laws observed, and also the commandments of God to be still offered to God, which have by thy mean been intermitted! Who is there can avoid groans and lamentations at the amazement change that is made in this city! since very foreigners and enemies do now correct that impiety which thou hast occasioned: while thou, who art a Jew, and was educated in our laws, art become a greater enemy to them than the others! But still, John, it is never dishonourable to repent, and amend what hath been done amiss, even at the last extremity. Thou hast an instance before thee in Jehoahaz: 2 the king of the Jews, if thou hadst a mind to save the city, when the king of Babylon made war against it, he let the cord, go out of this city before it was taken, and did undergo a voluntary captivity with his family, that the sanctuary might not be delivered up to the enemy, and that he might not see the house of God set on fire: on which account he is celebrated among all the Jews, in their sacred memorials, and his memory is become immortal, and will be conveyed fresh down to our posterity through all ages. This, John, is an excellent example in such a time of danger; and I dare venture to promise that the Romans shall still forgive thee. And take notice, that I, who make this exhortation to thee, am one of thine own nation; I, who am a Jew, do make this promise to thee. And it will become thee to consider who I am that give thee this counsel, and whence I am derived; for while I am alive I shall never be in such slavery as to force my own kindred, or forget the laws of my forefathers. Thou hast indignation at me again, and makest a clamour at me, and reproachest me; indeed, I cannot deny but I am worthy of worse treatment than all these amounts to, because, in opposition to fate, I make this kind invitation to thee, and endeavours to force delivery upon those whom God hath condemned. And who is there that does not know what the writings of the ancient prophets contain in them,—and particularly that oracle which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this miserable city,—for they foretold that this city should be then taken, when somebody shall begin the slaughter of his own countrymen, and then both the city and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your countrymen! It is God therefore, it is God himself who is bringing on this fire, to purge thy city and temple by means of the Romans, and is going to clear up this city, which is full of your pollutions.

* This was a very remarkable day indeed, the seventeenth of Panemus [Tamuz], A.D. 70, when, according to Daniel's prophecies, 900 years before, the Romans "in half a week, caused the sacrifice and oblation to cease." Dn. 9, 27; 40: from the month of February, A.D. 69, about which time Vespasian entered this city, on this very time, which continued about three years and a half. See Bishop Lloyd's Tables of Chronology, printed by Mr. Marshall, on this point. Nor is it to be omitted, what very nearly confirms the duration of the war, that four years, before the war was not over, somewhat above seven years five months before the destruction of Jerusalem, chap. 1, sect. 3.

The same that the New Testament is always so called, and was then the common language of the Jews of Judea, which was the Greek dialect.
2. As Josephus spoke these words with groans, and tears in his eyes, his voice was interceded by sobs. However, the Romans could not but pity the affliction he was under, and wonder at his conduct. But for John, and those that were with him, they were but the more exasperated against the Romans on this account, and were desirous to get Josephus also into their power; yet did that discourse influence a great many of the better sort; and truly some of them were so afraid of the guards set by the seidius, that they tarried where they were, but still were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction. Some also there were who, watching for a proper opportunity when they might quietly get away, fled to the Romans, of whom were the high priests Joseph and Jesus, and of the sons of high priests three, whose father was Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene, and four sons of Matthias, as also one son of the other Matthias, who ran away after his father's death, and whose father was slain by Simon, the son of Gioras, with three of his sons, as I have already related: many also of the other nobility went over to the Romans, together with the high priests. Not only did they only receive these men very kindly in other respects, but, knowing they would not willingly live after the customs of other nations, he sent them to Goppa, and desired them to remain there for the present, and told them, that when he was gotten clear of this war, he would restore each of them to their possessions again; so they cheerfully retired to that small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger. But as they did not appear, the seidius gave out again, that these deserters were slain by the Romans, which was done, in order that the rest from beholding aiber of the like treatment. This trick of theirs succeeded now for a while, as did the like trick before; for the rest were hereby deterred from deserting, by fear of the like treatment.

3. However, when Titus had recalled those men from Goppa, he gave orders that they should go round the wall, together with Josephus, and show themselves to the people; upon which a great many fled to the Romans. These men also got in a great number together, and stood before the Romans, and besought the seidius, with groans, and tears in their eyes, in the first place to receive them as the Romans entirely into their power, and save that their own places of residence again; but that if they would not agree to such a proposal, they would at least depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for their own use; for that the Romans would not venture to set the sanctuary on fire, but under the most pressing necessity. Yet did the seidius still more and more contradict them; and while they cast loud and bitter reproaches upon these deserters, they also set their engines for throwing of darts, and javelins, and stones, upon the sacred gates of the temple, at due distances from one another, insomuch that all the space round about within the temple might be compared to a burying-ground, so great was the number of the dead bodies therein; as might the house itself be compared to a citadel. Accordingly, these men rushed upon these holy places in their armour, that were otherwise unapproachable, and that while their hands were yet warm with the blood of their own people which they had shed; nay, they proceeded to such great transgressions, that the very same indignation which Jews would naturally have against Romans, had they been guilty of such abuses against them, the Romans now had, and with reason, in regard to their own religious customs. Not only, indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers who did not look with a sacred horror upon the holy house, and abhor it, and wished that the robbers would repent before their miseries became incurable.

4. Now Titus was deeply affected with this state of things, and reproached John and his party, and said to them, "Have not you, vile wretches that you are, by our permission, put up this partition-wall before your sanctuary? Have not you been allowed to put up the pillars thereto belonging, at due distances, and on it to engrave in Greek, and in your own letters, this prohibition, that no foreigner should go beyond that wall? Have we not given you leave to kill such as go beyond it, though he were a Roman? And what do you now, you pernicious villains? Why do you trample upon dead bodies in this temple? and why do you pollute this holy house with the blood both of foreigners and Jews themselves? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place (for I do not suppose it to be now regarded by any of them); I also appeal to my own army, and to those Jews that are now with and even to you yourselves, that I do not force you to defile this your sanctuary; and if you will but change the place whereon you will fight, no Roman shall either come near your sanctuary, or offer any affront to it; nay, I will endeavour to preserve you your holy house, whether you will or no."

5. As Josephus explained these things from the mouth of Caesar, both the robbers and the tyrant thought that these exhortations proceeded from Titus's fear, and not from his good-will to them, and grew the more upon them; and when Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by commiseration towards themselves, nor had any concern upon them to have the holy house spared, he proceeded, unwillingly, to go on again with the war against them. He could not indeed bring all his army against them, the place was so narrow; but choosing thirty soldiers of the most valiant out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cereale their commander-in-chief, he gave orders that they should attack the guards of the temple about the ninth hour of that night; but as he was now in his armour, and preparing to go down with them, but that Titus saw not let him go, by reason of the greatness of the danger, and what the commanders suggested to him; for they said, that he would do more by sitting above in the tower of Antonia, as a dispenser of rewards to those that signalized themselves in the fight, than by coming down and hazarding his own person in the fore-front of them; for that they would all fight stoutly while Caesar looked upon them. With this advice Caesar complied, and said, that the only reason he had for such compliance  

—Josephus had before told us, book v. ch. xii. sect. 1, that the fourth son of Matthias ran away to the Romans "before his fathers and brethren's slaughter," and not "after it," as hence. The former account is, in all probability, the truth, for had not that fourth son escaped before the others were caught and put to death, he had been caught and put to death with them. This last account, therefore, looks like an instance of a small change of Josephus in the place before us. — Of this partition-wall separating Jews and Gentiles, with its pillars and inscription, see the description of the temple, chap. 47. — That these seidius Jews were the direct enemies of their own destruction, and of the contamination of their city and temple, and that Titus earnestly and constantly laboured to save both, is here and everywhere most evident in Josephus.
could any of those guards overtake him; but still they reproached him for his perfidiosity. To which he made this answer:—‘I have not broken the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in order to my staying with you, but only in order to my coming down safely, and taking up some water; both which things I have performed, and therefore think myself to have been faithful to my engagement.’ Hereupon those whom the child had imposed upon, admired at his cunning, and that on account of his age. On the fifth day afterward, the priests that were placed with him, and among them Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives: but he replied, that the time of pardon was over as to them; and that this very holy house, on whose account alone they could justly hope to be preserved, was destroyed; and that it was agreeable to their office that priests should perish with the house itself to which they belonged. So he ordered them to be put to death.

2. But as for the tyrants themselves, and those that were with them, when they found that they were encompassed on every side, and, as it were, walled round, without any means of escaping, they desired to treat with Titus by word of mouth. Accordingly, such was the kindness of his nature, and his desire of preserving the city from destruction, joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were come to a temper, that he placed himself on the other side of the outer court of the temple; for there were gates on that side above the Yxastus, and a bridge that connected the upper city to the temple. This bridge it was that lay between the tyrants and Cæsar, and parted them; while the multitude stood steeled on each side of those of the Jewish nation about Simon and John, with great hope of pardon; and the Romans about Cæsar, in great expectation how Titus would receive their supplication. So Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone, and appointed an interpreter between them, which was a sign that he was the conqueror, and first began the discourse, and said, ‘I hope, sirs, are now satisfied with the miserable of your country, who have not had any just notions; either of your great power, or of your own great weakness; but have, like madmen, after a violent and inconsiderate manner, made such attempts, as have brought your people, your city, and your holy house, to destruction. You have been the men that have never left off rebelling since Pompey first conquered you; and have, since that time, made open war with the Romans. Have you depended on your multitude, while a very small part of the Roman soldiery have been strong enough for you? Have you relied on the fidelity of your confederates, and what nations are there, out of the limits of our dominion, that would choose to assist the Jews before the Romans? Are your bodies stronger than ours? Nay, you know that the [strong] Germans that we have are our servants. Have you a longer wall than we have? Pray, what greater obstacle is there than the wall of the ocean, with which the Britons are encompassed, and yet do adore the arms of the Romans? Do you exceed us in courage of soul, and in the sagacity of your commanders? Nay, indeed, you cannot but know that the very Carthaginians have been conquered by us. It can therefore be nothing certainly but the kindness of us Romans which hath excited you against us; who, in the first place, have given you this land to possess; and, in the next place, have set over you kings of your own nation; and, in the third place, have preserved the laws of your forefathers to you, and have withal permitted you to live, either by yourselves or among others, as it should please you! and, what is our chief favour of all, we have given you leave to gather up that tribute which is paid to God,* with such other gifts that are dedicated to him; nor have we called those that carried these donations to account, nor prohibited them; till at length you became wiser than we ourselves, even when you were our enemies; and you made preparations for war against us with our own money: nay, after all, when you were in the enjoyment of all these advantages, you turned your too great plenty against those that gave it you, and, like merciless serpents, have thrown out your poison against those that treated you kindly. I suppose, therefore, that you might despise the slothfulness of Nero, and, like limbs of the body that are broken or dislocated, you did then lie quiet, waiting for some other time, though still with a malicious intention, and have now abated your discontent to be greater than ever, and have extended your desires as far as your impatient and immense hopes would enable you to do it. At this time my father came into this country, not with a design to punish you for what you had done under Cestius, but to admonish you; for, had he come to overthrow your nation, he had run directly to your fountain-head, and had immediately laid the city waste; whereas, he went and burnt Galilee, and the neighbouring parts, and thereby gave you time for repentance; which instance of humanity you took for an argument of his weakness, and your own impudence by our mildness. When Nero was gone out of the world, you did as the wicked wretches would have done, and encouraged yourselves to act against us by our civil dissensions, and abused that time, when both I and my father were gone away to Egypt, to make preparations for this war. Nor were you ashamed to raise disturbances against us when we were made emperors, and this while you had experienced how mild we had been, when we were no more than generals of the army; but when the government was delivered upon us, and all other people did the like upon you, you quietly, and even foreign nations sent embassies, and congratulated our access to the government, did you Jews show yourselves to be our enemies. You sent embassies to those of your nation that are beyond Euphrates, to assist you in your rising disturbances; new walls were built by you round your city, seditious arose, and one tyrant contended against another, and a civil war broke out among you; such, indeed, as became none but such wicked people as you are. I then came to this city, as unwillingly sent by my father, and received melancholy injuriations from him. When I heard that the people were disposed to peace, I rejected it; I exhorted you not to leave off these proceedings before I began this war; I spared you even when you had fought against me a great while; I gave my right hand as security to the deserts; I observed what I had promised faithfully. When they fled to me, I had compasion of many of those that I had taken captive; I tortured those that

* Speculatively notes here that the Romans used to permit the Jews to collect their sacred tribute, and sent it to Jerusalem, of which custom had stood and given to Josephus on other occasions.
were eager for war, in order to restrain them. It was unwillingly that I brought my engines of war against your walls; I always prohibited my soldiers, when they were set upon your slaughter, from their severity against you. After every victory I persuaded you to peace, as though I had been myself conquered. When I came near your temple I again departed from the laws of war, and exhorted you to spare your own sanctuary, and to preserve your holy house to yourselves. I allowed you a quiet exit out of it, and security for your preservation; now, if you had a mind I gave you leave to fight in another place. Yet have you still despised every one of my proposals, and have set fire to your holy house with your own hands. And now, vile wretches, do you desire to treat with me by word of mouth? To what purpose is it that you would save such a holy house as this, which is now destroyed? What preservation can you now desire after the destruction of your temple? Yet do you stand still at this very time in your armour; nor can you bring yourselves so much as to pretend to be suppliant even in this your utmost extremity! Look, miserable creatures! what is it you depend on? Are not your people dead? is not your holy house gone? is not your city in my power? and are not your own very lives in my hands? And do you still deem it a part of valour to hope? However, I will not imitate your madness. If you throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to me, I grant you your lives; and I will act like a mild master of a family; what cannot be healed, shall be punished, and the rest I will preserve for my own use.”

3. To that offer of Titus they made this reply:—That they could not accept of it, because they had sworn never to do so; but they desired they might have leave to go through the wall that had been made about them, with their wives and children; that they would go into the desert, and leave the city to him. At this Titus had great indignation; that, when they were in the case of men already taken captives, they should pretend to make their own terms with him as if they had been conquerors! So he ordered this proclamation to be made to them, that they should no more come out to him as deserters, nor hope for any further security; for that he would henceforth spare nobody, but fight them with his whole army; and that they must save themselves as well as they could; for that he would from henceforth treat them according to the laws of war. So he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and plunder the city; who did nothing indeed that day; but on the next day they set fire to the repositories of the archives, to Aera, to the council-house, and to the place called Ophias; at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of queen Helen, which was in the middle of Aera: the lances also were burnt down, as were also those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by famine.

4. On the same day it was that the sons and brethren of Iazeus the king, together with many of the meanest men of the population, met together there, and besought Caesar to give them this right hand for their security. Upon which, though he was very angry at all that were now remaining, yet did he not lay aside his old moderation, but received these men. At that time, indeed, he kept them all in custody, but still bound the king’s sons and kinsmen, and led them with him to Rome, in order to make them hostages for their country’s fidelity to the Romans.

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT AFTERTOWARDS BEFELL THE SEDITIOUS, WHEN THEY HAD DONE A GREAT DEAL OF MISHIEF, AND SUFFERED MANY MISFORTUNES: AS ALSO HOW CAESAR BECAME MASTER OF THE UPPER CITY.

§ 1. And now the seditious rushed into the royal palace, into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Romans away from it. They also slew all the people that had crowded into it, who were in number about eight thousand four hundred, and plundered them of what they had. They also took two of the Romans alive; the one was a horseman, and the other a footman. They then cut the throat of the footman, and immediately had him drawn through the whole city, as revenging themselves upon the whole body of the Romans by this one instance. But the horseman said he had somewhat to suggest to them, in order to their preservation; whereon he was brought before Simon; but he having nothing to say when he was there, he was delivered to Ardallas, one of his commanders to be punished, who bound his hands behind him, and put a ribbon over his eyes, and then brought him out over against the Romans, as intending to cut off his head. But the man prevented that execution, and ran away to the Romans, and this while the Jewish executioner was drawing out his sword. Now when he was gotten away from the enemy, Titus could not think of putting him to death; but because he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any longer, on account that he had been taken alive by the enemy, he took away his arms, and ejected him out of the legion whereto he had belonged; which, to one that had a sense of shame, was a penalty severer than death itself.

2. On the next day the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city, and set all on fire as far as Siloam. These soldiers were indeed glad to see the city destroyed. But they missed the plunder, because the seditions had carried off all their effects, and were retired into the upper city; for they did not yet at all repent of the mischiefs they had done, but were insolent, as if they had done well; for, as they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on joyful countenances, in expectation, as they said, of death to end their miseries. Accordingly, as the people were now slain, the holy house was burnt down, and the city was on fire, there was nothing farther left for the enemy to do. Yet did not Josephus grow weary, even in this utmost extremity, to beg of them to spare what was left of the city; he spake largely to them about their barbarity and impiety, and gave them his advice in order to their escape, though he gained nothing thereby more than to be laughed at by them; and he could not think of speaking to them, because of the oath they had taken, nor were strong enough to fight with the Romans any longer upon the square, as being surrounded on all sides, and a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they could not restrain their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves before the city, and
laid themselves in ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans; accordingly, many such deserters were caught by them, and were all slain; for these were too weak, by reason of their want of food, to fly away from them; so their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every sort of death was thought more tolerable than the famine, insomuch that, though the Jews despaired now of mercy, yet would they fly to the Romans, and would themselves, even of their own accord, fall among the murderous rebels also. Nor was there any place in the city that had no dead bodies in it, but what was entirely covered with those that were either killed by the famine or the rebellion; and all was full of the dead bodies of such as bad perished, either by that sedition or by that famine.

3. So now the last hope which supported the tyrants and the crew of robbers who were with them, was in the caves and caverns under ground; whither, if they could once fly, they did not expect to be searched for; but endeavoured, that after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This was no better than a dream of theirs; for they were not able to lie hid either from God or from the Romans. However, they depended on these under-ground subterfuges, and not more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and those that fled out of their houses thus set on fire, into ditches, they killed without mercy, and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it and swallowed it down, together with their blood also; nay, they were now come to fight one with another about their plunder; and I cannot but think that, had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste of the dead bodies themselves.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW CAESAR RAISED BANKS ROUND ABOUT THE UPPER CITY, AND WHEN THEY WERE COMPLETED, GAVE ORDERS FOR THE MACHINES TO BE BROUGHT, HE THEN POSSESSSED HIMSELF OF THE WHOLE CITY.

§ 1. Now, when Caesar perceived that the upper city was so steep, that it could not possibly be taken without raising banks against it, he distributed the several parts of that work among his army, and this on the twentieth day of the month Nisan [Ab]. Now, the carriage of the materials was a difficult task, since all the trees, as I have already told you, that were about the city, within the distance of a hundred furlongs, had their branches cut off already, in order to make the former banks. The works that belonged to the four legions, were erected on the west side of the city, over-against the royal palace; but the whole body of the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the multitude that were with them, [erected their banks] at the Xystus, whence they reached to the bridge, and that tower of Simon, which he had built as a citadel for himself against John, when they were at war one with another.

The Idumeans got privately together, and took counsel about surrendering themselves up to the Romans. Accordingly, they sent five men to Titus, and entreated him to give them his right hand for their security. So Titus thinking that the tyrants would yield, if the Idumeans, upon whom a great part of the war depended, were once withdrawn from them, after some reluctance and delay, complied with them, and gave them security for their lives, and sent, the five men back; but as thus Idumeans were preparing to march out, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus, and took their commanders, and put them in prison, of whom the most eminent was Jacob, the son of Sossas; but as for the multitude of the Idumeans, who did not at all know what to do, now their commanders were taken from them, he had them watched, and secured the walls with a more numerous garrison. Yet could not that garrison resist those that were deserting; for although a great number of them were slain, yet were the deserters many more in number. These were all received by the Romans, because Titus himself grew negligent as to his former orders for killing them, and because the very soldiers grew weary of killing them, and because they hoped to get some money by sparing them; for they left only the populace, and sold the rest of the multitude, with their wives and children, and every one of them at a very low price, and that because such as were sold were very many, and the buyers very few; and although Titus had made proclamation beforehand, that no deserter should come alone by himself, that so they might bring out their families with them, yet did he receive such as these also. However, he set over them such as were to distinguish some from others, in order to see if any of them deserved to be punished; and indeed the number of those that were sold was immense; but of the populace above forty thousand were saved, whom Caesar let go whither every one of them pleased.

3. But now at this time it was that one of the priests, the son of Thebuthus, whose name was Jesus, upon his having security given him by the oath of Caesar, that he should be preserved upon condition that he should deliver to him certain of the precious things that had been reposited in the temple, came out of it, and delivered him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks like to those that lay in the holy house, with tables, and cisterns, and vials, all made of solid gold, and very heavy. He also delivered to him the veil and the garments with the precious stones, and a great number of other precious vessels that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was Phineas, was seized on, and showed Titus the coats and girdles of the priests, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet, which were there reposited for the use of the veil, as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia, with a large quantity
of other sweet spices, * which used to be mixed together, and offered as incense to God every day. A great many other treasures were also delivered to him, with sacred ornaments of the temple not a few; which things thus delivered to Titus, obtained of him for this man the same pardon that he had allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.

4. And now were the banks finished on the seventh day of the month Gorpius [Elul], in eighteen days' time, when the Romans brought their machines against the wall; but for the seditious, some of them, as despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; others of them went down into the subterranean vaults, though still a great many of them defended themselves against those that brought the engines for the battery; yet did the Romans overcome them by their number and by their strength; and, what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were quite dejected and became weak. Now, as soon as a part of the wall was destroyed, and the towers yielded to the impression of the batterings, those that opposed themselves fled away, and such a terror fell upon the tyrants, as was much greater than the occasion required; for before the enemy got over the breach, they were quite stunned, and were immediately for flying away; and now one might see these men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, to be cast down and to tremble, insomuch that it would pity one's heart to observe the change that was made in those vile persons. Accordingly they ran with great violence upon the Roman wall that encompassed them, in order to force away those that guarded it, and to break through it, and get away; but when they saw that those who had formerly been faithful to them, had gone away (as indeed they were fled whithersoever the great distress they were in persuaded them to flee) as also when those that came running before the rest told them that the western wall was entirely overthrown, while others said the Romans were gotten in, and others that they were near, and looking out for them, which were only the dictates of their fear, which imposed upon their sight, they fell upon their friends, and stripped their own conduct; and their nerves were so terribly loosed, that they could not flee away; and here one may chiefly reflect on the power of God exercised upon these wicked wretches, and on the good fortune of the Romans; for these tyrants did now wholly deprive themselves of the security they had in their own power, and came down from those very towers of their own accord, wherein they could have never been taken by force, nor indeed by any other way than by famine. And thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have gotten by their engines; for those of these towers were too strong for all mechanical engines whatsoever, concerning which we have treated of before.

5. So they now left these towers of themselves, or rather they were ejected out of them by God himself, and fled immediately to that valley which was under Siloam, where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side; but as their courage was too much depressed to make their attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction, they were repulsed by the guards, and dispersing themselves at distances from each other, went down into the subterranean caverns. So the Romans being now become masters of the walls, they both placed their ensigns upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained, as having found the end of this war much lighter than its beginning; for when they had gotten upon the last wall, without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. But when they went in numbers, into the lanes of the city, with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they overtook without mercy, and set fire to the houses whither the Jews were driven, and burnt every building to them, and laid waste a great many of the rest; and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men, and the upper rooms full of dead corpses, that is of such as died by the famine; they then stood in a horror at this sight, and went out without touching any thing. But although they had this commiseration for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were still alive, but they ran every one through whom they met with, and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies, and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a degree indeed that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood. And truly so it happened, that though the slayers left off at the evening, yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night; and as all was burning, came that eighth day of the month Gorpius [Elul] upon Jerusalem; a city that had been liable to so many miseries during this siege, that, had it always enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much desire these latter misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasions of this its overthrow.

CHAPTER IX.

WHAT INJUNCTIONS CAESAR GAVE WHEN HE WAS COME WITHIN THE CITY. THE NUMBER OF THE CAVES, AND OF THOSE THAT PERISHED IN THE SIEGE; AS ALSO CONCERNING THOSE THAT ESCAMPE INTO THE SUBTERRANEAN CAVERNS, AMONG WHOM WERE THE TYRANTS SIMON AND JOHN THEMSELVES.

§ 1. Now, when Titus was come into this [upper] city, he admired not only some other places of strength in it, but particularly those strong towers which the tyrants, in their mad conduct, had relinquished; for when he saw their solid altitude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of their joints, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their length, he expressed himself after the following manner:—We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war, and it was no other than God that ejected the Jews
out of these fortifications; for what could the hands of men, or any machines, do towards overthrowing these towers! At which time he had many such discourses to his friends; he also let such go free as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in the prisons. To conclude, when he entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its walls, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune, which had proved his auxiliaries, and enabled him to take what could not otherwise have been taken by him.

2. And now, since his soldiers were already quite tired of these fighting men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive, Caesar gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and the infirm; but for those that were in their flourishing age, and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Caesar set one of his freed-men, as also Fronto, one of his other friends, which last left to determine his fate, according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditions and robbers, who were impeached one by another; but of the young men, he chose out the tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph; and as for the rest of the multitude that were above seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed upon their theatres, by the sword and by the wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves. Now during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men, there perished, for want of food, eleven thousand; some of whom did not taste any food; through the hatred their guards bore to them; and others would not take in any when it was given them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

3. Now the number of those that were carried captive during this whole war was collected to be ninety-seven thousand; as was the number of those that fell during the whole siege, eleven hundred thousand, the greater part of whom were indeed of the same nation [with the citizens of Jerusalem], but not belonging to the city itself; for they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut up by an army, which, at the very first, occasioned so great a straining among them, that there came a pestilential destruction upon them, and soon afterward such a famine as destroyed them more suddenly.

And that this city could contain so many people in it, is manifest by that number of them which was taken under Cesarius, who being desirous

of informing Nero of the power of the city, which otherwise is disposed to consider that nation, entertained the high-priests, if the thing were possible, to take the number of their whole multitude. So these high-priests, upon the coming of their feast which is called the Passover, when they say their sacrifices, from the ninth hour to the eleventh, but so that a company not less than ten belong to every sacrifice (for it is not lawful for them to feast singly by themselves), and many of us are twenty in a company, found the number of sacrifices two hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred; which, upon the allowance of no more than ten that feast together, amounts to two millions seven hundred thousand and two hundred persons that were pure and holy; for as to those that have the legsy, or the gonorrhoea, or women that have their monthly courses, or such as are otherwise polluted, it is not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice; nor indeed for any foreigners neither, who come hither to worship. 4. Now this vast multitude is indeed collected out of the remote places, but the entire nation was now shut up by fate as in a prison, and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly the multitude of those that therein perished, exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world; for to speak only of what was publicly known, the Romans slew some of them, some they carried captives, and others they made search for under ground, and when they found where they were, they broke up the ground and slew all they met with. There were also slaves slain there, above two thousand, partly by their own hands, and partly by one another, chiefly destroyed by the famine; but then, the ill-savour of the dead bodies was most offensive to those that lighted upon them, insomuch that some were obliged to get away immediately, while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in among the dead bodies that lay in heaps, and tread upon them; for a great deal of treasure was found in these carcasses, and the hope of gain made every way of getting it to be esteemed lawful. Many also among those that had been put in prison by the tyrants were now brought out; for they had left off their barbarous cruelty at the very last: yet did God avenge himself upon them both, in a manner agreeable to justice. As for John, he wanted food together with his brethren, in these carcasses, and begged that the Romans would now give him their right hand for his security, which he had often rejected before; but for Simon, he struggled hard with the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter; so he was reserved for the triumph, to be then slain; as was John condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down and entirely demolished its walls.

This number of a company for one passover, being multiplied by the number of the years, agrees exactly with the annual record of the Passover in the gospel. As to the whole number of the Jews that were cast out of the city, as to the Passover, and out of it at the feast of Tabernacles, we have (竅22, 26, 27, 28, etc.) than which it is, in his present copy, no less than 357,000, which number is, however, of the number in the place, which is 402,000, but that last has been corrected, and pretexts of justice were just then come up out of the other countries of Galilee, Samaria, Judea, and Persia, and other remote regions to the Passover; and, therein cooped up, as in a prison by the Romans, who, by the help of their guards, and their engines, soon put to flight all that remained of the people; which numbers should be got together, and perhaps the siege of the city whatever, as now happened in Jerusalem.
CHAPTER X.

WHEREAS THE CITY OF JERUSALEM HAD BEEN FIVE TIMES TAKEN FORMERLY, THIS WAS THE SECOND TIME OF ITS DESOLATION. A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS HISTORY.

§ 1. AND thus was Jerusalem taken, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Chislev [Elul]. It had been taken five times before, though this was the second time of its desolation; for Shishak, the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after him Sosius and Herod took the city, but still preserved it; but before all these, the king of Babylon conquered it, and made it desolate, one thousand four hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after it was built. But he who first built it was a potent man among the Canaanites, and is in our tongue called [Melchisedek], the Righteous King, for such he really was; on which account he was [there] the first priest of God, and first built a temple [there], and called the city Jerusalem, which was formerly called Salem. However, David, the king of the Jews, ejected the Canaanites, and settled his own people therein. It was demolished entirely by the Babylonians, four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after him. And from king David, who was the first of the Jews who reigned therein, to this destruction under Titus, were one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years; but from its first building, till this last destruction, were two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven years; yet hath not its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the diffusion of its nation over all the habitable earth, nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on a religious account, being sufficient to preserve it from being destroyed. And thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER I.

HOW THE ENTIRE CITY OF JERUSALEM WAS DEMOLISHED, EXCEPTING THREE TOWERS; AND HOW TITUS COMMENDED HIS SOLDIERS, IN A SPEECH MADE TO THEM, AND DISTRIBUTED REWARDS TO THEM, AND THEN DISMISSED MANY OF THEM.

§ 1. NOW, as soon as the army had no more people to slay or to plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury (for they would not have spared any, had there remained any other such work to be done) Caesar gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency; that is, Phasaeus, and Hippicus, and Marianna, and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the west side. This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison; as were the towers also spared, in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued; but for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundations, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe it had ever been inhabited. This was the end which Jerusalem came to by the madness of those that were for innovations—a city otherwise of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind.

BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT THREE YEARS.

FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, TO THE SEDITION OF THE JEWS AT CYRENE.
in the many and great dangers they had courageously undergone; as also, for that courage they had shown, and had thereby augmented of themselves their country's power, and had made it evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, nor the strength of their places, nor the largeness of their cities, nor the rash boldness and brutish rage of their antagonists, were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valour, although some of them may have fortune in many respects on their side. He said farther, that it was but reasonable for them to put an end to this war, now it had lasted so long, for they had nothing better to wish for when they entered into it; and that this happened more favourably for them, and more for their glory, that all the Romans had willingly accepted of those for their governors, and the curators of their dominions, whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their own country for that purpose, which still continued under the management of those whom they had pitched on, and were thankful to them for pitching upon them. That accordingly, although he did both admire and love the art of war; reckoning, therefore, that every one of them had gone as cheerfully about their work as their abilities and opportunities would give them leave, yet, he said, that he would immediately bestow rewards and dignities on those that had fought the most bravely, and with greater force, and had signalized their conduct in the most glorious manner, and had made his army more famous by their noble exploits: and that no one who had been willing to take more pains than another should miss of a just retribution for the same; for that he had been exceedingly careful about this matter, and that the more, because he had much rather reward the virtues of his fellow-soldiers than punish such as had offended.

3. Hereupon Titus ordered those whose business it was, to read the list of all that had performed great exploits in this war, whom he called to him by their names, and commended them before the company, and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their heads crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long and elegant garments, that were made of silver, and removed every one of them to a higher rank: and besides this, he plentifully distributed among them, out of the spoils and the other prey they had taken, silver, gold, and garments. So when they had all these honours bestowed on them, according to his own appointment made to every one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army, he came down, among the great acclamations which were made to him, and then besought himself to offer thank-offerings [to the gods], and at once sacrificed a vast number of oxen, that stood ready at the altars, and distributed them among the army to feast on; and when he had staid three days among the principal commanders, and so long feasted with them, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be every one best situated; but permitted the tenth legion to stay, as a guard at Jerusalem, and did not send them away beyond Ephraim, where they had been before; and as he remembered that the twelfth legion had given way to the Jews, under Cestius their general, he expelled them out of all Syria, for they had lain formerly at Caplide, and sent them away to a place called Melisene, near Euphrates, which is in the limits of Armenia and Cappadocia; he also thought fit that two of the legions should stay with him till he should go to Egypt. He then went down with his army to that Cæsarea which lay by the sea-side, and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities, and gave order that the captives should be kept there; for the winter-season hindered him then from sailing into Italy.

CHAPTER II.

HOW TITUS EXHIBITED ALL Sorts OF SHOWS AT CÆSAREA PHILLIPPI, CONCERNING SIMON THE TYRANT, HOW HE WAS TAKEN, AND RESCURED FOR THE TRUMPHE.

§ 1. Now at the same time that Titus Cæsar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, did Vespasian go on board a merchant-ship, and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes; whence he sailed away in ships with three rows of cars; and as he touched at several cities that lay in his road, he was joyfully received by them all, and so passed over from Ionia into Greece; whence he sent sail from Corcyra to the promontory of Iapys, whence he took his journey by land. But as for Titus, he marched from that Cæsarea which lay by the sea-side, and came to that which is named Cæsarea Philippi, and stayed there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shows there; and here a great number of the captives were destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts, and others in multitudes forced to kill one another, as if they were enemies. And here it was that Titus was informed of the seizure of Simon, the son of Goras, which was made after the manner following:—This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the upper city; but when the Roman army were gotten within the walls, and were laying the city waste, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them some that were stone-cutters, with those iron tools that belonged to their occupation, and as great a quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a long time, and let himself and them all down into a certain subterraneous cavern that was not visible above ground. Now, so far as had been digged of it, they went onward along it without disturbance; but where they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground, and this in hopes that they should be able to proceed so far as to rise from under ground, in a safe place, and by that means escape; but when they came to make the experiments, they were disappointed of their hope; for the miners could make but small progress, and that with difficulty also: insomuch that their provision, though they distributed them by measure, began to fail them. And now Simon, thinking he might be able to astonish and delude the Romans, put on a white frock, and buttoned upon him a purple cloak, and appeared out of the ground in the place where the temple had formerly been. At the first, indeed, those that saw him were greatly astonished, and stood still where they were; but afterward they came nearer to him, and asked him who he was. Now Simon did not tell them, but bade them call for their captain; and when they ran to call him, Terentius Rufus, who was left to command
the army there, came to Simon, and learned of him the whole truth, and kept him in bonds, and let Caesar know that he was taken. Thus did God bring this man to be punished for what bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his countrymen, by those who were his worst enemies; and this while he was not subdued by violence, but voluntarily delivered himself up to them to be punished, and that on the very same account that he had laid false accusations against many Jews, as if they were falling away to the Romans, and had barbarously slain them; for wicked actions do not escape the divine anger, nor is justice too weak to punish offenders, but in time overtake those that transgress its laws, and inflicts its punishments upon the wicked in a manner so much more severe, as they expected to escape it on account of their not being punished immediately. Simon was made sensible of this by falling under the indignation of the Romans. This rise of his out of the ground did also excite the discovery of a great number of others of the seditionists at that time, who had hidden themselves under ground; but for Simon, he was brought to Caesar in bonds, when he was come back to that Cesarea which was on the sea-side; who gave orders that he should be kept against that triumph which he was to celebrate at Rome upon this occasion.

CHAPTER III.

HOW TITUS, UPON THE CELEBRATION OF HIS BROTHER'S AND FATHER'S BIRTH-DAYS, HAD MANY OF THE JEWS SLAIN. CONCERNING THE DANGER THE JEWS WERE IN AT ANTIOCH, BY MEANS OF THE TRANSLOCATION AND IMPETY OF ONE ANTI-CHUS, A JEW.

§ 1. While Titus was at Cesarea, he solemnized the birth-day of his brother [Dominian] after a splendid manner, and inflicted a great deal of the punishment intended for the Jews in honour of him; for the number of those that were now slain in fighting with the beasts, and were burnt, and fought with one another, exceeded two thousand five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans, when they were thus destroying ten thousand several ways, to be a punishment beneath their deserts. After this, Caesar came to Berytus, which is a city of Phoenicia, and a Roman colony, and stayed there a longer time, and exhibited a still more pompous solemnity about his father's birth-day, both in the magnificence of the shows, and in the other vast expenses he was at in his devices thereto belonging; so that a great multitude of the captives were here destroyed after the same manner as before.

2. It happened also about this time, that the Jews who remained at Antioch were under accusations, and in danger of perishing, from the disturbances that were raised against them by the Antiochians, and this both on account of the aluders spread abroad at this time against them, and on account of what pranks they had played not long before; which I am obliged to describe without fail, though briefly, that I may the better connect my narration of future actions with those that went before.

3. For as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the habitable earth among its inhabitants, so it is very much intermingled with Syria by reason of its neighbourhood, and had the greatest multitudes in Antioch by reason of the largeness of the city, wherein the kings, after Antiochus, had afforded them a habitat with the most undisturbed tranquillity; for though Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, laid Jerusalem waste, and spoiled the temple, yet did those that succeeded him in the kingdom restore all the dominions that were made of brass to the Jews of Antioch, and dedicated them to their synagogue; and granted them the enjoyment of equal privileges of citizens with the Greeks themselves; and as the succeeding kings, in a similar manner, they both multiplied to a great number, and adorned their temple gloriously by fine ornaments, and with great magnificence, in the use of what had been given them. They also made pro-sylytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby, after a sort, brought them to be a portion of their own body. But about this time when the present war began, and Vespasian was newly sailed to Syria, and all men had taken up a great hatred against the Jews, then it was that a certain person, whose name was Antiochus, being one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected on account of his father, who was governor of the Jews at Antioch, came upon the theatre at a time when the people of Antioch were assembled together, and became an informer against his father; and accused both him and others, that they had resolved to burn the whole city in one night; he also delivered up to them some Jews that were foreigners, as partners in their resolutions. When the people heard this, they could not refrain their passion, but commanded that those who were delivered up to them should have been brought to burn them; who were accordingly all burnt out in the theatre immediately. They did also fall violently upon the multitude of the Jews, as supposing, that by punishing them suddenly they should save their own city. As for Antiochus, he aggravated the rage they were in, and thought to give them a demonstration of his own conversion, and his hatred of the Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks: he persuaded the rest also to compel them to do the same, because they would by that means discover who they were that had plotted against them, that they would not do so; and when the people of Antioch tried to the theatre, some few complied; but those that would not do so were slain. As for Antiochus himself, he obtained soldiers from the Roman commander, and became a severe master over his own citizens, not permitting them to rest on the seventh day, but forcing them to do all that they usually did on other days; and to that degree of distress did he reduce them in this matter, that the rest of the seventh day was

1. b. 11. 11.
2. 11. a. Their synagogue. See the note b. vi. ch. 2. sect. 1.
3. 11. a. 11. a. Their synagogue. See the note b. vi. ch. 2. sect. 1.
4. 11. a. 11. a. Their synagogue. See the note b. vi. ch. 2. sect. 1.
5. 11. a. 11. a. Their synagogue. See the note b. vi. ch. 2. sect. 1.
6. 11. a. 11. a. Their synagogue. See the note b. vi. ch. 2. sect. 1.
7. 11. a. 11. a. Their synagogue. See the note b. vi. ch. 2. sect. 1.
dissolved not only at Antioch, but the same thing which took thence its rise, was done in other cities also, in like manner, for some small time.

4. Now, after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews at Antioch, a second calamity befell them, the description of which when we were going about, we promised the account foregoing: for upon this accident, whereby the four-square market-place was burnt down, as well as the archives, and the place where the public records were preserved, and the royal palaces (and it was not without difficulty that the fire was then put a stop to, which was likely, by the fury whereof it was carried along, to have gone over the whole city), Antiochus accused the Jews as the occasion of all the mischief that was done. Now this induced the people of Antioch, who were now under the immediate persuasion, by reason of the disorder they were in, that this calamity was true; and would have been under the same persuasion, even though they had not borne an ill-will to the Jews before, to believe this man's accusation, especially when they considered what had been done before; and this to such a degree, that they all fell violently upon those that were accused; and this, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city; nor was it without difficulty that one Ceusius Colleagas, the legate, could prevail with them to permit the affairs to be laid before Caesar; for as to Cescennius Petrus, the president of Syria, Vespasian had already sent him away; and so it happened, that he was not yet come back thither. But when Colleagas had made a careful inquiry into the matter, he found out the truth, and that not one of those Jews that were accused by Antiochus had any hand in it; but that all was done by some vile persons greatly in debt, who supposed, that if they could once set fire to the market-place, and burn the public records, they should have no further demands made upon them. So the Jews were under great disorder and terror, in the uncertain expectations of what would be the upshot of those accusations against them.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW VESPASIAN WAS RECEIVED AT ROME; AS ALSO HOW THE GERMANS REVOLTED FROM THE ROMANS, BUT WERE SUBDUE. THAT THE SAMARITANS OVERMYSIA, BUT WERE COMPELLED TO RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY AGAIN.

§ 1. And now Titus Caesar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his coming was much desired by all the Italian cities, and that Rome especially received him with great alacrity and splendour, betook himself to rejoicing and pleasures to a great degree, as now freed from the solicitude he had been under, after the most agreeable manner. For all men that were in Italy showed their respects to him in their minds, before he came thither, as if he were already come, as esteeming the very expectation they had of him to be his real presence on account of the great desires they had to see him, and because the good-will they bore him was entirely free and unconstrained; for it was a desirable thing to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late changes of their governors, to receive a governor who was adorned with the gravity of old age, and with the highest skill in the actions of war, whose advancement would be, as they knew, for nothing else but for the preservation of those that were to be governed. Moreover, the people had been so harassed by their civil miseries, that they were still more earnest for his coming immediately, as supposing they should then be firmly delivered from their calamities, and believed they should then recover their secure tranquillity and prosperity: and for the soldiers, they had the principal regard to him, for they were chiefly apprised of his great exploits in war; and since they had experienced the want of skill and want of courage in other commanders, they were very desirous to be freed from that great shame they had undergone by their means, and heartily wished to receive such a prince as might be a security and an ornament to them; and as this good-will to Vespasian was universal, those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not have patience enough to stay at Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it; yet, indeed, none of the rest could endure the delay of seeing him, but did all pour out of the city in such crowds, and were so universally possessed with the opinion that it was easier and better for them to go out than to stay there, that it was the very first time that the city joyfully perceived itself almost empty of its citizens; for those that stayed within were fewer than those that went out; but as soon as the news was come that he was hard by, and those that had met him at first, related with what good humour he received every one that came to him, then it was that the whole multitude that had remained in the city, with their wives and children, came into the road, and waited for him there; and for those whom he passed by, they made all sorts of acclamations on account of the joy they had to see him, and the pleasantness of his countenance, and styled him their Benefactor and Saviour, and the only person who was worthy to be ruler of the city of Rome; and now the city was like a temple, full of garlands and sweet odours; nor was it easy for him to come to the royal palace for the multitude of people that stood about him, where yet at last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgivings to his household gods for his safe return to the city. The multitude did also betake themselves to feasting; which feasts and drink-offerings they celebrated by their tribes, and their families, and their neighbourhoods, and still prayed to God to grant that, Vespasian, his sons, and all their posterity, might continue in the Roman government for a very long time, and that his dominion might be preserved from opposition, and that the wars by which it came to him were in which Rome so joyfully received Vespasian, and thence grew immediately into a state of great prosperity.

2. But before this time, and while Vespasian was about Alexandria, and Titus was lying at the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the Germans were in commotion, and tended to rebellion; and as the Gauls in their neighbourhood joined with them, they conspired together, and had thereby great hopes of success, and that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Romans. The motives that induced them to this attempt for a revolt, and for beginning the war, were these:—In the first place, the nature [of the people], which was destitute of just reasonings, and
ready to throw themselves rashly into danger upon small hopes; in the next place the hatred they bore to those that were their governors, while their nation had never been conscious of subjection to any but to the Romans, and that by compulsion only. Besides these motives, it was the opportunity that now offered itself, which above all the rest prevailed with them so to do; for when they saw the Roman government in a great internal disorder, by the continual changes of its rulers, and understood that every part of the habitable earth under them was in an unsettled and tottering condition, they thought this was the best opportunity that could afford itself for themselves to make a sedition, when the state of the Romans was so ill. Classieus also, and Vitellius, two of their commanders, puffed them up with such hopes. These had for a long time been openly desirous of such an innovation, and were induced by the present opportunity to venture upon the declaration of their sentiments; the multitude was also ready; and when these men told them of what they intended to attempt, that news was gladly received by them. So when the great part of the Germanic nation rebelled, and the rest were no better disposed, Vespasian, as guided by divine Providence, sent letters to Petullus Cerealis, who had formerly had the command of Germany, whereby he declared him to have the dignity of consul, and commanded him to take upon him the government of Britain; so he went whither he was ordered to go, and when he was informed of the revolt of the Germans, he fell upon them as soon as they were gotten together, and put his army in battle-array, and slew a great multitude of them in the fight, and forced them to desert. This done, and now grown wiser by his bad he not fallen thus suddenly upon them on the place, it had not been long ere they would however have been brought to punishment; for as soon as ever the news of their revolt was come to Rome, and Caesar Domitian was made acquainted with it, he made no delay even at that his age, when he was exceeding young, but undertook this weighty affair. He had a courageous mind, from his father, and had made greater improvements than belonged to such an age; accordingly he marched against the barbarians immediately; whereupon their hearts failed them at the rumour of his approach, and they abandoned themselves to despair with fear, and thought it a happy thing that they were brought under their old gods a gain without suffering any farther mischiefs. When therefore Domitian had settled all the affairs of Gaul in such good order, that it would not be easily put into disorder, any more, he returned to Rome with honour and glory, as having performed such exploits as were above his own age, and worthy of such a father.

3. At the same time with the fore-mentioned revolt of the Scythians against the Romans occur; for the Scythians who are called Sarmatians, being a very numerous people, transported themselves over the Danube into Mysia, without being perceived; after which, by their violence, and entirely unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers; and as the consul legate Fonteius Agrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then over-ran all the region that had been subject to him, tearing and rending every thing that fell in their way; but when Vespasian was informed of what had happened, and how Mysia was laid waste, he sent away Rubrius Gallus to punish these Sarmatians; by whose means many of them perished in the battles he fought against them, and that part which escaped fled with fear to their own country. So when this general had put an end to the war, he provided for the future security of the country also; for he placed more and more numerous garrisons in the place, till he made it altogether impossible for the barbarians to pass over the river any more; and thus had this war in Mysia a sudden conclusion.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THE SABBATIC RIVER WHICH TITUS SAW AS HE WAS JOURNEYING THROUGH SYRIA; AND HOW THE PEOPLE OF ANTIACO CAME WITH A PETITION TO TITUS AGAINST THE JEWS, BUT WERE REJECTED BY HIM; AS ALSO CONCERNING TITUS'S AND VESPAZIAN'S TRIUMPH.

§ 1. Now Titus Caesar tarried some time at Berytus, as we told you before. He thence removed, and exhibited magnificent shows in all those cities of Syria through which he went, and made use of the captive Jews as public instances of the destruction of that nation. He then saw a river as he went along, of such a nature as deserves to be recorded in history; it runs in the middle between Areea, belonging to Agrippa's kingdom, and Raphana. It hath somewhat very peculiar in it; for when it runs, its current is strong, and has plenty of water; after which it springs fail for six days together, and leave its channel dry, as any one may see; after which days it runs on the seventh day as it did before, and as though it had undergone no change at all: it hath also been observed to keep this order perpetually and exactly; whence it is that they call it the Sabbatic River, that name being taken from the sacerd seventh day among the Jews.

2. But when the people of Antiaco were informed that Titus was approaching, they were so glad at it, that they could not keep within their walls, but hasted away to give him the meeting; nay, they proceeded as far as thirty furlongs, and more, with that intention. These were not the men only, but a multitude of women also with their children did the same; and when they saw him coming up to them they stood on both sides of the way, and stretched...
out their right hands, saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamations to him, and turned back together with him. They also, among all the acclamations they made to him, besought him all the way they went, to eject the Jews out of their city; yet did not Titus at all yield to this their petition, but gave them such a answer, as he had. However, the Jews were in a great deal of terrible fear, under the uncertainty they were in what his opinion was, and what he would do to them: for Titus did not stay at Antioch, but continued his progress immediately to Zeugma, which lies upon the Euphrates, whither came to him messengers from Volgoes, king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold upon the victory he had gained over the Jews; which he accepted of, and feasted the king's messengers, and then came back to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch earnestly entreated him to come upon their theatre, where their whole multitude was assembled, and expected him, he complied with great humanity; but when they pressed him with much earnestness, and continually begged of him, that he would eject the Jews out of their city, he gave them this very pertinent answer:—"How can this be done, since that country of theirs, whither the Jews must be obliged then to retire, is destroyed, and no place will receive them besides!" Whereupon the people of Antioch, when they had failed of success in this their first request, made him a second; for they desired that he would order those tables of brass to be removed, on which the Jews' privileges were engraved. However, Titus would not grant that neither, but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the very same privileges in that city which they had before, and then departed for Egypt; and as he came to Jerusalem in his progress, and compared the melancholy condition he saw it in, with the ancient glory of the city, and called to mind the greatness of its present ruins, as well as its ancient splendor, he could not but pity the destruction of the city,—so far was he from boasting that so great and goodly a city as this it was, had been by him taken by force; nay, he frequently cursed those that had been the authors of their revolts, and had brought such a punishment upon the city; insomuch that it only appeared that he did not desire that such a calamity as this punishment of theirs amounted to, should be a demonstration of his courage. Yet was there no small quantity of the riches that had been in that city still found among its ruins, a great deal of which the Romans dug up; but the greatest part was discovered by those who were captives, and so they carried away. I found there the gold and the silver and the rest of that which was funerary, which the Jews had, and which the owners had measured up under ground, against the uncertain fortunes of war.  

3. So Titus took the journey he intended into Egypt, and passed over the desert very suddenly, and came to Alexandria, and took up a resolution to go to Rome by sea. And as he was accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them again to the places whence they had before come; the fifth he sent to Myla; and the fifteenth to Panomia; and for the leaders of the captives, Simon and John, with the other officers whom he had selected out of the rest as being eminently tall and handsome of body, he gave order that they should be soon carried to Italy, as resolving to produce them in his triumph. So when he had had a prosperous voyage to his mind, the city of Rome behaved itself in his reception, and their meeting him at a distance, as it did in the case of his father. But what made the most splendid appearance in Titus's opinion was, when his father met him, and crowned him personally; but still the joy of the citizens conceived the greatest joy when they saw them all three together, as they did at this time; nor were many days overpast when they determined to have but one triumph, that should be common to both of them, on account of the glorious exploits they had performed, although the senate had decreed each of them a separate triumph by himself. So when notice had been given beforehand of the day appointed for this pompous solemnity to be made, on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city, but every body went out so far as to gain only a station where they might stand, and left only such a passage as necessary for those that were to be seen to go along it.  

4. Now all the soldiery marched out beforehand by companies, and in their several ranks, under their several commanders, and in the night-time, and were about the gates, not of the upper palaces, but those near the temple of Isis; for there it was that the emperors had rested the foregoing night. And as soon as ever it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out crowned with laurel, and clothed in those ancient purple habits which were proper to their family, and then went as far as Octavian's Walks; for there it was that the senate, and the principal rulers, and those that had been recorded as of the equestrian order, waited for them. Now a tribunal had been erected before the cloisters, and ivory chairs had been set upon it, when they came and sat down upon them. Whereupon the soldiery made an acclamation of joy to them immediately, and all gave them attestations of their valour; while they were themselves without their arms, and only in their silken garments, and crowned with the leaves of laurel: but while these shoes of theirs, but while they were still disposed to go on in such acclamations, he gave them a signal of silence. And when every body entirely held their peace, he stood up, and covering the greatest part of his head with his cloak, he put up the accustomed solemn prayers; the like prayers did Titus put up also; after which prayers Vespasian made a short speech to all the people, and then sent away the soldiery to a dinner prepared for them by the emperors. Then did he retire to that gate which was called the Gate of the Romans, because pompous shows do always go out from that gate, there was given to them the same kind of food, and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods that were placed at the gate, they sent the triumph forward, and marched through the theatres, that they might be the more easily seen by the multitude.  

5. Now it is impossible to describe the multitude of the shows as they deserve, and the magnificence of them all; such indeed as man could not easily think of as performed either by the labour of workmen, or the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature; for almost all such curiosities as the most happy people that have ever been seen, were heaped upon another, and those both admirable and costly in their nature; and all brought tog
ther on that day, demonstrated the vastness of the dominions of the Romans; for there was here to be seen a mighty quantity of silver, and gold and ivory, contrived into all sorts of things, and did not appear as carried along in pompous show only, but, as a man may say, running along like a river. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple hangings, and so spread along; and others accurately represented to the life what was embroidered by the arts of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones that were transparent, some set in crowns of gold, and some in otherouches, as the workmen pleased; and of these such a vast number brought, that we could not but think how vainly we imagined any of them to be rarities. The images of the gods were also carried, being as well wonderful for their largeness, as made very artificially, and with great skill of the workmen; nor were any of these images of any other than very costly materials; and many species of animals were brought that every one in their own natural ornaments. The men also who brought every one of these shows were great multitudes, and adorned with purple garments, all over interwoven with gold; those that were chosen for carrying these pompous shows, having also about them such magnificent ornaments as were both extraordinary and surprising. Besides these, one might see that even the great number of the captives was not unadorned, while the variety that was in their garments, and their fine texture, concealed from the sight the deformity of their bodies. But what accorded the greatest surprise of all, was the structure of the pageant that was borne along; for indeed he that met them could not but be afraid that the bearers would not be able firmly enough to support them, such was their magnitude; for many of them were so made, that they were on three or even four stories, one above another. The magnificence also of their structure afforded one both pleasure and surprise; for upon many of them were laid carpets of gold. There was also wrought gold and ivory fastened about them all; and many resemblances of the war, and those in several ways, and variety of contrivances, affording a most lively representation of itself; for there, to be seen a happy country laid waste, and entire squadrons of enemies slain; while some of them ran away, and some were carried into captivity; with walls of great altitude and magnitude overthrown and ruined by machines; with the strongest fortifications taken, and the walls of most populous cities upon the tops of hills seized on, and an army pouring itself within the walls; as also every place full of slaughter, and supplications of the enemies, when they were no longer able to lift up their hands in way of opposition. Fire also sent upon temples was here represented, and houses overthrown and falling upon their owners; rivers also, after they came out of a large and melancholy desert, ran down, not into a land cultivated, nor as drink for men, or for cattle, but through a land still on fire upon every side; for the Jews related that such a thing they had undergone during this war. Now the workmanship of these representations was so magnificent and lively in the construction of the things, that it exhibited what had been done to such as did not see it, as if they had been there really present. On the top of every one of these pageants was placed the commander of the city that was taken, and the manner wherein he was taken. Moreover, there followed those pageants a great number of ships; and for the other spoils, they were carried in great plenty. But for those that were taken in the temple of Jerusalem, they made the greatest figure of them all; that is the golden table, of the weight of many talents; and the candelabrum also that was wrought, whose construction were now changed from that which we made use of: for its middle shaft was fixed upon a basis, and the small branches were produced out of it to a great length, having the likeness of a trident in their position, and had every one a socket made of brass for a lamp at the tops of them. These lamps were in number seven, and represented the dignity of the number seven among the Jews; and the last of all the spoils, was carried the Law of the Jews. After these spoils passed by a great many men, carrying the images of Victory, whose structure was entirely either of ivory, or of gold. After which Vespasian marched in the first place, and Titus followed him; Domitian also rode along with them, and made a glorious appearance, and rode on a horse that was worthy of admiration.

6. Now the last part of this pompous show was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, whither when they were come, they stood still; for it was the Romans' ancient custom to stay till somebody brought the news that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon, the son of Gioras, who had then been led in this triumph among the captives; a rope had also been put upon his head, and he had been drawn into a proper place in the forum, and had withal been tormented by those that drew him along; and the law of the Romans required, that malefactors condemned to die should be slain there. Accordingly, when it was related that there was an end of him, and all the people had set up a shout for joy, they then began to offer those sacrifices which they had consecrated, in the prayers used in such solemnities; which when they had finished, they went away to the palace. And as for some of the spectators, the emperors entertained them at their own feast; and for all the rest there were noble preparations made for their feasting at home; for this was a festival-day to the city of Rome, as celebrated for the victory obtained by their army over their enemies, for the end that was now put to their civil miseries, and for the commencement of their hopes of future prosperity and happiness.

7. After these triumphs were over, and after the affairs of the Romans were settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which he finished in so short a time, and in so glorious a manner, as was beyond all human expectation and opinion; for he having now by Providence a vast quantity of wealth, besides what he had formerly gained in his other exploits, he had this temple adorned with pictures and statues; for in this temple were collected and deposited all such rarities as men aforesaid used to wander all over the habitable world to see, when they had a desire to see them one after another; he also laid up therein, as ensigns of his glory, those golden...
vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple. But still he gave order that they should lay up their law, and the purple veils of the holy places, in the royal palace itself, and keep them there.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE CITY CALLED MACHERUS; AND HOW LUCIUS BASSUS, TOOK THE CITADEL, AND OTHER PLACES.

§ 1. Now Lucius Bassus was sent as legate into Judea, and there he received the army from Cerealis Vitellius, and took that citadel which was in Herodium, together with the garrison that was in it; after which he got together all the soldiery that was there (which was a large body, but dispersed into several parties, with the tenth legion, and resolved to make war upon Macherus; for it was highly necessary that this citadel should be demolished, lest it might be a means of drawing away many into a rebellion, by reason of its strength; for the nature of the place was very capable of affording the surest hopes of safety to those who possessed it, as well as delay and fear to those that should attack it; for what was walled in was itself a very rocky hill, elevated to a very great height; which circumstance alone made it very hard to be subdued. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily ascended; for it is, as it were, ditched about with such valleys on all sides, and to such a depth, that the eye cannot reach their bottom, and such as are not easily to be passed over, and even such as it is impossible to fill up with earth; for that valley which cuts it on the west, extends to three score furlongs, and did not end till it came to the lake Asphaltitis; on the same side it was also that Macherus had the tallest top of its hill elevated above the rest. But then for the valleys that lay on the north and south sides, although they are not so large as that already described, it is in like manner an impracticable thing to think of getting over them; and for the valley that lies on the east side, its depth is found to be no less than a hundred cubits. It extends as far as a mountain that lies over-against Macherus, with which it is bounded.

2. Now when Alexander (Jannaeus), the king of the Jews, observed the nature of this place, he was the first to build a citadel here, which afterwards was demolished by Cæsarius, when he made war against Aristobulus; but when Herod came to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being built upon in the firmest manner, and this especially because it lay so near to Arabia; for it is seated in a convenient place on that account, and hath a prospect toward that country; he therefore surrounded a large space of ground with walls and towers, and built a city there, out of which city there was a way that led up to the very citadel itself on the top of the mountain; may, more than this, he built a wall round that top of the hill and erected towers at the corners, of a hundred and sixty cubits high; in the middle of which place he built a palace, after a magnificent manner, wherein were large and beautiful edifices. He also made a great many reservoirs for the reception of water, that there might be plenty of it ready for all uses, and those in the proximate places that were afforded him there. Thus did he, as it were, contend with the nature of the place, that he might exceed its natural strength and security (which yet itself rendered it hard to be taken) by those fortifications which were made by the hands of man. Moreover, he put a large quantity of darts and other machines of war into it, and contrived to get every thing thing that might any way contribute to its inhabitants' security, under the longest siege possible.

3. Now within this place there grew a sort of rue,* that deserves our wonder on account of its largeness, for it was no way inferior to any fig-tree whatever, either in height or in thickness; and the report is, that it had lasted ever since the times of Herod, and would probably have lasted much longer, had it not been cut down by those Jews who took possession of the place afterward; but still in that valley which compasses the city on the north side, there is a certain place called Barras, which produces a root of the same name with itself; its colour is like to that of flame, and towards the evening it sends out a certain ray like lightning; it is not easily taken by such as would do it, but recedes from their hands, nor will yield itself to be taken quietly, until either the urine of a woman, or her menstrual blood, be poured upon it; not, even then is it certain death to those that touch it; unless any one take and hang the root itself down from his hand, and so carry it away. It may also be taken another way, without danger, which is this: they dig a trench quite round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small, they then tie a dog to it, and when the dog dies, they follow the dog that tied him, this root is easily plucked up, but the dog dies immediately, as if it were instead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands. Yet, after all these pains in getting it, it is only valuable on account of one virtue, as hath, that if it only be brought to sick persons, it quickly dries, and away they die. Democritus, who are no other than the spirits of the wicked, which enter into men that are alive, and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them. Here also are fountains of hot water, that flow out of this place, which have a very different taste one from the other; for some of them are bitter, and others of them are plainly sweet. Here are also many eruptions of cold waters, and this not only in the places that lie lower, and have their fountains near one another, but, what is still more wonderful, here is to be seen a certain cave hard by, whose waters are so deep, but it is covered over by a rock that is prominent; above this rock there stands up two [hills or] breasts, as it were, but a little distance from another, the one of which sends out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot; which waters, when they are mingled together, compose a most pleasant bath; they are medicinal indeed for other maladies, but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place has in it also mines of sulphur and arsine.

* Spalatinus observes here, that in Gesenius Major and Sicily the root is called Hul, and dulse, and it is called in Arabic. This strange account of the place and root, which has not been taken from the magi, and the people were not heard of in the days of Josephus, in that supposition any way of judging comes from the theophania employed by him, which have been seen, nor have we seen which we have already seen he had a great opinion. Antiq. 9. vi. 6. v. 7. We also may may in that root. Josephus had of this place, only like that of the Jews and Christians in his De Bello Gallico, and the first four centuries. See Antiq. b. vi. ch. 15. sect. 24. chuick. 24. sect. 9.
CHAPTER VII

4. Now when Bassus had taken a full view of this place, he resolved to besiege it by filling up the wall that lay on the east side; so he fell hard to work, and took great pains to raise his banks as soon as possible, and by that means to render the siege easy. As for the Jews that were caught in this place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them, and they forced those strangers, as an otherwise useless multitude, to stay in the lower part of the city, and undergo the principal dangers, while they themselves seized on the upper citadel, and held it, and this both on account of its strength, and to provide for their own safety. They also supposed they might obtain their pardon, in case they should at last surrender the citadel. However, they were willing to make trial, in the first place, whether the hopes they had of avoiding a siege would come to anything; with which intention they made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them; in which conflicts they were many of them slain, as they therein slew many of the Romans; but still it was the opportunities that presented themselves which chiefly gained both sides their victories; these were gained by the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans as they were off their guard; but by the Romans, when, upon the others' sallies against their banks, they foresaw their coming, and were upon their guard when they received them; but the conclusion of the siege did not depend upon these bickerings, but a certain surprising accident, relating to what was done in this siege, forced the Jews to surrender the citadel. There was a certain young man among the besieged, of great boldness, and very active of his hand, his name was Eleazar; he greatly signalized himself in those sallies, and encouraged the Jews to go out in great numbers, in order to hinder the raising of the banks, and did the Romans a vast deal of mischief when they came to fighting; he so managed matters, that those who sailed out, made their attacks easily, and returned back without danger, and this by still bringing up the rear himself. Now it happened, that on a certain time when the fight was over, and both sides were parted, and retired home, he, in way of contempt of the enemy, and thinking that none of them would begin the fight again at that time, stayed without the gates, and talked with those that had been upon the wall, and his mind was wholly intent upon what they said. Now a certain person belonging to the Roman camp, of whose name was Rufus, by birth an Egyptian, ran upon him suddenly, when nobody expected such a thing, and carried him off, with his armour itself; while, in the meantime, those that saw it from the wall, were under such an amazement, that Rufus prevented their assistance, and carried Eleazar to the Roman camp. So the general of the Romans ordered that he should be taken up naked, set before the city to be seen, and sorely whipped before their eyes. Upon this and accident that befell the young man, the Jews were terribly confounded, and the city, with one voice, sorely lamented him, and the mourning proved greater than would well be supposed, upon the calamity of a single person. When Bassus perceived that, he began to think of using a stratagem against the enemy, and was desirous to aggravate their grief, in order to prevail with them to surrender the city for the preservation of that man. Nor did he fail of his hope; for he commanded them to set up a cross, as if he were just going to hang Eleazar upon it immediately: the sight of this occasioned a sore grief among those that were in the citadel, and they groaned vehemently, and cried out, that they could not bear to see him thus destroyed. Whereupon Eleazar besought them not to disregard him now he was going to suffer a most miserable death, and exhorted them to save themselves, by yielding to the Roman power and good fortune, since all other people were now conquered by them. These men were greatly moved with what he said, and bearing also many within the city that interceded for him, because he was of an eminent and very numerous family; so they now yielded to their passion of commiseration, contrary to their usual custom. Accordingly they sent out immediately, certain messengers, and treated with the Romans, in order to a surrender of the citadel to them, and desired that they might be permitted to go away, and take Eleazar along with them. Then did the Romans and their general accept of these terms, while the multitude of strangers that were in the lower part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, were resolved to fly away privately in the night-time; but as soon as they had opened their gates, those that had come to terms with Bassus told him of it; whether it were that they envied the others' deliverance, or whether it were done out of fear, lest an occasion should be taken against them upon their escape, is uncertain. The most courageous, therefore, of those men that went out, prevented the enemy, and got away, and fled for it; but for those men that were caught within they were slain, to the number of one thousand seven hundred, as also the women and children made slaves; but as Bassus thought he must perform the covenant he had made with those that had surrendered the citadel, he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

5. When Bassus had settled these affairs, he marched hastily to the forest of Jarden, as it is called; for he had heard that a great many of those that had fled from Jerusalem and Matthew formerly, were there gotten together. When he was therefore come to the place, and understood that the former news was a mistake, he, in the first place, surrounded the whole place with his horsemen, that such of the Jews as had boldness enough to try to break through, might have no way possible for escaping, by reason of the situation of those horsemen; and for the footmen, he ordered them to cut down the trees that were in the wood whither they were fled. So the Jews were under a necessity of performing some glorious exploit, and of greatly exposing themselves in a battle, since they might perhaps thereby escape. So they made a general attack, and with a great shout fell upon those that surrounded them, who received them with great courage; and so while the one side fought desperately, and the others would not yield, the fight was prolonged on that account. But the event of the battle did not answer the expectation of the assailants; for so it happened, that no more than twelve fell on the Roman side, with a few that were wounded; but not one of the Jews escaped out of this battle, for they were all killed, being in the whole not fewer in number than three thousand, together with Judas, the son of Mathias, their general; concerning whom we have before spoken, that he had been captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem, and by going down into a cor-
taint vault under ground, had privately made his escape.

6. About the same time it was that Cæsar sent a letter to Bassus, and to Liberius Maximus, who was the procurator [of Judea], and gave order that all Judea should be exposed to sale; for he did not find any city there, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men only, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation; it is called Emmaus, and is distant from Jerusalem three score furlongs. He also laid a tribute upon the Jews wheresoever they were, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmas every year into the Capitol, as they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCERNING THE CALAMITY THAT BEFEL ANTIQUUS, KING OF COMMAGENE. AS ALSO CONCERNING THE ALARMS, AND GREAT MISCHIEF THEY DID TO THE MIDES AND ARMENIANS.

§ 1. And now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass, that Antiochus, the king of Commagene, with all his family, fell into very great calamities. The occasion was this:—Cesennius Petus, who was president of Syria at this time, whether it were done out of regard to truth, or whether out of hatred to Antiochus (for which was the real motive was never thoroughly discovered), sent an epistle to Cæsar, and therein told him that Antiochus, having brought his son Epiphanes, had resolved to rebel against the Romans, and had made a league with the king of Parthia to that purpose: that it was therefore fit to prevent them, lest they prevent us, and begin such a war as may cause a general disturbance in the Roman empire. Now Cæsar was disposed to take some care about the matter, since this discovery was made; for the neighbourhood of the kingdoms made the affair worthy of greater regard; for Samosata, the capital of Commagene, lies upon Euphrates, and, upon any such design, could afford an easy passage over it to the Parthians. Cæsar would also afford them a secure reception. Petus was accordingly believed, and had authority given him of doing what he should think proper in the case; so he set about it without delay, and fell upon Commagene before Antiochus and the people had the least expectation of his coming: he had with him the tenth legion, as also some cohorts and troops of horsemen. These kings also came to his assistance:—Aristobulus, king of the country called Chalcideon, and Sohmenus, who was called king of Emesa: nor was there any opposition made to his forces when they entered the kingdom; for no one of that country would so much as lift up his hand against them. When Antiochus heard this unexpected news, he could not think in the least of making war with the Romans, but determined to leave his whole kingdom in the state wherein it now was, and to retire privately, with his wife and children, as thinking thereby to demonstrate himself to the Romans to be innocent as to the accusation laid against him. So he went away from that city as far as a hundred and twenty furlongs, into a plain, and there pitched his tents.

2. Petus then sent some of his men to seize upon Samosata, and by their means took possession of that city, while he went himself to attack Antiochus with the rest of his army. However, the king was not prevailed upon by the distress he was in to do any thing in the way of war against the Romans, but bemoaned his own hard fate, and endured with patience what he was not able to prevent. But his sons, who were young and inexperienced in war, but of strong bodies, were not easily induced to bear this calamity without fighting. Epiphanes, therefore, and Callinicus betook themselves to military force; and as the battle was a sore one, and lasted all the day long, they showed their own valour in a remarkable manner; and so strong was the approach of might put in upon them, and that without any diminution of their forces: yet would not Antiochus, upon this conclusion of the fight, continue there by any means, but took his wife and his daughters, and fled away with them to Cilicia; and, by so doing, quite discouraged the minds of his own soldiers. Accordingly, they revolted, and went over to the Romans, out of the despair they were in of keeping the kingdom, and his case was looked upon by all as quite desperate. It was therefore necessary that Epiphanes and his soldiers should get glean of their enemies before they became entirely destitute of any confederates; nor were there any more than ten horsemen with him, who passed with him over Euphrates, whenever he was undisturbed to Vologeses, the king of Parthia, where they were not disregarded, as fugitives; but had the same respect paid them as if they had retained their ancient prosperity.

3. Now when Antiochus was come to Tarus in Cilicia, Petus ordered a centurion to go to him, and send him in bonds to Rome. However, Vespasian could not endure to have a king brought to him in that manner, but thought it fit rather to have a regard to the ancient friendship that had been between them, than to preserve an inexorable anger upon pretence of this war. Accordingly, he gave orders that they should take off his bonds, while he was still upon the road, and that he should not come to Rome, but should now go and live at Lacedemon; he also gave him large revenues, that he might not only live in plenty, but like a king also. When Epiphanes, who was before in great fear for his father, was informed of this, their minds were freed from that great and almost inurable calamity they had been under. He also hoped that Cæsar would be reconciled to Commagene on the intercession of Vologeses; for although he lived in plenty, he knew not how to bear living out of the Roman empire. So Cæsar gave him leave, after an obliging manner and he came to Rome; and as his father came quickly to him from Lacedemon, he had all sorts of respect paid him there and there he remained.
4. Now there was a nation of the Alans, which we have formerly mentioned somewhere as being Seythians,* and inhabiting at the lake Moebe. This nation about this time laid a design of falling upon Media and the parts beyond it, in order to plunder them; with which intention they treated with the king of Hyrcania; for he was master of that passage which king Alexander [the Great] shut up with iron gates. This king gave them leave to come through them; so they came in great multitudes, and fell upon the Medes unexpectedly, and plundered their country, which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle, while nobody durst make any resistance against them; for Pacorus, the king of the country, had fled away for fear, into places where they could not easily come at him, and had yielded up every thing he had to them, and had only saved his wife and his counsels from them, and that with difficulty also, after they had been made captives, by giving them a hundred talents for their ransom. These Alans therefore plundered the country without opposition, and with great ease, and then proceeded as far as Armenia, laying all waste before them. Now Tiridates was king of that country, who met them, and fought them, but had like to have been taken alive in the battle; for a certain man threw a net over him from a great distance, and had soon drawn him to him, unless he had immediately cut the cord with his sword, and ran away, and prevented it. So the Alans, being still more provoked by this sight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of the other prey they had gotten out of both kingdoms, along with them, and then retreated back to their own country.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING MASADA AND THOSE SICARI I WHO KEPT IT; AND HOW SILVA BETOOK HIMSELF TO FORM THE SIEGE OF THAT CITADEL. ELEAZAR'S SPEECHES TO THE RESIDUES.

§ 1. When Baseus was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him as a procurator there; who, when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but one only strong hold that was still in rebellion, he got all his army together that lay in different places, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called Masada. It was one Eleazar, a potent man, and the commander of these Sicarii, that had set up upon it. He was a descendant from that Judas, who had persuaded abundance of the Jews, as we have formerly related, not to submit to the taxation, when Cyrenius was sent into Judæa to make one; for then it was that the Sicarii got together against those that were willing to submit to the Romans, and treated them in all respects as if they had been their enemies, both by plundering them of what they had, by driving away their cattle, and by setting fire to their houses: for they said, that they differed not at all from foreigners, by betraying, in so cowardly a manner, that freedom which Jews thought worthy to be contended for to the utmost, and by owning that they preferred slavery under the Romans before such a contention. Now this was in reality no better than a pretence, and a cloak for the barbarity which was made use of by them, and to colour over their own avarice, which they afterwards made evident by their own actions; for those that were partners with them in their rebellion, joined also with them in the war against the Romans, and went farther lengths with them in their impudent undertakings against them; and when they were again convicted of dissembling in such their pretences, they still more abused those that justly reproached them for their wickedness; and indeed that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, inasmuch that no kind of deed would be then left undone; nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing that was new, so deeply were they all infected, and strove with one another in their single capacity, and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbours; the men of power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly labouring to destroy the men of power. The first part were desirous of tyrannizing over others, and the rest of offering violence to others, and of plundering such as were richer than themselves. They were the Sicarii who first began these transgressions, and first became barbarous towards those allied to them, and left no words of reproach unsaid, and no works of perdiction untied, in order to destroy those whom their contrivances affected. Yet did John demonstrate by his actions, that these Sicarii were more moderate than he was himself, for he not only slew such as gave him good counsel to what was right, but treated them worst of all, as the most bitter enemies that he had among all the citizens; for he, filled his entire country with ten thousand instances of wickedness, such as a man who was already hardened sufficiently in his impiety towards God, would naturally do; for the food was unlawful that was set upon his table, and he rejected those purifications that the law of his country had ordained; so that it was no longer a wonder if he, who was so mad in his impiety towards God, did not observe any rules of gentleness and common affection towards men. Again, therefore, what mischief was there which Simon the son of Gioras did not do! or what kind of abuses did he abstain from as to those very free men who had had such a name for a tyrant! What friendship or kindred were there that did not make him more bold in his daily murders! for they looked upon the doing of mischief to strangers as only, a work beneath their courage, but thought their barbarity towards their nearest relations would be a glorious demonstration thereof. The Idumeans also strove with these men who should be guilty of the greatest madness! for they [all] vilen wretches as they were, cut the throats of the high-priests, that so no part of a religious regard to God might be preserved; they thence proceeded to destroy utterly the least remains of a political government, and introduced the most complete scene of iniquity in all instances that were practicable; under which scene, that sort of people that were called Zealots grew up, and who indeed corresponded to the name; for they imitated every wicked work; nor, if their memory suggested any evil thing that had formerly been done, did they avoid zealously to pursue the same; and although they gave themselves that name from their zeal for what was good, yet did it agree to them only by way of irony, on account of those they had unjustly
treated by their wild and brutish disposition, or as thinking the greatest mischiefs to be the greatest good. Accordingly, they all met with such ends as God deservedly brought upon them in way of punishment; for all such miseries have been sent upon them as man’s nature is capable of undergoing, till the utmost period of their lives, and till death came upon them in various ways of torment; yet might one say justly that they suffered less than they had done, because it was impossible they could be punished according to their deserving: but to make a lamentation according to the deserts of those who fell under these men’s barbarity, this is not a proper place for it:—I therefore now return again to the remaining part of the present narration.

2. For now it was that the Roman general came, and led his army against Elencarz and those Sicarii who held the fortress Masada together with him; and for the whole country adjoining, he presently girded it, and put garrisons into the most proper places of it; to itself built a wall quite round the entire fortress, that none of the besieged might easily escape: he also set his men to guard the several parts of it; he also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place as he had chosen for the siege, and at which place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest approach to the neighbouring mountain, which yet was a place of difficulty for getting plenty of provisions; for it was not only food that was to be brought from a great distance to the army, and with this a great deal of pain to those Jews who were appointed for that purpose, but water was also to be brought to camp, because the place afforded no fountain that was near it. When therefore Silva had ordered these affairs beforehand, he fell to besieging the place; which siege was likely to stand in need of a great deal of skill and pains, by reason of the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I will now describe.

3. There was a rock not small in circumference, and very high. It was encompassed with valleys of such vast depth downward, that the eye could not reach it in any bottom; they were so stony and such as no animal could walk upon, excepting at two places of the rock, where it subsides, in order to afford a passage for ascent, though not without difficulty. Now, of the ways that lead to it, one is that from the lake Asphaltitis, towards the sunrising, and another on the west, where the ascent is easier: the one of these ways is called the Serpent, as resembling that animal in its narrowness, and its perpetual windings; for it is broken off at the prominent precipices of the rock, and returns frequently, and lengthening again by little and little, hath much added to its winded forward; and he that would walk along it must first go on one leg, and then on the other; there is nothing but destruction, in case your foot slip; for on each side there is a vast deep chasm and precipice, sufficient to quell the courage of every body by the terror it infuses into the mind. When, therefore, a man hath gone along this way for thirty furlongs, the rest is the top of the hill,—not ending at a small point, but is no other than a plain upon the highest part of the mountain. Upon this top of the hill the first fortress of all built a fortress, and called it Masada; after the rebuilding of this place employed the care of king Herod to a great degree; he also built a wall round about the entire top of the hill; seven furlongs long; it was composed of white stone; its height was twelve, and its breadth eight cubits; there was also erected upon that wall thirty-eight towers, each of those cubits high; out of which you might pass into lesser edifices, which were built on the inside, round the entire wall; for the king reserved the top of the hill, which was of a fat soil and better mould than any valley for agriculture, that such and such of themselves to this fortress for their preservation, might not even there be quite destitute of food, in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad. Moreover, he built a palace therein at the western ascent: it was within and beneath the walls of the citadel, but inclined to its north side. Now the wall of this palace was very high and strong, and had at its four corners towers sixty cubits high. The furniture also of the edifices, and of the chinters, and of the baths, was of great variety, and very costly; and these buildings were supported by pillars of single stones on every side; the walls and the floors of the edifices were paved with stones of several colours. He also had cut many and great pits, as reservoirs for water out of the rocks, at every one of the places that were inhabited, both above and round about the palace, and before the wall; and by this contrivance he endeavoured to have water for several uses, as if there had been fountains there. Here was also a road digged from the palace, and leading to the very top of the mountain, which yet could not be seen by such as were without [the walls]; nor indeed could enemies easily make use of the plain roads; for the road on the east side, as we have already taken notice, could not be walked upon, by reason of its nature; and for the western road, he built a large tower at its narrowest place, at no less a distance from the top of the hill than a thousand cubits; which tower could not possibly be passed by, nor could it be easily taken; nor indeed could those that walked along it without any fear (such was its contrivance) easily get to the end of it; and after such a manner was this citadel fortified, both by nature and by the hands of men, in order to frustrate the attacks of enemies.

4. As for the furniture that was within this fortress, it was still more wonderful on account of its splendour and long continuance; for here was laid up corn in large quantities, and such as would subsist men for a long time; here was also wine and oil in abundance, with all kinds of pulse and dates heaped up together; all which Eleazar found there, when he and his Sicarii got possession of the fortress by treachery. These fruits were also fresh and full ripe, and no way inferior to such fruits newly laid in, although they were little short of a hundred years old. And it is certain that the provisions [by Herod], till the place was taken by the Romans; nay, indeed, when the Romans got possession of those fruits that were left, they found them not corrupted all that while: nor should we be mistaken, if we supposed that the air was here the cause of their enduring so long, this fortress being so high, and so free from the mixture of all fumes and muggy particles of matter. There was also found here a large quantity of all sorts of weapons of war, which had been treasured up by the kings, and were sufficient for ten thousand men; there was cast iron, and brass, and tin, which show that
he had taken much pains to have all things here ready for the greatest occasions; for the report goes how Herod thus prepared this fortress on his own account, as a refuge against two kinds of danger: the one for fear of the multitude of the Jews, lest they should depose him and restore their former kings to the government; the other danger was great if Judea, and Asia, which arose from Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, was not to conceal her intentions, but spoke often to Antony, and desired him to cut off Herod, and entreated him to bestow the kingdom of Judea upon her. And certainly it is a great wonder that Antony did never comply with her commands in this point, as he was so miserably enslaved to his passion for her; nor should any one have been surprised if she had been gratified in such her request. So the fear of these dangers made Herod rebuild Masada, and thereby leave it for the finishing stroke of the Romans in this Jewish war.

5. Since therefore the Roman commander Silva had now built a wall on the outside, round about this whole place, as we have said already, and had thereby made a most accurate provision to prevent any one of the besieged running away, he undertook the siege itself, though he found but one single place that would admit of the banks he was to raise; for behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the top of the hill from the west, there was a certain eminence of the rock, very broad and very prominent, but three hundred cubits beneath the highest part of Masada; it was called the White Promontory. Accordingly he got upon that part of the rock, and ordered the towers to bring earth; and when they fell to that work with alacrity, and abundance of them together, the bank was raised, and became solid for two hundred cubits in height. Yet was not this bank thought sufficiently high for the use of the engines that were to be set upon it; but still another elevated work of great stones compacted together was raised upon that bank: this was fifty cubits, both in breadth and height. The other machines that were now got ready were like to those that had been first devised by Vitruvius, the author of sieges. There was also a tower made of the height of sixty cubits, and all over plated with iron, out of which the Romans threw darts and stones from the engines, and soon made those that fought from the walls of the place to retire, and would not let them lift up their heads above the works. At the same time Silva ordered that great battering-ram which he had made, to be brought thither, and to be set against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it, which with some difficulty, broke down a part of the wall, and quite overthrew it. However the greater part we are told of the wall within that, which should not be liable to the same misfortune from the machines with the other; it was made soft and yielding, and so was capable of avoiding the terrible blows that affected the other. It was framed after the following manner:—They laid together great beams of wood lengthways, one close to the end of another, and the same way in which they were cut: there were two of these rows parallel to one another, and laid at such a distance from each other as the breadth of the wall required, and earth was put into the space between those rows. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they farther laid other beams over across them, and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice; and when the machines were applied, the blows were weakened by its yielding; and as the materials by such concussion were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to endeavour the taking of this wall by setting fire to it; so he gave orders that the soldiers should throw a great number of burning torches upon it: accordingly, as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire; and when it was once set on fire, its hollowness made that fire spread to a mighty flame. Now, at the very beginning of this fire, a north wind that then blew proved terrible to the Romans; for by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair of success, as fearing their machines would be burnt: but after this, on a sudden the wind changed into the south, as if it were done by divine providence; and now new two of their engines, and carried the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day; on which occasion they set their watch more carefully, lest any of the Jews should run away from them without being discovered.

6. However, neither did Eleanar once think of flying away, nor would he permit any one else to do so; but when he saw their wall burn down by the fire, and could devise no other way of escaping, nor room for their farther courage, and seeing before their eyes what the Romans would do to them, their children, and their wives, if they got them into their power, he consulted about having them all slain. Now, as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their present circumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together, and encouraged them to take that course by a speech* which he made to them in the manner following:—"Since we, long ago, my generous friends, resolved never to be servants to the Romans, nor to any other than to God himself, who alone is the true and just Lord of mankind, the time is now come that obliges us to make that resolution true in practice. And let us not at this time bring a reproach upon ourselves for self-contradiction, while we formerly would not undergo slavery, though it were then without danger, but must now, together with slavery, choose such punishments also as are intolerable; I mean this, upon the supposition that the Romans once reduce us under their power while we are alive. We were the very first that revolted from them, and we are the very first that now, and I cannot but esteem it as a favour that God hath granted us, that it is still in our power to die bravely, and in a state of freedom, which hath not been the case of others, who were conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we shall be taken within a day's time; but it is still an eligible thing to die after a glorious manner, together with

* The speeches in this and the next section, as introduced under the name of this Eleanar, are exceedingly remarkable, and on the noblest subjects, the contempt of death, and the dignity and immortality of the soul; and that not only among the Jews, but among the Indians themselves also; and are highly worthy the perusal of all the curious. It seems as if that philosophic lady who survived, ch. 1, sect. 1, it, remem-
bered the substance of these discourses, as spoken by Eleanar, and to
Josephus himself them in his own words: as the present, they contain
the Jewish notions on these heads, as understood then by our Josephus,
and cannot but deserve a suitable regard from us.
our dearest friends. This is what our enemies themselves cannot by any means hinder, although they be very desirous to take us alive. Nor can we propose to ourselves any more to fight them and beat them. It had been proper indeed for us to have conjectured at the purpose of God much sooner, and at the very first, when we were so desirous of defending our liberty, and when we received such sore treatment from one another, and worse treatment from our enemies, and to have been sensible that the same God, who had of old taken the Jewish nation into his favour, had now condemned them to destruction; for had he either continued favourable, or been in a lesser degree displeased with us, he had not overlooked the destruction of so many men, or delivered his most holy city to be burnt and demolished by our enemies. To be sure, we weakly hoped to have preserved ourselves, and ourselves alone, still in a state of freedom, as we had been guilty of no sins ourselves against God, nor been partners with those of others; we had also taught other men to preserve their liberty. Wherefore, consider how God hath convinced us that our hopes were in vain, by bringing such distress upon us in the desperate state we are now in, and which is beyond all our expectations; for the nature of this fortress, which was in itself unconquerable, hath not proved a means of our deliverance; and even while we have still great abundance of food, and a great quantity of arms and other necessaries more than we want, we are openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance; for that fire which was driven upon our enemies did not, of its own accord, turn back upon the wall which we had built: this was the effect of God’s anger against us for our manifold sins, which we have been guilty of in a most insolent and extravagant manner with regard to our own countrymen: the punishments of which let us not receive from the Romans, but from God himself, as executed by our own hands, for these will be more moderate than the other. Let our wives die before they are abused, and our children before they have tasted of slavery; and after we have slain them, let us bestow the same honor upon one another, and preserve ourselves in freedom, as an excellent funeral monument for us. But first let us destroy our money and the fortress by fire; for I am well assured that this will be a great grief to the Romans, that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodies, and shall fail of our wealth also: and let us spare nothing but our provisions; for they will be a testimonial when we are dead that we were not subduced for want of necessaries; but that, according to our original resolution, we have preferred death before slavery. 7. This was Eleazar’s speech to them. Yet did not the opinions of all the soldiers acquiesce therein; but although some of them were very zealous to put his advice in practice, and were in a manner filled with pleasure at it, and thought death to be a good thing, yet had those that were most efficaciously a commission for their wives and families; and when these men were especially moved by the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another, and by the tears that were in their eyes, declared their dissent from his opinion. What Eleazar said to these people was in vain, fear, and that their souls were detached at so prodigious a proposal, he wept; but these effeminate persons lamentations and tears, enebled those that heard what he had said courageously; so he did not leave off exhorting them, but stirred up himself, and recollecting proper arguments for raising their courage, he understood to speak more briskly and fully to them, and that concerning the immortality of the soul, and that he had made a lamentable groan, and that he was so full of it on those that wept, he spake thus:—“Truly, I was greatly mistaken when I thought to assist to brave men who struggled hard for their liberty, and to such as were resolved either to live with honour, or else to die; but I find that you are such people as are no better than others, either in virtue or in courage, and are afraid of dying, though you be delivered thereby from the greatest miseries, while you ought to make no delay in this matter, nor to await any one to give you good advice; for the laws of our country, and of God himself, have, from ancient times, and as seen over we could use our reason, continually taught us, and our forefathers have corroborated the same doctrine, by their actions, and by their bravery of mind, that it is life that is a calamity to men, and not death; for this last affords our souls their liberty, and sends them by a removal into their own place of purity, where they are to be insensible of all sorts of misery; for while souls are tied down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries; and really, to speak the truth, they are themselves dead; for the union of what is divine to what is mortal, is disagreeable. It is true, the power of the soul is great, even when it is imprisoned in a mortal body; for by moving it after a way that is invisible, it makes the body a sensible instrument, and causes it to advance farther in its actions than mortal nature could otherwise do. However, when it is freed from that weight which draws it down to the earth, and is connected with it, it obtains its own proper place, and does then become a partaker of that blessed power, and those abilities, which are then every way incapable of being hindered in their operations. It is true, invisible, indeed, to the eyes of men, as does God himself, for certainly it is not itself seen, while it is in the body; for it is there after an invisible manner, and when it is freed from it, it is not seen. It is this soul which hath one nature, and that an incorruptible one also; but yet is it the cause of the change that is made in the body; for whatsoever it be which the soul touches, that lives and flourishes; and from whatsoever it is removed, that withers away and dies; such a degree is there in it of immortality. Let me produce to you the state of sleep as a most evident demonstration of the truth of what I say; wherein souls, when the body does not disturb them, have the greatest rest depending on themselves, and conversing with God, by their alliance to him; they then go everywhere, and foretell many futurities beforehand; and why are we afraid of death, while we are pleased with the rest that we have in sleep? and how absurd a thing is it to pursue after liberty while we are alive, and yet to envy it to ourselves where it will be eternal? We, therefore, who have been brought up in a discipline of our own, ought to become an example to others of our readiness to die; yet if we do not stand in need of foreigners to support us in this matter, in what race of mankind, who profess the exercise of philosophy; for these good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and lock upon it as a necessary servitude, and make haste to let
their souls loose from their bodies: nay, when no misfortune presses them to it, or drives them upon it, these have such a desire of a life of immortality, that they tell other men beforehand that they are about to depart; and nobody hinders them, but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends [that are dead]; so firmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with one another [in the other world]. So when these men have heard all such commands that were to be given them, they deliver their children up to the fire; and, in order to get their soul a separation from the body, in the greatest purity, they die in the midst of hymns of commendations made to them; for their dearest friends conduct them to their death more readily than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their fellow-citizens when they are going a very long journey, who, at the same time, weep on their own account, but look upon the others as happy persons, as so soon to be made partakers of the immortal order of beings. Are not we, therefore, ashamed to have lower notions than the Indians! and by our own cowardice, to lay a base reproach upon the laws of our country, which are so much desired and imitated by all mankind! But consider, that of all that had been brought up under another persuasion, and taught that life is the greatest good which men are capable of, and that death is a calamity: however, the circumstances we are now in, ought to be an inducement to us to bear such calamity courageously, since it is by the will of God, and by necessity, that we are to die: for it now appears that God hath made such a decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we are to be deprived of this life, which [he knew] we would not make a due use of; for do you ascribe the occasion of your present condition to yourselves, nor think the Romans are the true occasion that this war we have had with them is become so destructive to us all: these things have not come to pass by their power, but a more powerful cause hath intervened, and made us afford them an occasion of their appearing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapons, I pray you, were those, by which the Jews of Cesarea were slain! On the contrary, when they were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their seventh day festival, and did not so much as lift up their hands against the citizens of Cesarea, yet did those citizens run upon them in great crowds, and cut their throats, and the throats of their wives and children, and this without any regard to the Romans themselves, who never took us for their enemies, till we revolted from them. But some may be ready to say, that truly the people of Cesarea had always a quarrel against those that lived among them; and that when an opportunity offered itself, they only satisfied the old rancour they had against them. What then shall we say to those of Seythopolis, who ventured to engage war with us on account of the Greeks! Nor did they do it by way of revenge upon the Romans, when they were little inclined to the same endeavor. Wherefore you see how little our good-will and fidelity to them profited us, while they were slain, they and their whole families after the most inhuman manner; which was all the requital that was made them for the assistance they had afforded to the others; for that very same destruction which they had prevented from falling upon the others, did they suffer themselves from them, as if they had been ready to be the actors against them. It would be too long for me to speak at this time of every destruction brought upon us: for you cannot but know, that there was not any one Syrian city which did not slay their Jewish inhabitants, and were not more bitter enemies to us than were the Romans themselves: nay, even those of Damascus,* when they were able to allege no tolerable pretence against us, filled their city with the most barbarous slaughter of our people, and cut the throats of eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and children. And as to the multitude of those that were slain in Egypt, and that with torments also, we have been informed there were more than thirty thousand; those indeed being in a foreign country, and so naturally meeting with nothing to oppose against their enemies, were killed in the manner forementioned. As for all those of us who have waged war against the Romans in our country, had we not sufficient reason to have sure hopes of victory? For we had arms, and walls, and fortresses so prepared as not to be easily taken, and courage not to be moved by any dangers in the cause of liberty, which encouraged us all to revolt from the Romans. But then, these advantages sufficed us but for a short time, and only raised our hopes, while they really appeared to be the origin of our miseries; for all we had, hath been taken from us, and all hath fallen under our enemies, as if these advantages were only to render their victory over us the more glorious, and were not disposed for the preservation of those by whom these preparations were made. And as for those that were already dead in the war, it is reasonable we should esteem them blessed, for they are dead in defending, and not in betraying their liberty; but as to the multitude of those that are now under the Romans, who would not pity their condition? and who would not make haste to die, before he would suffer the same miseries with them! Some of them have been thrown upon the rack, and tortured with fire and whippings, and so died. Some have been half-devoured by wild beasts, and yet have been reserved alive to be devoured by them a second time, in order to afford laughter and sport to our enemies; and such of those as are alive still, are to be looked on as the most miserable, who, being so desirous of death, could not come at it. And where is now that great city, the metropolis of the Jewish nation, which was fortified by so many walls round about, which had so many fortresses and large towers to defend it, which could hardly contain the instruments prepared for the war, and which had so many thousands of men to fight for it! Where is this city that was believed to have God himself inhabiting therein! It is now demolished to the very foundations; and hath nothing but that monument of it preserved, I mean the camp of those that have destroyed it, which still dwells upon its ruins; some unfortunate old men also lie upon the ashes of the temple, and a few women are there preserved alive by the enemy, for our bitter shame and reproach. Now, who is there that revolves these things in his heart, but yet is able to bear the sight of the sun, though he might live out of danger! Who is there so much his country's enemy, or so unmanly, and so desirous of living, as not to repent that he is still alive! And I cannot but wish that we had all died before we had seen that holy city demolished by the hands of our enemies,

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*See c. viii. ch. xi. sect. 5, where the number of the slain is but 10,000.
or the foundations of one holy temple dug up after so proud a manner. But since we had a generous hope that deluded us, as if we might perhaps have been able to avenge ourselves on our enemies on that account, though it be now become vanity, and hath left us alone in this distress, let us make haste to die bravely. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives, while it is in our power to show pity to them; for we are born to die, as well as those whom we have be gotten; nor is it in the power of the most happy of our race to avoid it. But for abuses and slavery, and the sight of our wives led away after an ignominious manner, with their children, these are not such evils as are natural and necessary among men; although such as do not prefer death before those miseries, when it is in their power so to do, must undergo even them, on account of their own cowardice. We revolted from the Romans with great pretensions to courage; and when, at the very last they invited us to preserve ourselves, we would not comply with them. Who will not, therefore, believe that they will certainly be in a rage at us, in case they can take us alive? Miserable will then be the young men, who will be strong enough in their bodies to sustain inextricable scars! Miserable also will be those of elder years, who will not be able to bear those calamities which young men might sustain! One man will be obliged to bear the voice of his son imploring help of his father, when his hands are bound! But certainly our hands are still at liberty, and have a sword in them: let them then be subservient to us in our glorious design; let us die before we become slaves under our enemies, and let us go out of the world, together with our children and our wives, in a state of freedom. This it is that our laws command us to do; this it is that our wives and children crave at our hands; nay, God himself hath brought this necessity upon us; while the Romans desire the contrary, and are afraid lest any man should die before we are taken. Let us therefore make haste, and instead of affording them so much pleasure, as they hope for in getting us under their power, let us leave them an example which shall at once cause their astonishment at our death, and their admiration of our hardness therein."

CHAPTER IX.

HOW THE PEOPLE THAT WERE IN THE FORTRESS WERE PREVAILED ON BY THE WORDS OF ELEAZAR, TWO WOMEN AND FIVE CHILDREN ONLY EXCEPTED; AND ALL SUBMITTED TO BE KILLED BY ONE ANOTHER.

§ 1. Now as Eleazar was proceeding on in this exhortation, they all cut him off short, and made haste to do the work, as full of an unconquerable ardent courage of mind, and moved with a demoniacal fury. So they went their ways, as one still endeavouring to be before another, and as thinking that this eagerness would be a demonstration of their courage and good conduct, if they could avoid appearing in the last class: so great was the zeal they were in to play their wives and children, and themselves also! Nor indeed did any of them think how ill it was to come to the work itself, did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done; but they then held fast the same resolution, without wavering, which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech, while yet every one of them still retained the natural passion of love to themselves and their families, because the reasonings they went upon, appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were dearest to them; for the husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms, and gave the longest parting kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. Yet did it not appear what they had resolved on, as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers, and they had nothing else for their comfort but the necessity they were in of doing this execution, to avoid that prospect they had of the miseries they were to suffer from their enemies. Nor was there at length any one of these men found that scrupled to act their part in this terrible execution, but every one of them dispatched his dearest relations. Miserable men indeed were they! whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of those evils that were before them. So they were not being able to bear the grief they were under for what they had done, any longer, and esteem it an injury to those they had slain, to live even the shortest space of time after them—their presently laid all they had in a heap, and set fire to it. They then chose ten men by lot out of them, to slay all the rest; every one of whom laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and they offered their necks to the stroke of those who by lot executed that melancholy office; and then, when those ten had, with some fear, slain them all, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves, that he whose lot it was should first kill the other nine, and after all, should kill himself. Accordingly, all those had courage sufficient to be as way behind one another, in doing or suffering; so, for a conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the executioner, and he who was the last of all, took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance some other among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite dispatched; and when he perceived that they were all slain, be set fire to the palace, and with the great force of his hand, which he had taken entirely through himself, and fell down dead near to his own relations. So these people died with this intention, that they would not have so much as one soul among them all alive to be subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of kin to Eleazar, and superior in most women in prudence and learning, with five children, who had concealed themselves in caves under ground, and had carried water thither for their drink, and were hidden there when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number, the women and children being withal included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month [Xanthicus] Nisan.

2. Now for the Romans, they expected that they should be fought in the morning, when accordingly they put on their armour, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from their banks, to make an assault upon the fortress, which they did; but saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, with a fire within the place, as well as a per-
fect silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been a bugle given by a battering-ram, to try whether they could bring any one out that was within; the women heard this noise, and came out of their underground cavern, and informed the Romans what had been done, as it was done; and the second of them clearly described all both what was said and what was done, and the manner of it; yet did they not easily give their attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said; they also attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting themselves a way through it, they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the slain, but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and that the immovable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shown, when they went through with such an action as that was.

CHAPTER X.

THAT MANY OF THE SICARII FLEED TO ALEXANDRIA, ALSO, AND WHAT DANGERS THEY WERE IN THERE; ON WHICH ACCOUNT THAT TEMPLE WHICH HAD FORMERLY BEEN BUILT BY ONIAS, THE HIGH-PRIEST, WAS DESTROYED.

§ 1. When Masada was thus taken, the general left a garrison in the fortress to keep it, and he himself went away to Cesarea; for there were now no enemies left in the country, it being all overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very far remote from Judea; for still it came to pass that many Jews were slain at Alexandria in Egypt; for as many of the Sicarii as were able to fly thither, out of the seditious wars in Judea, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs be undertaking to make new disturbances, and persuaded many of those that entertained them to assert their liberty, to esteem the Romans as no better than themselves, and to look upon God as their only Lord and Master. But when part of the Jews of reputation opposed them, they slew some of them, and with the others they were very pressing in their exhortations to revolt from the Romans; but when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and accused the madness of the Sicarii, and demonstrated that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They also, that “these men, now they were run away from Judea, having no sure hope of escaping, because as soon as ever they shall be known, they will be soon destroyed by the Romans, they come thither and fill us full of those calamities which belong to them, while we have not been partakers with them in any of their sins.” Accordingly they exhorted the multitude to have a care, lest they should be brought to destruction by their means, and to make their apology to the Romans for what had been done, by delivering these men up to them; who being thus apprized of the greatness of the danger they were in, complied with what was proposed, and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii, and seized upon them; and, indeed, six hundred of them were caught immediately: but as to all those that fled into Egypt, and to the Egyptian Thieves, it was not long ere they were caught and brought back,—whose courage, or whether we ought to call it madness, or hardiness in their opinions, every body was amazed at; for when all sorts of torments and vexations of their bodies that could be devised were made use of to them, they could not get any one of them to comply so far as to confess, or seem to confess, that Caesar was their lord; but they preserved their own opinion, in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received these torments and the fire itself with bodies insensible of pain, and with minds in a manner rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the beholders, was the courage of the children: for not one of those children was so far overcome by these torments, as to name Caesar for their lord. So far does the strength of the courage [of the soul] prevail over the weakness of the body.

2. Now Lupus did then govern Alexandria, who presently sent Caesar word of this commotion; who having in sucipio the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they should get together and persuade some others to join with them, gave order to Lupus to demolish that Jewish temple which was in the region called Onias; and was in Egypt, which was built and had its denomination from the occasion following:—Onias, the son of Simon, one of the Jewish high-priests, fled from Antiochus, the king of Syria, when he made war with the Jews, and came to Alexandria; and as Ptolemy received him very kindly on account of his hatred to Antiochus, he assured him, that if he would comply with his proposal, he would bring all the Jews to his assistance; and when the king agreed to do it so far as he was able, he desired him to give him leave to build a temple somewhere in Egypt, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country; for that the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Antiochus, who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem, and that they would then come to him with greater good-will; and that, by granting them liberty of conscience, very many of them would come over to him.

3. So Ptolemy complied with his proposals, and gave him a place one hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis. This temple was called the Nomi of Heliopolis, where Onias built a fortress and a temple, not like to that at Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower. He built it of large stones to the height of sixty cubits; he made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in our

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1 Since Josephus here informs us that some of these Sicarii, or murrians, went from Alexandria (which was itself in Egypt) to Antioch in Syria, and Thucis, there situated, Roland well observes, from Vossius, that Egypt sometime was called Egypt Prope Troas; Egypt is distant from the Deltm, and the lower parts near Palestine. Accordingly, as he adds, they that say it never was, in the time of Josephus, a province of Egypt, because it does sometimes rain in the other parts. See the note on Antig. b. iv. ch. vii. sect. 9, b. iv. ch. viii. sect. 7. And this temple was like to that at Jerusalem, and here that it was not like it, but the tower, sect. 3. And this is what Antiochus would have to have done, and that other the public temple to have been blunt out, or the manner therein unfit.

2 We must observe, that Josephus here speaks of Antiochus, who plundered the temple, as now alive, when Onias had left given him by successor to build his temple; whereas it seems not to have actually been built till about fifteen years afterwards. Yet, because it is said in the Antig. that Onias went to Ptolemaurus, b. xii. ch. ix. sect. 7, and the lifetime of that Antiochus, it is probable he petitioned, and perhaps obtained his leave, even though it were not actually built or finished till fifteen years afterwards.
own country, and in like manner adorned with gifts, excepting the make of the candlestick, for he did not make a candlestick, but had it hammered out of a piece of gold, which illuminated the place with its rays, and which burned by a chain of gold; but the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large country for a revenue in money, that both the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, and that God might have great abundance of what things were necessary for his worship. Yet did not Omas do this out of a sober disposition, but he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished thence. Accordingly, he thought by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself. There had been also a certain ancient prediction made by a (prophet) whose name was Isaiah, about six hundred years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew in Egypt. And this is the history of the building of that temple.

4. And now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of Caesar's letter, came to the temple and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple itself; and as Lupus died a little afterward, Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of these donations there, and threatened the priests, severely if they did not bring them all out; nor did he permit any who were desirous of worshipping God there, so much as to come near the whole sacred place; but when he had shut up the gates, he made it entirely inaccessible, insomuch that there remained no longer the least footsteps of any divine worship that had been in that place. Now the duration of the time from the building of this temple till it was shut up again, was three hundred and forty-three years.

CHAPTER XI.
CONCERNING JONATHAN, ONE OF THE SICARI, THAT STIRRED UP A SEDITION IN CYRENE, AND WAS A FALSE ACCUSER [OF THE INNOCENT].

§ 1. And now did the madness of the Sicari, like a disease, reach as far as the cities of Cyrene; for unto Jonathan, a vile person, and by trade a weaver, came thither, and prevailed with no small number of the poorer sort to give ear to him; he also led them into the desert, upon promising them that he would show them signs and apparitions; and as for the other Jews at Cyrene, he concealed his knavery from them, and put tricks upon them; but those of the greatest dignity among them, informed Catullus, the governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, of his march into the desert, and of the preparations he had made for it. So he sent out after him both horsemen and footmen, and easily overcame them, because they were unarmed men; of these, many were slain in the fight, but some were taken alive, and brought to Catullus. For Jonathan, the head of this plot, he fled away at that time; but, upon a great and very diligent search which was made all the country over for him, he was at last taken; and when he was brought to Catullus, he devised a way whereby he both escaped punishment himself and afforded an occasion to Catullus of doing much mischief; for he falsely accused the richest men among the Jews, and said that they had put him up to single what he did.

2. Now Catullus easily admitted of these his calumnies, and aggravated matters greatly, and made tragical exclamations that he might also be supposed to have had a hand in the finishing of the Jewish war; but what was still harder, he did not only give a too easy belief to his stories, but he taught the Sicari to accuse men falsely. He bade this Jonathan, therefore, name one Alexander, a Jew, (with whom he had formerly had a quarrel) and openly professed that he hated him; he also got him to name his wife Bernice, as concerned with him. These two, Catullus ordered to be slain in the first place; nay, after them he caused all the rich and wealthy Jews to be slain, being no fewer in all than three thousand. This, he thought, he might do safely, because he confiscated their effects, and added them to Caesar's revenues.

3. Nay, indeed, lest any Jews that lived elsewhere, should covert him of his villany, he extended his false accusations farther, and persuaded Jonathan, and certain others that were entreated with him, to bring an accusation of attempts for innovation against the Jews that were of the best character both at Alexandria and at Cyrene. And on these accounts the accused were put to death, and the whole accusation was laid, was Josephus, the writer of these books. However, this plot, thus contrived by Catullus, did not succeed according to his hopes; for though he came himself to Rome, and brought Jonathan and his companions along with him in bonds, and thought he should have no further inquisition made as to those lies that were forged under his government, or by his means, yet did Vespasian suspect the matter, and make an inquiry how far it was true; and when he understood that the accusation laid against the Jews was an unjust one, he cleared them of the crimes charged upon them; and this, on account of Titus's concern about the matter, and brought a deserved punishment upon Jonathan; for he was first torment, and then burnt alive.

4. But as to Catullus, the emperors were so gentle to him, that he underwent no severe condemnation at this time: yet was it not long before he fell into a complicated and almost incurable distemper, and died miserably. He was not only afflicted in body, but the distemper in his mind was more heavy upon him than the other; for he was terribly disturbed, and continually cried out, that he saw the ghosts of those whom he had standing before him. Whereupon he was not able to contain himself, but leaped out of his bed, as if both torments and fire were brought to him. This his distemper grew still a great deal worse and worse continually, and his very entrails were so corroded, that they fell out of his body, and in that condition he died. Thus he became as great an instance of divine providence as ever was, and demonstrated that God punishes wicked men.

5. And here we shall put an end to this our history; wherein we formerly promised to deliver the same with all accuracy, as much as such is desirable in understanding after what manner the war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. Of which history, how good the style is, must be left to the determination of the readers; but for the agreement with the facts, I shall not scruple to say, and boldly, that truth hath been what I have alone aimed at through its entire composition.
ANTIOCHITY OF THE JEWS.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS AGAINST APION.*

BOOK I.

§ 1. I suppose that, by my books of the Antiquities of the Jews, most excellent Ephraemolius,† I have made it evident to those who persuade them, that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity, and had a distinct subsistence of its own originally; as also, I have therein declared how we came to inhabit this country wherein we now live. Those Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, that is, of our own books; but are translated by me into the Greek tongue. However, since I observe a considerable number of people giving ear to the reproaches that are laid against us by those who bear ill-will to us, and will not believe what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, while they take it for a plain sign that our nation is of a late date, because they are not so much as vouchsafed a bare mention by the most famous historians, among the Grecians, I therefore have thought myself under an obligation to write somewhat briefly about these subjects, in order to convict those that reproach us, of spite and voluntary falsehood, and to correct the ignorance of others, and withal to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth of what great antiquity we really are. As for the witnesses whom I shall produce for the proof of what I say, they shall be such as are esteemed to be of the greatest reputation for truth, and the most skilful in the knowledge of all antiquity, by the Greeks themselves. I will also show that those who have written so reproachfully and falsely about us, are to be convicted by what they have written themselves to the contrary. I shall also endeavour to give an account of the reasons why it hath so happened, that there hath not been a great number of Greeks who have made mention of our nation in their histories. I will, however, bring those Grecians to light who have not omitted such our history, for the sake of those that either do not know them, or pretend not to know them already.

2. And now, in the first place, I cannot but greatly wonder at those men, who suppose that we must attend to none but Grecians, when we are inquiring about the most ancient facts, and must form ourselves of their truth from only, while we must not believe ourselves nor other men; for I am convinced that the very reverse is the truth of the case. I mean this,—if we will not be led by vain opinions, but will make inquiry after truth from facts themselves; for they will find, that almost all which concerns the Greeks happened not long ago; nay, one may say, is of yesterday only. I speak of the building of their cities, the invention of their arts, and the description of their laws; and as for their care about the writing down of their histories, it is very near the last thing they set about. However, they acknowledge themselves so far, that they were the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and Phoenicians (for I will not now reckon ourselves among them) that have preserved the memorials of the most ancient and most lasting traditions of mankind; for almost all these nations inhabiting such countries as are least subject to destruction from the world about them; and these also have taken especial care to have nothing omitted of what was [remarkably] done among them; but their history was esteemed sacred, and put into public tables, as written by men of the greatest wisdom they had among them; but as for the place where the Grecians inhabit, but thousand destructions have taken it and blotted out the memory of former actions; so that they were ever beginning a new way of living, and supposed that every one of them was
the origin of their new state. It was also late, and with difficulty, that they came to know the letters they now use; for those who would advance their use of these letters to the greatest antiquity, pretend to that they learned them from the Phoenicians and from Cadmus; yet is nobody able to demonstrate that they have any writing preserved from that time, neither in their temples, nor in any other public monuments. This appears, because the time when those lived who went to the Trojan war, so many years afterward, is in great doubt, and great inquiry is made whether the Greeks used their letters at that time; and the most prevailing opinion, and that nearest the truth, is, that their present way of using those letters was unknown at that time. However, there is not any writing which the Greeks agree to be genuine among them ancient than Homer's Poems, which must plainly be confessed later than the Siege of Troy: nay, the report goes, that even he did not leave his poems in writing, but that their memory was preserved in songs, and they were put together afterward; and this is the reason of such a number of variations as are found in them.* For as those who set themselves about writing their histories, I mean such as Cadmus of Miletus, and Acusilaus of Argos, and any others that may be mentioned as succeeding Acusilaus, they lived but a little while before the Persian expedition into Greece. But then for those that first introduced philosophy, and the consideration of things celestial and divine among them, such as Thales the Syrian, and Pythagoras, and Thales, all with one consent agree, that they learned what they knew of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and wrote but little. And these are the things which are supposed to be the oldest of all among the Greeks; and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

3. How can it then be other than an absurd thing for the Greeks to be so proud, and to vaunt themselves to be the only people that are acquainted with antiquity, and that have delivered the true accounts of those early times after an accurate manner? Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Greek writers themselves, that they knew but little on any good foundation when they set to write, but rather wrote their histories from their own conjectures! Accordingly, they confute one another in their own books to purpose, and are not ashamed to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same things: and I should spend my time to little purpose, if I should pretend to teach the Greeks that which they know better than I already, what a great discrepancy there is between Hellenicus and Acusilaus about their genealogies; in how many cases Acusilaus corrects Hesiod: or after what manner Ephorus demonstrates Hellenicus to have told lies in the greatest part of his history: as does Timaeus in like manner as to Ephorus, and the succeeding writers do to Timaeus, and all the later writers do to Herodotus; nor could Timaeus agree with Antiochus and Philistius, or with Callias, about the Sicilian History, no more than do the several writers of the Atticide follow one another about the Athenian affairs; nor do the historians the like, that wrote the Argolid, about the affairs of the Argives. And now what have I proved I say more about particular cities and smaller places, while in the very approved writers of the expedition of the Persians, and of the actions which were therein performed, there are so great differences! Nay, Thucydides himself is accused by none as writing what is false, although he seems to have given us the exactest history of the affairs of his own time.

4. As for the occasions of this so great disagreement of theirs, there may be assigned many that are very probable, if any have a mind to make an inquiry there about them; but I ascribe those contradictions chiefly to two causes, which I will now mention, and still think what I will shall answer their first place, to be the principal of all: for if we remember, that in the beginning the Greeks had taken care to have public records of their several transactions preserved, this must for certain have afforded those that would afterward write about those ancient transactions, the opportunity of making mistakes, and the power of making lies also; for this original recording of such ancient transactions hath not only been neglected by the other states of Greece, but even among the Athenians themselves also, who pretend to be Aristotleans, and to have applied themselves to learning, there are no such records extant; nay, they say themselves, that the laws of Draco concerning murders, which are now extant in writing, are the most ancient of their public records; which Draco yet lived but a little time before the tyrant Pisistratus. For as to the Arcadians, who make such boast of their antiquity, what need I speak of them in particular, since it was still later before they got their letters, and learned them, and that with difficulty also.

5. There must therefore naturally arise great differences among writers, when they had no original records to lay for their foundation, which might at once inform those who had an inclination to learn, and contradict those that would tell lies. However, we are to suppose a second occasion besides the former of these contradictions; it is this: That those who were the most zealous to write history, were not solicitous for the discovery of truth, but inaccurate historians and of the affairs of Corcyra, implies that Herodotus's account of that great man is almost entirely erroneous. See the note on Arat. b. viii. 3, sect. 1, and Hesychius: the most authentic writings of the Egyptian History, the most authentic geography and chronology.

* This preservation of Homer's Poems by manners, and not by his own writing them down, and that hence they were styled Rhapsoodies, as such were not delivered to us, by parts, and put together in complete works, are opinions well known from the ancient commentators, and of no importance to itself, as also to the mention of Fabrics, Bithynia, Greece, l. 280, and to others, highly improbable. Nor does Josephus say there were any ancient writings among the Egyptians before the time of Homer, but only among other nations, and states, which was the antiquity of their authors, and judging which were the most accurate discoverers of truth, and must not be depended on in the several nations, and climates in which they appeared, and the greater elegance in their expressions; which are things of small consequence in comparing them with Homer. Then you will sometimes find great debate among the learned, whether Herodotus or Thucydides was the fatter historian in the Ionian and Attic ways of writing, little as to the real value of each of their histories; which would be of much more moment to be the reader know, that as the composition of Herodotus' History, which begins so much earlier, and reaches of
though it was very easy for them always to make such a profession; but their business was to demonstrate that they could write well, and make an impression upon mankind thereby; and in what manner of writing they thought they were able to exceed others, to that did they apply themselves. Some of them endeavoured themselves to the writing of fabulous narrations; some of them endeavoured to please the cities or the kings, by writing in their commendation; others of them fell to finding faults with transactions, or with the writers of such transactions, and thought to make a great figure by so doing; and indeed these do what is of all things the most contrary to true history; for it is the greatest character of true history that all concerned therein both speak and write the same things; while these, by writing differently about the same things, think they shall be believed to write with the greatest regard to truth. We therefore [who are Jews] must yield to the Grecian writers as to language and eloquence of composition; but then we shall give them no such preference as to the verity of ancient history; and least of all as to that part which concerns the affairs of our own several countries.

6. As to the care of writing down the records from the earliest antiquity among the Egyptians and Babylonians; that the priests were intrusted therewith, and employed a philosophical concern about it; that they were the Chaldean priests that did so among the Babylonians; and that the Phoenicians, who were mingled among the Greeks, did especially make use of their letters, both for the common affairs of life, and for the delivering down the history of common transactions, I think I may omit any proof, because all men allow it to be; but now as to our forefathers, that they took no less care about writing such records (for I will not say they took greater care than the others I spoke of) and that they committed that matter to their high-priests and to their prophets, and that these records have been written all along down to our own times with the utmost accuracy; nay, if it be not too bold for me to say it, our history will be so written hereafter;—I shall endeavour briefly to inform you.

7. For our forefathers did not only appoint the best of these priests, and those that attended upon the divine worship, for that design from the beginning, but made profession that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed and pure; for he who is a partaker of the priesthood, must propogate of a wife of the same nation, without having any regard to money, or any other dignities; but he is to make a scrutiny, and take his wife's genealogy from the ancient tables, and procure many witnesses to it; * and this is the practice, not only in Judea, whereover any body of men of our nation do live; and even there, an exact catalogue of our priests' marriages is kept; I mean at Egypt and at Babylon, or in any other place of the rest of the habitable earth, whithersoever our priests are scattered; for they send to Jerusalem the ancient names of their parents in writing, as well as those of their remote ancestors, and signify who are the witnesses also; but if any war falls out, such as have fallen out, a great many of them already, when Antiochus Epiphanes made an invasion upon our country, as also when Pompey the Great and Quintillus Varus did so also, and principally in the wars that have happened in our own times, those priests that survive them, compound the lists of genealogy out of the old records, and examine the circumstances of the women that remain; for still they do not admit of those that have been captives, as suspecting that they had conversation with some foreigners; but what is the strongest argument of our exact management in this matter is what I am now going to say, that we have the names of our high priests, from father to son, set down in our records, for the interval of two thousand years; and if any one of these have been transgressors of these rules, they are prohibited to present themselves at the altar, or to be partakers of any other of our purifications; and this is justly, or rather necessarily done, because every one is not permitted of his own accord to be a writer, nor is there any disagreement in what is written; they being only prophets that have written the original and earliest accounts of things as they learned them of God himself by inspiration; and others have written what hath happened in their own times, and that in a very distinct manner also.

8. For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another [as the Greeks have]; but only twenty-two books, with which contain the records of all the past times; which are justly believed to be divine; and of them, five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time was little short of three thousand years; but as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets, who were after Moses, wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. This is such, our history hath been, Artaxerxes, very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time; and how firmly we have given credit to those books of our own nation, is evident by what we do; for during so many ages as have already passed, no one has been so bold as either to add any thing to them, or take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; but it becomes natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem those books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and that on occasion present death and a willingness to die for them. For it is no new thing for our captives, many of them in number, and frequently in time, to be seen to endure racks and deaths of all kinds upon the theatres, that they may not be obliged to say one word against our laws, and the records that contain them; whereas, there are none at all among the Greeks who would undergo the least harm on that account, no, nor in case all the writings that are among them were to be destroyed; for they take them to be such discourses as are framed agreea—

* Which were these twenty-two sacred books of the Old Testament, see the Scripture reference. - Ed.
bly to the inclinations of those that write them; and they have justly the same opinion of the ancients as others, since they see none of the present generation bold enough to write about such affairs, wherein they were not present, nor had concern enough to inform themselves about them from those that knew them; examples of which may be had in this late war of ours, where some persons have written histories, and published them, without having been in the place concerned, or having been near them when the actions were done; but these men put a few things together by hearsay, and insolently abuse the world, and call these writings by the name of histories. 

9. As for myself, I have composed a true history of that whole war, and all the particulars that occurred therein, as having been concerned in all its transactions; for I acted as general of those among us that are named Galileans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition. I was then seized on by the Romans, and became a captive. Vespasian also and Titus had kept me under guard, and forced me to attend them continually. At the first I was put into bonds; but was set at liberty afterward, and sent to accompany Titus when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time there was nothing done which I knew not, or which I could not understand. What happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully; and what informations the deserters brought [out of the city] I was the only man that understood them. Afterward I got leisure at Rome; and when all my materials were prepared for that work, I made use of some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by these means I composed the history of these transactions; and I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me, for to them I presented those books first of all, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in that war. I also sold them to many of our own men who understood the Greek philosophy; among whom were Julius Archelaus, Herod [king of Chalcis], a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, a person that deserved the greatest admiration. Now all these men bore their testimony to me, that I had the strictest regard to truth; who yet would not have dissembled the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favour to any side, either had given false colours to actions, or omitted any of them.

10. There have been indeed some bad men, who have attempted to calumniate my history, and took it to be a kind of scholastic performance for the exercise of young men. A strange sort of accusation and calumny this! since every one that undertakes to deliver the history of actions truly, ought to know them accurately himself in the first place, as either having been concerned in them himself, or been informed of them by such as knew them. Now, both these methods of knowledge I may very properly declare, since they are some of the present works; for, as I said, I have translated the Antiquities out of our sacred books; which I easily could do, since I was a priest by my birth, and have studied that philosophy which is contained in those writings; and as for the History of the War, I wrote it as having been an actor myself in many of its transactions, an eye-witness in the greatest part of the rest, and was not unacquainted with any thing whatsoever that was either said or done in it. How impudent then must those deserve to be esteemed, who undertake to contradict me about the true state of those affairs I who, although they pretend to have made use of both the emperors' own memoirs, yet they could not be acquainted with our affairs which sought against them.

11. This digression I have been obliged to make out of necessity, as being desirous to expose the vanity of those that profess to write histories; and I suppose I have sufficiently declared that this custom of transmitting down the histories of ancient times, hath been better preserved by those armies which are called Barbarians, than by these Greeks themselves. I am now willing, in the next place, to say a few things to those who endeavour to prove that our constitution is but of late time, for this reason, as they pretend that the Greek writers have said nothing about us; after which I shall produce testimonies for our antiquity out of the writings of foreigners: I shall also demonstrate, that such as cast reproaches upon our nation, do it very unjustly.

12. As for ourselves, therefore, we neither indelibly inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchandise, nor in such a manner with those seas as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and having a fruitful country for our habitation, we take pains in cultivating that only. Our principal care of all is this, to educate our children well; and we think it to be of the most necessary business of our whole life, to observe the laws that have been given us, and to keep those rules of piety that have been delivered down to us. Since, therefore, besides what we have already taken notice of, have had a peculiar way of living of our own, there was no occasion offered us in ancient ages, for intermixing among the Greeks, as they had for mixing among the Egyptians, by their intercourse of exporting and importing their several goods; as they also mixed with the Phoenicians, who lived by the sea-side, by means of their love of bire in trade and merchandise. Nor did our forefathers in the same way, as others, to robbery; nor did they, in order to gain more wealth, fall into foreign wars, although our country contained many thousands of men of courage sufficient for that purpose; for this reason it was that the Phoenicians themselves came soon by trading and navigation to be known to the Grecians, and by them the Grecians became known to the Grecians also, as did all those people whom the Phoenicians in long voyages over the seas carried wares to the Grecians. The Medes also and the Persians, when they were lords of Asia, became well known to them; and this was especially true of the Persians, who led their armies as far as the other continent, [Europe]. The Thracians were also known to them by the nearness of their countries, and Scythians by the means of those that sailed to Pontus; for it was so in general that all maritime nations, and those on the western coast of the sea, became most known to those that were desirous to be writers; but such as had their habitations farther from the sea, were for the most part unknown to them; which things appear to have happened as to Europe also, where the city of Rome, that hath this long time been possessed of so much power, and hath performed such great actions in war, is never yet mentioned.
by Herodotus, nor by Thucydides, nor by any one of their contemporaries; and it was very late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. Nay, those that were reckoned the most exact historians (and Ephorus amongst the rest) were very ignorant of the Grecians and the Spaniards, that he supposed the Spaniards, who inhabited so great a part of the western regions of the earth, to be no more than one city. Those historians also have ventured to describe such customs as were made use of by them, which they never had either done or said; and the reason why these writers did not know the truth of their affairs, was this, that they had not any commerce together;—but the reason why they wrote such falsities was this, that they had a mind to appear to know things which others had not known. How can it then be any wonder, if our nation was no more known to many of the Greeks, nor had given them any occasion to mention them in their writings, while they were so remote from the sea, and had a conduct of life so peculiar to themselves!

13. Let us now put the case, therefore, that we made use of this argument concerning the Grecians, in order to prove that their nation was not ancient, because nothing is said of them in our records; would not they laugh at us all, and probably give the same reasons for our silence that I have now alleged, and would produce their neighbouring nations as witnesses to their own antiquity? Now, the very same thing will I endeavour to do; for I will bring the Egyptians and the Phcenicians as my principal witnesses, because nobody can complain of their testimony as false, on account that they are known to have borne the greatest ill-will towards us; I mean this as to the Egyptians, in general all of them, while of the Phcenicians, it is known the Tyrians have been most of all in the same ill dispositions towards us: yet do I confess that I cannot say the same of the Chaldeans, since our first leaders and ancestors were derived from them; and they do so make mention of Jews in their records, on account of the kindness there is between us. Now, when I shall have made my assertions good, so far as concerns the others, I will demonstrate that some of the Greek writers have made mention of us Jews also, that those who envy us may not have even this pretext for contradicting what I have said about our nation.

14. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian, yet had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he said himself, out of their sacred records; he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false relations of Egyptian affairs. Now, this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian History, writes concerning us in the following manner. I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into a court for a witness:—"There was a king of ours, whose name was Timaus. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that he was told of the Jews. And they were so very ignorant of the surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and with ease subdued it by force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So when they had gotten those that governed us under their power, they afterwards burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner: nay, more—under them the women and children were sold into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom and invade them; and as he found in the Saitic Nomos [Sethe-roits], a city very proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the Babastic channel, but with regard to a certain theologick notion was called Avaris, this he rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men whom he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer-time, partly to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned thirteen years, after him he reigned another, whose name was Been, for forty-four years; after him he reigned another, called Apaneis, thirty-six years and seven months; after him he reigned sixty-one years, and then he reigned fifty years and one month; after all these reigned Assa forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots. This whole nation was styled Hyrcos, that is, Shepherd-kings; for the first syllable Hy, according to the sacred dialect denotes a king, as is Sos a shepherd—but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hyrcos; but none say that these people were called Egyptians." Now, in another copy it is said, that this word does not denote Kings, but, on the contrary, denotes Captive Shepherds, and this on account of the particle Hyc; for that Hyc, with the aspiration, in the Egyptian tongue again denotes Shepherds, and that expressly also; and this to me seems the more probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history. [But Manetho goes on:]—"These people, whom we have before named kings, and called shepherds also, and their descendants, as he says, kept possession of Egypt five hundred and eleven years. After these, he says, "That the king of Thebaus and of the other parts of Egypt made an insurrection against the shepherds, and that there a terrible and long war was made between them." He says farther, "That under a king, whose name was Alisaphragmuthus, the shepherds were subdued by him, and were indeed driven out of other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres: this place was named Avaris." Manetho says, "That the shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but that the king of Thebaus made an attempt to take them by force and by siege with four hundred and eighty thousand men to lie round about them; but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came to a composition with them, that they should leave Egypt, and go without
any harm to be done them, whithersoever they would; and that, after this composition was made, their whole families and kindred, not few in numbers, not fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand, and took their journey from Egypt, through the wilderness, for Syria: but that, as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judea, and that large enough to contain this great number of men, and called it Jerusalem." Now Manetho, in another book of his, says, "That this nation, thus called Shepherds, was also called Captives, in their sacred books." And this account of his is the truth; for feeding of sheep was the employment of our fathers in the most ancient ages; and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called Shepherds. Nor was it without reason that they were called Captives by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive, and afterward sent for his brethren into Egypt by the king's permission; but as for these matters, I shall make a more exact inquiry about them elsewhere.§

15. But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore bring in Manetho, and what he writes as to the order of the times in this case, and thus he speaks: "When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterward twenty-five years and four months, and then died; after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; after whom came Amenophis, for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister Amechres, for twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephres, for twelve years and nine months; after him was Mephrastumus, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Tethmosis, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amechres, for thirty years and ten months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and five months; then came his daughter Accenches, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Rathois, for nine years; then was Accenches, for twelve years and five months; then came another Accenches, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month; after him Was Ramesses, for one year and four months; after him came Amechres Mammoun, for sixty years and two months; after him Amenophis, for nineteen years and six months; after him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, who had an army of horse, and naval force. This king appointed his brother Armais, to be his deputy over Egypt." (In another copy it stood thus: --After him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, two brothers, the former of whom had a naval force, and in a hostile manner destroyed those that met him upon the sea: but as he slew Ramesses in no long time afterward, so he appointed another of his brethren to be his deputy over Egypt."

§ Here we have an account of the first building of the city of Jerusalem, according to Manetho, when the Phoenician shepherds were expelled out of Egypt, about thirty-seven years before Alexander came out of Babylon, and it is certainly true, that some part of the nation of the Jewish character did at that time go to all countries. And also that they gave them all the other authority of a king, but with these only injunctions, that he should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the queen, the mother of his children; and that he should not make more than the children of the king; while he made an expedition against Cyprus, and Phoenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He then subdued them all, some by his arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror of his great army; and being puffed up by the great successes he had had, he went on still more boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that lay in the eastern parts; but after some considerable time, Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all those very things, by way of opposition, which his brother had forbidden him to do; and when he used much force against the queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the consubstantial, without sparing any of them; nay, at the persuasion of his friends he put on the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother; but then, he who was set over the priests of Egypt, wrote letters to Sethosis, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up to oppose him: he therefore returned back to Pelusium immediately, and recovered his kingdom again. The country also was called from his name Egypt; for Manetho says that Sethosis called himself Egyptian, as was his brother Armais called Danaous."

16. This is Manetho's account; and evident it is from the number of years by him set down belonging to this interval, if they be summed up together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, who were no others than our forefathers, were delivered out of Egypt, and came thence, and inhabited this country three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argos; although the Argives look upon him as their most ancient king. Manetho, therefore, bears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt; and that withal our deliverance out of it was so ancient in time, as to have preceded the siege of Troy almost a thousand years; but then, as to those things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some accounts of an uncertain original, I will disprove them hereafter particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

17. I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phoenicians, and concern our nation, and shall produce attestations to what I have said out of them. There are then records among the Tyrians that take in the history of many years, and these are public writings, and are kept with great exactness, and include accounts of the facts done among them, and such as concern their transactions with other nations also, those I mean which were worthy of remembering. Therein it was recorded that the temple was built...
by king Solomon at Jerusalem, one hundred forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage; and in their annals the building of our temple is related:—for Hirom, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friendship transmitted down to him from his forefathers. He thereupon was ambitious to contribute to the splendour of this edifice of Solomon, and made him a present of one hundred and twenty talents of gold. He also cut down the noble, splendid timber out of that mountain which is so called Libanus, and sent it to him for adorning its roof. Solomon also not only made him many other presents, by way of requital, but gave him a country in Galilee also, that was called Chabulon:—but there was another passion, a philosophic inclination of theirs, which cemented the friendship that was bestowed upon them; for they sent mutual problems to one another, with a desire to have them unriddled by each other; wherein Solomon was superior to Hirom, and Hirom to Solomon. And many and many of the epistles that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now, that this may not depend on my bare word, I will produce for a witness, Dus, one that is believed to have written the Phoenician History after an accurate manner. This Dus, therefore, writes thus, in his Histories of the Phoenicians:—"Upon the death of Abibauus, his son Hirom took the kingdom. This king raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged it: he also joined the temple of Jupiter Olympus, which stood before in an island by itself, to the city, by raising a causeway between them, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. He moreover went up to Libanus, and had timber cut down for the building of temples. They say farther, that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent problems to Hirom to be solved, and desired he would send others back for him to solve, and that he who could not solve the problems proposed to him, should pay money to him that solved them; and when Hirom had agreed to the proposals, but was not able to solve the problems, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money, as a penalty for the same. As also they relate, that one Abdeemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and proposed others which Solomon could not solve, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hirom." These things are attested to by Dus, and confirm what we have said upon the same subjects before.

18. And now I shall add Menander the Ephesian, as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the Acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians, under every one of the Tyrian kings; and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now, when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus:—"Upon the death of Abibauus, his son Hirom took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on that called the Broad place, and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple; he also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Libanus, and got timber of cedar for the roofs of the temples. He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones; besides this, he consecrated the temples of Hurcules and Asarte. He first built Hericles's temple, in the mouth Perius, and that of Asarte when he made his expedition against the Tityans, who would not pay him their tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home. Under this king there was a younger son of Abdeemon, who mastered the problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem, had recommended to be solved. Now the time from this king to the building of Carthage, is thus calculated:—Upon the death of Hirom, Deleazarus his son took the kingdom; he lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years: after him succeeded his son Abdnastacus; he lived twenty-nine years, and reigned nine years. Now four sons of his nurse plotted against him and slew him, the eldest of whom reigned twelve years: after them came Astartus the son of Deleazarus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve years; after him came his brother Aserymus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine years; he was slain by his brother Phelus, who took the kingdom and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty-five years. He was followed by the king of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-eight years: he was succeeded by his son Badezorus, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six years; he was succeeded by Matgemus his son: he lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine years; Pygmalion succeeded him: he lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty-seven years. Now, in the seventh year of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city of Carthage in Libya." So the whole time from the reign of Hirom till the building of Carthage, amounts to the sum of one hundred and fifty-five years and eight months. Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem in the twelfth year of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the temple until the building of Carthage, one hundred forty-three years and eight months. Therefore, what occasion is there for alleging any more testimonies out of the Phoenician histories [on behalf of our nation], since what I have said is so thoroughly confirmed already! and to be sure our ancestors came into this country long before the building of the temple; for it was not till we had got to settle the whole land by war that we built our temple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.

19. I will now relate what hath been written concerning us in the Chaldean histories; which records have a great agreement with our books in other things also. Berosus shall be witness to what I say; he was by birth a Chaldean, well known by the learned, on account of his publication of the Chaldean books of astronomy and philosophy among the Greeks. This Berosus, therefore, following the most ancient records of Numa and Numa, gives us a history of the deluge of waters that then happened, and of the destruction of mankind thereby, and agrees with Moses's narration thereof. He also gives us an account of that ark wherein Noah, the origin of our race, was preserved, when it was brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains: after which he gives us a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, and at length comes down to Nabonasar, who was king of Babylon, and of the Chaldeans. And when he was relating the acts of this king, he describes to us how he sent his son to war against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his being informed that they had revolted from him; and now, by that means, he sub-
about him also in the third book of his Chaldaean History; wherein he complains of the Greek writers for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis, queen of Assyria, and for her false pretence to those wonderful edifices thereto relating, as if they were her own workmanship; as indeed in these affairs the Chaldaean History cannot but be the most credible. Moreover, we meet with a confirmation of what Berosus says, in the archives of the Phcenicians, concerning this king Nabuchodonosor, that he conquered all Syria and Phoenicia; in which case Pio- lostratus agrees with the others in that history, which he composed, where he mentions the siege of Tyre; so does Megasthenes also, in the fourth book of his Indian History, wherein he pretends to prove that the forementioned king of the Babylonians was superior to Hercules in strength and the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered a great part of Libya, and conquered Iberia also. Now, as to what I have said before, about the temple at Jerusalem, that it was fought against by the Babylonians, and burnt by them, but was opened again when Cyrus had taken the kingdom of Asia, shall now be demonstrated from what Berosus adds farther upon that head; for thus he says in his third book: Nabuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the forementioned wall, fell sick, and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years; whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impious manner, and had a plot laid against him by Nergilissor, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Nergilissor, the person who plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned four years; his son Laborsaechod obtained the kingdom, though he was but a child, and kept it nine months; but by reason of the very ill-temper and ill practices he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him also by his friends, and he was tormented to death. After his death, the conspirators got together, and by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonnesus, a man of Babylon, and one who belonged to that insurrection. In his reign it was that the walls of the city of Babylon were curiously built with burnt brick and bitumen; but when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army; and having already conquered all the rest of Asia, he came hastily to Babylon. When Nabonnesus perceived he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and joining battle with him, was beaten; and fled away with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up within the city Borsub. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and ordered that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome to him, and cost him a great deal of pains to take it. He then marched away to Borsippus, to besiege Nabonnesus; but as Nabonnesus did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself into his hands, he was at first kindly used by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania, as a place for him to inhabit in, but sent him out of Babylonia. Accordingly Nabonnesus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there died.

20. T. Berosus relates concerning the former 
He relates many other things.
21. These accounts agree with true history in our books; for in them it is written that Nebuchadnezzar, in the eighteenth year of his reign, laid our temple desolate, and so it lay in that state of obscurity for fifty years; and that in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, its foundations were laid, and it was finished again in the second year of Darius. I will now add the records of the Phenicians; for it will not be altogether superfluous to give the reader demonstrations more than enough on this occasion. In them we have this enumeration of the times of their several kings:—Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years in the days of Ithobal, their king; after him reigned Baal, ten years; after him were judges appointed, who judged the people: Ecnabulus, the son of Balses, two months; Chelba, the son of Abdeus, ten months; Abhar, the high-priest, three months; Migneus Gerasatus, the sons of Abdelemus, were judges six years; after whom Balatorus reigned one year; after his death, they sent and fetched Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years; after his death, they sent for his brother Hieron, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia. So that the whole interval is fifty-four years besides three months; for in the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he began to besiege Tyre; and Cyrus the Persian, to take it, was in the fourth year of his reign. So that the records of the Chaldeans and Tyrians, agree with our writings about this temple; and the testimonies here produced are an indisputable and undeniable attestation to the antiquity of our nation; and I suppose that what I have already said, may be sufficient to such as are not very contentious.

22. But now it is proper to satisfy the inquiry of those that disbelieve the records of barbarians, and think none but Greeks to be worthy of credit; and to produce many of these very Greeks who were acquainted with our nation, and to set before them such testimonies as lay in their own writings. Pythagoras, therefore, of Samos, lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed a person superior to all philosophers, in wisdom and piety towards God. Now it is plain that he did not only know our doctrines, but was in very great measure a follower and admirer of them. There is not indeed extant any writing that is owned for his; but many there are who have written his history, of whom Hermippus is the most celebrated, who was a person very inquisitive in all sorts of history. Now this Hermippus, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, speaks thus:—That Pythagoras, upon the death of one of his admirers, whose name was Caliphon, a Crotonian by birth, affirmed that this man's soul conversed with him both night and day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where an ass had fallen down; as also not to drink of such waters as caused thirst again; and to abstain from all sorts of reproaches." After which he adds thus:—This he said in imitation of the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians, which he transferred into his own philosophy. For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took it as a maxim among the Greeks to study the Jews into his own philosophy. Nor was our nation so known of old to several of the Grecian cities, and indeed was thought worthy of imitation by some of them. This is declared by Theophrastus, in his writings concerning laws; for he says that "the laws of the Tyrians forbid men to swear foreign oaths." Among which he enumerates some others, and particularly that called Corban; which oath can only be found among the Jews, and declares what a man may call "A thing devoted to God." Nor indeed was Herodotus, of Haliarnassus, unacquainted with our nation, but mentions it after a way of his own, when he saith thus, in the second book concerning the Colchians. His words are these:—"The only people who were circumscribed in their privy members originally, were the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians; but the Phenicians and those Syrians that are in Palestine, confess that they learned it from the Egyptians; and as for those Syrians who live about the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macrones, they say they have already learned it from the Colchians; for these are the only people that are circumscribed among mankind, and appear to have done the very same thing with the Egyptians; but as for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them received it from the other." This therefore is what Herodotus says, that "the Syrians that are in Palestine are circumscribed." But there are no inhabitants of Palestine that are circumscribed, excepting the Jews; and therefore it must be his knowledge of them that enabled him to speak so much concerning them. Cherinos also, a still anciener writer, and a poet, makes mention of our nation, and informs us that the king-Xerxes, in his expedition against Greece; for in his enumeration of all those nations, he last of all inscribes ours among the rest, when he says:—"At the last there passed over a people, wonderful to be beheld; for they spoke the Phenician tongue with their mouths; they dwelt in the Solymin mountains, near a broad lake: their heads were sooty; they had round rouses on their heads; their heads and faces were like masty horse-heads also, that had been hardened in the smoke." I think,

Whether these verses of Cherinos, the heathen poet, in the days of Xerxes, belong to the Solym in Pisidia, that were near a small lake, or to the Jews that dwell on the Solymus or Jerusalem mountains, near the sea; this is not agreed on; some say it was to the Jews; and I believe it was to the Jews. The other Solymus were not a strange people, but heathen, the inhabitants, like the other parts of Greece, that spoke the Phenician tongue, is next to impossible, as the Jews certainly did; for there is there the beginning for the name of Solymus; the lake adjoining to the mountains of the Solymus at all large or broad, in comparision of the Jewish lake Asaphaitia; nor indeed were those so considerable a people as the Jews, nor yet of so great a knowledge of their army as the Jews, to whom he well always very favourable. A- For the rest of Cherinos he has given us this description of the Jews, that they had round rouses on their heads; that their heads and faces were like masty horse-heads, that had been hardened in the smoke; and that their awkward characters probably fitted the Solym of Pisidia to better than they did the Jews in Judea; and indeed this reproachful language, that they had given these people such a name, was one of the most just reproaches due to the Jews, and not the Phidian Solym celebrated in Homer, for the Hippias Hippiadus, or another Homer, for the Hippias Hippiadus, or Herakles, or any other Paris writers cited by Josephus and Strabo, made use of the same reproach, by comparing their testimonies with the more authentic records of that nation, and finding them for the main to conform the same, as we almost always do, we ought to be satisfied, and rest to expect that they ever had so much knowledge of all the circumstancies of the Jewish affairs, which indeed it was almost always impossible for them to learn—see next sect. 25.
therefore, that it is evident to every body that Cheri- 
lius means us, because the Solymean mountains are in our country, wherein we inhabit, as is also the lake Asphaltitis; for this is a broader and larger lake than any other that is in Syria; and this does Cheriulus call Solymae. But this is not the only name which is understood, that not only the lowest sort of the Grecians, but those that are held in the greatest admiration for their philosophic improvements among them, did not only know the Jews, but, when they lighted upon any of them, admired them also, it is easy for any one to know, for Clearchus, who was the scholar of Aristotle, and inferior to none of the Peripatetics whomsoever, in his first book concerning sleep, says that "Aristotle, his master, related what follows of a Jew," and sets down Aristotle's own discourse with him. The account is this, as written down by him: "Now, for a great part of what this Jew said, it would be too long to recite it; but what includes in it both wonder and philosophy, it may not be amiss to discourse of. Now, that I may be plain with thee, Hyperchides, I shall herein seem to thee to relate wonders, and what will resemble dreams themselves. Hereupon Hyperchides answered modestly, and said, For that very reason it is that all of us are very desirous of hearing what thou art going to say. Then replied Aristotle, For this cause it will be the best way to imitate that rule of the Rhetoricians, which requires us first to give an account of the man, and of what nation he was, that so we may not contradict our master's directions. Then said Hyperchides, Go on, if it so pleases thee. This man then [answered Aristotle], was by birth a Jew, and came from Cellestrin; these Jews are derived from the Indian philosophers; they are named by the Indians Calani, and by the Syrians Judaei, and took their name from the country they inhabit, which is called Judæa; but for the name of their city it is a very awkward one, for they call it Jerusalem. Now this man, when he was hospitably treated by a great many, came down from the upper country to the places near the sea, and became a Grecian, not only in his language, but in his soul also; insomuch that when we ourselves happened to be in Asia about the same places whither he came, he conversed with us and with all other philosophical persons, and made a trial of our skill in philosophy; and as he had lived with many learned men, he communicated to us more information than he received from us." This is Aristotle's account of the matter, as given us by Clearchus; which Aristotle discovered also particularly of the great and wonderful fortitude of this Jew in his diet, and continent way of living, as those that please may learn more about him from Clearchus's book itself; for I avoid setting down any more than is sufficient for my purpose. Now Clearchus said this by way of digression, for his main design was of another nature; but for Heceatus of Abdera, who was both a philosopher, and one very useful in an active life, he was contemporary with king Alexander in his youth, and afterward was with Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. He did not care for Jewish affairs by the bye only, but composed an entire book concerning the Jews themselves; out of which book I am willing to run over a few things, of which I have been treating, by way of epitome. And in the first place, I will demonstrate the time when this Heceatus lived; for he mentions the fight that was between Ptolemy and Demetrius about Gaza, which was fought in the eleventh year after the death of Alexander, and in the hundred and seventeenth olympiad, as Castor says in his history. For when he had set down this olympiad, he says farther, that "of this Olympiad said Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, in battle Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was named Poliorcetes, at Gaza." Now, it is agreed by all, that Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth olympiad; it is therefore evident, that our nation flourished in his time, and in the time of Alexander. Again, Heceatus says to the same purpose, as follows: "Ptolemy got possession of the places in Syria after the battle at Gaza; and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, went along with him to Egypt, and were willing to assist him in his affairs; one of whom (Heceatus says) was Hezekiah, the highest of the Jews; a man of about sixty-six years of age, and in great dignity among his own people. He was a very sensible man, and could speak very movingly, and was very skilful in the management of affairs, if any other man ever were so; although, as he says, all the priests of the Jews took tithes of the products of the earth, and managed public affairs, and were in number not above fifteen hundred at the most." Heceatus mentions this Hezekiah a second time, and says, that "as he was possessed of so great a dignity, and was become familiar with the king, so did he make certain that were with him, and explained to them all the circumstances of their people; for he had all their habitations and policy down in writing." Moreover, Heceatus declares again, "what regard we have for our laws, and that we resolve to endure anything rather than transgress them, because we think it right for us to do so." Whereupon he adds, that, "although they are in a bad reputation among their neighbours, and among all those that come to them, and have often been treated injuriously by the kings and governors of Persia, yet can they not be dissuaded from acting what they think best; but that when they are stripped on this account, and have tokens inflicted upon them, and they are brought to the most terrible kinds of death, they meet them after a most extraordinary manner, beyond all other people, and will not renounce the religion of their forefathers." Heceatus also produces demonstrations not a few of this their resolute tenaciousness of their laws, when he speaks thus: "Alexander was once at Babylon, and had an intention to rebuild the temple of Belus that was fallen to decay, and in order thereto, he commanded all his soldiers in general to bring thither timber. But the Jews, and they only, would not comply with that command; nay, they underwent stripes and great losses of what they had on this account, till the king forgave them, and permitted them to live in quiet." He adds farther, that, "when the Macedonians came to them into that country, and demolished the [old] temples and the altars, they assisted them in demolishing them all [[b] but [for not assisting them in rebuilding them] they either underwent losses, or sometimes obtained forgiveness. He adds farther, that, "these men deserve to be admired as that account, for he also speaks of the mighty populousness of our nation, and says, that "the people
sians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon, as also that not a few ten thousands were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt and Ptolemais, by reason of the sedition that was arisen among us. The same person takes notice in his history, how large the country is, which we inhabit, as well as of its excellent character, and says, that "the land in which the Jews inhabit contains three millions of arours, and is generally of a most excellent and most fruitful soil; nor is Judea of lesser dimensions." The same man describes our city Jerusalem also itself as of a most excellent structure, and very large, and inhabited from the most ancient times. He also discourses of the multitude of men in it, and of the constructions of the people, after the following manner:—

"There are many strong places and villages (says he) in the country of Judea; but one strong city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumference, which is inhabited by a hundred and twenty thousand men, or thereabouts; they call it Jerusalem. There is about the middle of the city, a wall of stone, the length of which is five hundred feet, and the breadth about one hundred cubits, with double cloisters; wherein there is a square altar, not made of hewn stone, but composed of white stones gathered together, having each side twenty cubits long, and its sides equal to the altar. Hard by it is a large edifice, wherein there is an altar and a candlestick, both of gold, and in weight two talents; upon these there is a light that is never extinguished, neither by night nor by day. There is no image, nor any thing, nor any donations therein; nothing at all is there planted, neither grove nor any thing of that sort. The priests abide therein both nights and days, performing certain purifications, and drinking not the least drop of wine while they are in the temple." Moreover, he attests that we Jews went as auxiliaries along with king Alexander, after him with his successors. I will add farther what he says he learned when he was with himself with the same army, concerning the actions of a man that was a Jew. His words are these:—"As I was myself going to the Red Sea, there followed us a man, whose name was Mosoliam; he was one of the Jewish horsemen who conducted us; he was a person of great courage, of a strong body, and by all allowed to be the most skilful archer that was either among the Greeks or barbarians. Now this man, as people were in great numbers passing along the road, and a certain augur was observing an augury by a bird, and requiring them all to stand still, inquired what they said for. Hereupon the

* This number of arours or Egyptian acres, 8,000,000, such arours containing a square of one hundred Egyptian cubits (being about three and a half English cubits) one another, the area of the whole inhabited part of Judea, as ascertained in the country of Judea, will be about fifteen hundred square miles in the whole land, supposing it one hundred and sixty measured miles long, and seventy such miles broad; which estimation, for the fruitful parts of it, as permitted to the Hebrews, is not therefore very wide from certainty. About twenty or thirty furlongs in compass for the city Jerusalem presently, as not very well known: but Herod himself doth write it, who, of the War, b. v. ch. iv. sect. 3, makes it wall thirty-three furlongs, building the walls and guarding it by continual watch, b. v. ch. xi. In this chapter, as in the preceding, I will not speak about it at some small distance, after the gardens and suburbs, though excellently inhabited, was not long thus thirty-nine furlongs; nor perhaps were our copies corrupted by the Scribes of the hundred and fifty years, though in those days, because room was always to be left for vastly greater kings; therefore more exactly, as we contain with the greatest confidence in our country, as by a more authentic account of some of these measures in my Description of the Jews. However, we are not to expect that such measures as Churches or Histories, or even the works of six or seven hundred years since these times by Josephus, could avoid making any mistake in the Jewish history, while yet they strongly confirm the same history in the general, and are most truly attributable to those more authentic accounts we have in the

agur showed him the bird from whence he took his augury, and told him that if the bird staid where he was, they ought all to stand still; but that if he got up, and flew onward, they must go forward; but that if he flew backward, they must retire again. Mosoliam made no reply, but drew his bow, and shot at the bird, and hit him, and killed him; and as the augur and some others were very angry, and wished imprecations upon him, he answered them thus:—Why are you so mad as to take this most unhappy bird into your hands! for how can this bird give us any true information concerning our march, which could not foresee to save himself! for had he been able to foreknow what was future, he would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid lest Mosoliam the Jew would shoot at him, and kill him." But of Hecato's testimonies we have said enough; for as to such as desire to know more of them, they may easily obtain them from his book itself. However, I shall not think it too much for me to name Agatharchides, as having made mention of us Jews, though in way of derision at our simplicity, as he supposes it to be; for when he was discoursing of the affairs of Stratonice, "how she came out of Macedonia into Syria, and left her husband Demetrius, while yet Seleucus would not marry her as she expected, but during the time of his raising an army at Babylon, in order to a station about Antioch; and how after that the king came back, and upon his taking of Antioch, she fled to Seleucia, and lind it in her power to sail away immediately, yet did she comply with a dream which forbade her so to do, and so was caught and put to death." When Agatharchides had premised this story, and had jested upon Stratonice for her superstition, he gives a like example of what was reported concerning us, and writes thus:—"There are a people called Jews, who dwell in a city the strongest of all other cities, which the inhabitants call Jerusalem, and are accustomed to rest on every seventh day; on which times they make no use of their arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor take care of any affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their holy places, and pray till the evening. Now it came to pass, that when Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, came into this city with his army, these men, in observing this custom of theirs, instead of guarding the city, suffered their country to submit itself to a bitter lord; and their law was openly proved to have commanded a foolish practice." This accident taught all other men but those to disregard such dreams as these were, and not to follow the idle suggestions delivered as a law, when, in such uncertainty of human reasonings, they are at a loss what they should do." Now this our procedure seems a ridiculous thing to Agatharchides, but will appear to such consider it without prejudice a great thing, and what deserved a great many encomiums; I mean, when certain men constantly prefer the observation of their laws, and their religious superstitious, to the preservation of themselves and their country.

23. Now, although some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not because they knew nothing of us, but because they envied us, or for some other unjustifiable reasons, I think I can demonstrate by particular instances; for Hieronymus, who wrote

1 A glorious testimony unto the observance of the Sabbath by the Jews, See Actus, b. vii. ch. xii. sect. 4, and ch. xii. sect. 6; I the Life, sect. 14; and War, b. iv. ch. xii. sect. 12. 2 Not their law, but the superstitions interpretation of their custom, which without the Revelation our beloved Lord Jesus Christ did not approve of.
the History of Alexander’s Successors, lived at the same time with Hecateus, and was a friend of king Antigonus, and president of Syria. Now, it is plain that Hecateus wrote an entire book concerning us, while Hieronymus never mentions us in his history, although he was bred up very near to the places where we live. Thus different from one another are the inclinations of men; while the one thought he deserved to be carefully remembered, so most ill-disposed passion blinded the other’s mind so entirely, that he could not discern the truth. And now certainly the foregoing records of the Egyptians, and Chaldeans, and Phoenicians, together with so many of the Greek writers, will be sufficient for the demonstration of our antiquity. Moreover, besides those forementioned, Theophrastus, and Theodorus, and Mneas, and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, Euhemerus also, and Conon, and Zopyrian, and perhaps many others (for I have not lighted upon all the Greek books) have made different mention of us. It is true, many of the men beforementioned have made great mistakes about the true accounts of our nation in the earliest times, because they had not perused our sacred books; yet have they all of them afforded their testimony to our antiquity, concerning which I am now treating. However Demetrius Phalereus, and the elder Philo, with Eupolemus, have not greatly missed the truth about our affairs; whose lesser mistakes ought therefore to be forgiven them; for it was not in their power to understand our writings with the utmost accuracy.

24. One particular there is still remaining behind of what I at first proposed to speak to, and that is to demonstrate that those calumnies and reproaches, which some have thrown upon our nation, are lies, and to make use of those writers’ own testimonies against themselves: and that in general this self-contradiction hath happened to many other authors by reason of their ill-will to some people, I conclude, is not unknown to such as have read histories with sufficient care; for some of them have endeavoured to disgrace the nobility of certain nations, and to make great cities, and have cast reproaches upon certain forms of government. Thus hath Theopompus abused the city of Athens, Polycrates that of Lacedemon, as hath he that wrote the Triполитicus (for he is not Theopompus, as is supposed by some) done by the city of Thebes. Timeus also hath greatly abused the foregoing people and others also; and this ill treatment they use chiefly when they have a contest with men of the greatest reputation: some, out of envy and malice, — and others as supposing that by this foolish talking of theirs they may be thought nearly of the same quality with the injured parties; and indeed they do by no means fail of their hopes, with regard to the foolish part of mankind, but men of sober judgment still condemn them of great malignity.

25. Now the Egyptians were the first that cast reproaches upon us; in order to please which nation, some others undertook to pervert the truth, while they would neither own that our forefathers came into Egypt from another country, as the fact was, nor give a true account of our departure thence; and indeed the Egyptians took many occasion to abuse and envy us: in the first place, because our ancestors had had the dominion over their country, and when they were delivered from them, and gone to their own country again, they lived there in prosperity. In the next place, the difference of our religion from theirs, had occasioned great enmity between us, while our way of divine worship did as much exceed that which the laws appointed, as do the figure of God exceed that of the figure of beasts; for so far they all agree through the whole country, to esteem such animals as gods, although they differ from one another in the peculiar worship they severally pay to them; and certainly men they are entirely of vain and foolish minds, who have thus accustomed themselves from the beginning to have such bad notions concerning their gods, and could not think of imitating that decent form of divine worship which we made use of, though, when they saw our institutions approved of by many others, they could not but envy us on that account; for some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness in their conduct, as not to scruple to contradict their own ancient records, nay, to contradict themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to discern it.

26. And now I will turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, whom I have a little before made use of as a witness to our antiquity; I mean Manetho. He promised to interpret the Egyptian history out of their sacred writings, and promised this: that "Our people had come into Egypt, many ten thousands in number, subdued its inhabitants," and when he had farther confessed, that "We went out of that country afterward, and settled in that country which is now called Judea, and there built Jerusalem and its temple." Now thus far he followed his ancient records; but after this he permits himself, in order to appear to have written what rumours and reports passed abroad about the Jews, and introduces incredible narrations, as if he would have the Egyptian multitude, that had the leprosy and other distempers, to have been mixed with us, as he says they were, and that they were condemned to fly out of Egypt to another: Amenophis, a Pharaoh’s king’s name, though on that account he must not set down the number of years of his reign, which yet he had accurately done as to the other kings he mentions; he then ascribes certain fabulous stories to this king, as having in a manner forgotten how he had already related that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem had been five hundred and eighteen years before; for Tethmosis was king when they went away. Now, from this day, the reigns of the intermediate kings, according to Manetho, amounted to three hundred and ninety-three years, and he says himself, till the two brothers Sethos and Herueus; the one of whom, Sethos, was called by that other name of Egyptians; and the other, Herueus, by that of Danais. He also says that Sethos cast the other out of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years, as did his eldest son Khannaperes after him sixty-six years. When Manetho therefore acknowledged that our forefathers were
gone out of Egypt so many years ago he introduces his fictitious king Amenhops, and says thus:—

"This king was desirous to become a spectator of the gods, as having one of his predecessors in that regard, desired the same before him; he also communicated that his desire to his namesake Amenhops, who was the son of Papis, and one that seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of futurities." Manetho adds, "How this namesake of his told him that he might see the gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and of the other impure people; that the king was pleased with this injunction, and got together all that had any defects in their bodies out of Egypt. And that their number was eighty thousand; whom he sent to those quarries which are on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians." He says farther, that

"There were some of the learned priests that were polluted with the leprosy; but still this Amenhops, the wise man and the prophet, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at the king, if there should appear to have been violence offered them; who also added this farther [out of his sagacity about futurities], that certain people would come to the assistance of these polluted wretches, and would conquer Egypt, and keep it in their possession thirteen years; but however, he durst not tell the king of these things, but that he left a writing behind him about all those matters, and then slew himself, which made the king disconsolate." After which he writes thus, verbatim:—"After those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued in that miserable state for a long while, the king was desired that he would set apart the city Avaris, which was then left desolate of the shepherds, for their habitation and protection; which desire he granted them. Now this city, according to the ancient theology, was Tryphon's city. But when these men were gotten into it, and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed themselves a ruler out of the priests of Heliopolis, whose name was Osarsiph, and they took their oaths that they would be obedient to him in all things. He then, in the first place, made this law for them, That they should neither worship the Egyptian gods, nor should abstain from any one of those sacred animals which they have in the highest esteem, but kill and destroy them all; that they should join themselves to nobody but to those that were of this confession. —When he had made such laws as these, and many more such as were mainly opposite to the customs of the Egyptians, he gave order that they should use the multitude of the hands they had in building walls about their city, and make themselves ready for a war with king Amenhops, while he did himself take into his friendship the other priests and those that were polluted with them, and sent ambassadors to those shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Tethmosis to the city called Jerusalem; whereby he informed them of his own affairs, and of the state of those others that had been treated after such an ignominious manner, and desired that they would come out to his assistance in this war against Egypt. He also promised that he would, in the first place, bring them back to their ancient city and country Avaris, and provide a plentiful maintenance for their multitude; that he would protect them and fight for them as occasion should require, and would easily reduce the country under their dominion. These shepherds were all very glad of this message, and came away with alacrity all together, being in number two hundred thousand men; and in a little time they came to Avaris. And now Amenhops the king of Egypt, upon his being informed of their invasion, was in great confusion, as calling to mind what Amenhops, the son of Papis, had foretold him; and, in the first place, he assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, and took counsel with their leaders, and sent for their sacred animals to him, especially the priests distinctly, that they should hide for those that were principally worshipped in the temples, and gave a particular charge to the images of their gods with the utmost care. He also sent his son Sethos, who was also named Ramesses from his father Rhampes, being but five years old, to a friend of his. He then passed on with the rest of the Egyptians, being three hundred thousand of the most warlike of them, against the enemy, who met them. Yet did he not join battle with them; but thinking that would be to fight against the gods, he returned back and came to Memphis, where he took Apis and the other sacred animals which he had sent for to him, and presently moved into an Ethiopia, together with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians; for the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on which account he received him, and took care of all the multitude that was with him, while the country supplied all that was necessary for the food of the men. He also allotted cities and villages for this exile, that was to be from its beginning during those fatally determined thirteen years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for his Ethiopian army, as a guard to king Amenhops, upon the borders of Egypt. And this was the state of things in Ethiopia. But for the people of Jerusalem, when they came down together with the polluted Egyptians, they treated the men in such a barbarous manner, that those who saw how they subdued the forementioned country, and the horrid wickedness they were guilty of, thought it a most dreadful thing; for they did not only set the cities and villages on fire, but were not satisfied till they had been guilty of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and used them in roasting those sacred animals that used to be worshipped, and forced the priests and prophets to be the executioners and mururers of those animals, and then ejected them naked out of the country. It was also reported that the priest, who ordained their polity and their laws, was by birth of Heliopolis; and his name Osarsiph from Osiris, who was the god of Heliopolis; but that when he was gone over to these people, his name was changed, and he was called Moses."

27. This is what the Egyptians relate about the Jews, with much more, which I omit for the sake of brevity. But still Manetho goes on, that "After this, Amenhops returned from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Rhampes with another army also, and that they joined hands with the shepherds and the polluted people, and beat them and slew a great many of them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria." These and the like accounts are written by Manetho. But 1 will demonstrate that he trifles, and tells arrant lies, after I have made a distinction which will relate to what
I am going to say about him: for this Manetho had granted and confessed that this nation was not originally Egyptian, but that they had come from another country, and subdued Egypt, and went away again out of it. But that those Egyptians who were thus diseased in their bodies were not mingled with us afterward, and that Moses who brought the people out was not one of that company, but lived many generations earlier, I shall endeavor to demonstrate from Manetho’s own accounts themselves.

28. Now, for the first occasion of this fiction, Manetho supposes what is no better than a ridiculous thing; for he says that “King Amenophis desired to see the gods.” What gods, I pray, did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom their laws ordained to be worshipped, the ox, the goat, the crocodile, and the baboon, he saw them already; but for the heavenly gods, how could he see them, and what should occasion this his desire? To be sure, it was because another king before him had an answer of them, he says; and he informs us what sort of gods they were, and after what manner they had been seen, insomuch that he did not stand in need of any new artifice for obtaining this sight. However, the prophet by whose means the king thought to compass his design was a wise man. If so, how came he not to know that such his desire was impossible to be accomplished? For the event did not succeed. And what pretence could there be to suppose that the gods would not be seen by reason of the people’s mains in their bodies, or leprosy? for the gods are not angry at the imperfection of bodies but at wicked practices; and as to eighty thousand lepers, and those in an ill state also, how is it possible to have them gathered together in one day? Nay, how came the king not to comply with the prophet? for his injunction was, that those that were maimed should be expelled out of Egypt, while the king only sent them to work in the quarries, as if he were rather in want of labourers, than intended to purge his country. He says farther, that “This prophet slew himself, as foreseeing the anger of the gods, and those events which were to come upon Egypt afterward; and that he left this prediction for the king in writing.” Besides, how came it to pass that this prophet did not foreknow his own death at the first? Nay, how came he not to contradict the king in his desire to see the gods immediately? How came that unreasonable dread upon him of judgments that were not to happen in his life time; or what worse thing could he suffer, out of the fear of which he made haste to kill himself? But now let us see the silliest thing of all: the king, although he had been informed of these things, and terrified with the fear of what was to come, yet did not even then eject these maimed people out of his country, when it had been foretold him that he was to clear Egypt of them; but, as Manetho says, “He then, upon their request, gave them that city to inhabit, which had formerly belonged to the shepherds, and was called Avaris; whither when they were gone in crowds (he says) they chose one that had formerly been priest of Heliopolis; and that this priest first ordained that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from those animals that were worshipped by the Egyptians, but should kill and eat them all, and should associate with nobody but those that had conspired with them; and that he bound the multitude by oaths to be sure to continue in those laws; and that when he had built a wall about Avaris, he made war against the king.” Manetho adds also, that “this priest sent to Jerusalem to invite that people to come to his assistance, and promised to give them Avaris; for that it had belonged to the forefathers of those that were coming from Jerusalem, and that when they were come, they made a war immediately against the king, and got possession of all Egypt.” He means, then, that the Egyptians came with an army of two hundred thousand men, and that Amenophis, the king of Egypt, not thinking that he ought to fight against the gods, ran away presently into Ethiopia, and committed Apis and certain other of their sacred animals to the priests, and commanded them to take care of preserving them.” He says further, that “the people of Jerusalem came accordingly upon the Egyptians, and overthrew their cities, and burnt their temples, and slew their horsemen, and in short abstained from no sort of wickedness nor barbarity; and for that priest who settled their polity and their laws by birth of Heliopolis, and his name was Osarniph, from Osiris the god of Heliopolis; but that he changed his name, and called himself Moses.” He then says, that “on the thirteenth year afterward, Amenophis, according to the fatal time of the duration of his misfortunes, came upon them out of Ethiopia with a great army, and joining battle with the shepherds and with the polluted people, overcame them in battle, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them as far as the bounds of Syria.”

29. Now Manetho does not reflect upon the improbability of his lie; for the leprous people, and the multitude that was with them, although they might formerly have been angry at the king, and at those that had treated them so coarsely, and this according to the prediction of the prophet; yet certainly, when they were come out of the mines, and had received of the king a city, and a country, they would have grown milder toward him. However, had they ever so much hated him in particular, they might have laid a private plot against himself, but would hardly have made war against all Egyptians; I mean this out of the account of the great kindness who were so numerous must have had among them. Nay still, if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would have had impudence enough to fight with their Gods; nor would they have ordained laws quite contrary to those of their own country, and to those in which they had been bred up themselves. Yet are we beholden to Manetho, that he does not lay the principal charge of these horrid transgressions upon those that came from Jerusalem, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that they were their priests that conducted these things, and made the multitude take their oaths for doing so; but still how absurd is it to suppose that none of these people’s own relations or friends should be prevailed with to revolt, nor is to undergo the hazards of war with them; while these polluted people were forced to send to Jerusalem, and bring their auxiliaries from thence? What friendship, I pray, or what relation was there formerly, between them that required this assistance? On the contrary, these people were enemies, and greatly differed from them in their customs. He says, indeed, that they complied immediately, upon their promising them that they should conquer Egypt; as if they did not them-
selves very well know that country out of which they had been driven by force. Now, had these men been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprise; but as they dwell in a happy city, and had a large country, and one better than Egypt itself, how came it about, that for the sake of those that had of old been their enemies, of those that were maimed in their bodies, and of those whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting them? For they could not foresee that the king would run away from them; on the contrary, he saith himself, that Ameno-
phis's son had three hundred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium." Now, to be sure, those that came could not be ignorant of this; but for the king's repentance and flight, how could they possibly guess at it? He then says, that "those who came from Jerusalem, and made this invasion, got the granaries of Egypt into their possession, and perpetrated many of the most horrid actions there." And thence he reproaches them, as though he had not himself introduced them as enemies, or as though he might accuse such as were invited from another place, for so doing, when the natural Egyptians themselves had done the same things before their coming, and had taken oath so to do. However, "Amenophs, some time afterward, came upon them, and con-
quered them in a battle, and slew his enemies, and drove them before him as far as Syria." As if Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatsoever; and as if those that had conquered it by war, when they were informed that Amenophis was alive, did neither forfay the avenues of Ethiopia into it, although they had great advantages for doing it, nor did get their other forces ready for their defence! but that he followed them over the sandy desert, and slew them as far as Syria; while yet it is not an easy thing for an army to pass over that country, even without fighting.

30. Our nation, therefore, according to Manetho, was not derived from Egypt, nor were any of the Egyptians mingled with us; for it is to be supposed, that many of the leprous and distempered people were dead in the mines, since they had been there a long time, and in so ill a condition; many others must be dead in the battles that happened afterward, and more still in the last battle and flight after it.

31. It now remains that I debate with Manetho about Moses. Now the Egyptians acknowledge him to have been a wonderful, and a divine person; nay, they would willingly lay claim to him themselves, though after a most abusive and incredible manner; and pretend that he was of Heliopolis, and one of the priests of that place, and was ejected out of it among the rest, on account of his leprosy; although it had been demonstrated out of their records, that he lived five hundred and eighteen years earlier, and then brought our forefathers out of Egypt so to the country that is now inhabited by us. But now that he was not subject in his body to any such calamity, is evident from what he himself tells us: for he forbade those that had his leprosy either to continue in a city, or to inhabit a village, but commanded that they should go about by themselves with their clothes rent; and declares that such as either touch them, or live under the same roof with them, should be esteemed unclea

nay, more, if any one of their diseases be healed, and he recover his natural constitution again, he appointed them certain purifications and washings with spring-water, and the shaving of all their hair, and the wearing of a straw crown. Thus he exhorts them to the many sacrifices, and these of several kinds, and the length of time to be admitted into the holy city; although it were to be expected that, on the contrary, if he had been under the same calamity, he should have taken care of such persons beforehand, and have had them treated after a kinder manner, as affected with a concern for those that were to be under the like misfortunes with himself. Nor was it only those leprous people for whose sake he made these laws, but also for such as should be maimed in the smallest part of their body, who yet are not permitted by him to officiate as priests; nay, although any priest, already initiated, should have such a calamity fall upon him afterward, he ordered him to be deprived of his honour of officiating. How can it then be supposed that Moses should ordain such laws against himself, to his own reproach and damage who so ordained them? Nor indeed is that other notion of Manetho at all probable, wherein he relates the change of his name, and says, that "he was formerly called Osarsiph;" and this a name no way agreeable to the other, while his true name was Moses, and signifies a person who is preserved out of the water, for the Egyptians call water Moti. I think, therefore, I have made it sufficiently evident that Manetho, while he followed his ancient records, did not much mistake the truth of the history; but that when he had recourse to fabulous stories, without any certain author, he either forged them himself, without any probability, or else gave credit to some men who spake so, out of their ill-will to us.

32. And now I have done with Manetho, I will inquire into what Cleomenes says; for he also, when he pretended to write the Egyptian history, sets down the same name for this king that Manetho did, Amenophs, as also of his son Ramesses, and then goes on thus: "The goddess Isis appeared to Amenophs in his sleep, and blamed him that her temple had been demolished in the war; but that Phiritiopantes, the sacred scribe, said to him, that in case he would purge Egypt of the men that had pollutions upon them, he should be no longer troubled with such frightful apparitions. That Amenophs accordingly chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those that were thus diseased, and cast them out of the country: that Moses and Joseph were scribes, and Joseph was a sacred scribe; that their names were Egyptian originally; that of Moses had been Tsitshen, and that of Joseph, Peteseep; that these two came to Pelusium, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thou-
sand that had been left there by Amenophs, he not being willing to carry them into Egypt; that these scribes made a league of friendship with them, and made with them an expedition against Egypt: that Amenophs could not sustain their attacks, but immediately fled into Ethiopia; and when he was left behind him, who lay concealed in certain caverns, and there brought forth a son, whose name was Messene, and who, when he was grown up to man's estate, pursued the Jews into Syria, being about two hundred thousand men, and then received his father Amenophs out of Ethiopia."
already, hath plainly proved the falsity of both these narrations; for had there been any real truth at the bottom, it was impossible that they should so greatly disagree about the particulars; but the manner in which they write will easily give us very different accounts, while they forge what they please, out of their own heads. Now, Manetho says that the king’s desire of seeing the gods was the origin of the ejection of the polluted people; but Cheremon feigns that it was a dream of his own, sent upon him by Isis, that was the occasion of it. Manetho says that the person who foretold this purgation of Egypt to the king, was Ameneophis; but this man says it was Priphitas. As to the numbers of the multitude that were expelled, they agree exceedingly well, the former reckoning it eighty thousand, and the latter about two hundred and fifty thousand. Now, for Manetho, he describes these polluted persons as sent first to work in the quarries, and says, that after that the city Avaris was given them for their habitation. As also, he relates that it was not till after they had made war with the rest of the Egyptians, that they invited the people of Jerusalem to come to their assistance; while Cheremon says only, that they were gone out of Egypt, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand men about Pelusium, and left there by Ameneophis, and so they invaded Egypt with them again; that thereupon Ameneophis fled into Ethiopia; but then, this Cheremon commiss a most ridiculous blunder in not informing us who this army of so many ten thousand were, or whence they came; whether they were native Egyptians, or whether they came from a foreign country. Nor indeed has this man, who forged a dream from Isis about the leprous people, assigned the reason why the king would not bring them into Egypt. Moreover, Cheremon sets down Joseph as driven away at the same time with Moses, who yet died four generations before Moses; which four generations make almost one hundred and seventy years. Besides all this, Rameses, the son of Ameneophis, by Manetho’s account, was a young man, and assisted his father in his war, and left the country at the same time with him, and fled into Ethiopia: but Cheremon makes him to have been born in a certain cave, after his father was dead, and that he then overcame the Jews in battle, and drove them into Syria, being in number about two hundred thousand. The levity of the man I for he neither told us who these three hundred and eighty thousand were, nor how the four hundred and thirty thousand perished, whether they fell in war, or went over to Rameses; and, what is strangest of all, it is not possible to learn out of him, who they were whom he calls Jews, or to which of these two parties he applies that denomination, whether to the two hundred and fifty thousand leprous people, or to the three hundred and eighty thousand that were about Pelusium. But perhaps it will be looked upon as a silly thing in me to make any larger confutation of such writers as sufficiently confute themselves; for had they accursed by the confusions of other men, it had been more tolerable.

34. I shall now add to these accounts about Manetho and Cheremon, somewhat about Lysimachus, who hath taken the same topic of falsehood, with these forementioned, but hath gone far beyond them in the incredible nature of his forgeries; which plots into demonstrations that he himself not only retributed him out of his virulent hatred of our nation. His words are these:—4 The people of the Jews being leprous and scabby, and subject to certain other kinds of distempers, in the days of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, they fled to the temples, and got their food there by begging; and as the numbers were very great that were fallen under these diseases, there arose a scarcity in Egypt. Hereupon, Bocchoris, the king of Egypt, sent some to consult the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon about this scarcity. The god’s answer was this, that he must purge his temples of impure and impious men, by expelling them out of those temples into desert places; but as to the scabby and leprous people, he must nurse them, and purge his temples, the sun having an indignation against these men being suffered to live; and by this means the land will bring forth its fruits. Upon Bocchoris’s having received these oracles, he called for their priests, and the attendants upon their altars, and ordered them to make a collection of the impure people, and to deliver them to the soldiers, to carry them away into the desert; but to take the leprous people, and wrap them in sheets of lead, and let them drown into the sea. Hereupon the scabby and leprous people were drowned, and the rest were gotten together, and sent into desert places, in order to be exposed to destruction. In this case they assembled themselves together, and took counsel what they should do; and determined, that, as the night was coming on, they should kindle fires and lamps, and keep watch; that they also should fast the next night, and propitiate the gods, in order to obtain deliverance from them. That on the next day there was one Moses, who advised them that they should venture upon a journey, and go along one road till they should come to places fit for habitation: that he charged them to have no kind regards for any man, nor give good counsel to any, but always to advise them for the worst; and to overturn all those temples and altars of the gods they should meet with: that the rest commended what he had said with one consent, and did what they had resolved on, and so travelled over the desert. But that the difficulties of the journey being over, they came to a country inhabited, and that there they assisted the men, and plundered and burnt their temples, and then came into that land which is called Judea, and there they built a city and dwelt therein, and that their city was named Hierosolyma, from their robbing of the temples; but that still, upon the success they had afterwards, they through course of time, changed its denomination, that it might not be a reproach to them, and called the city Hierosolyma, and themselves Hierodulyma.4

35. Now this man did not discover and mentions the same thing with the others, but feigned a new name, and passing by the dream and the Egyptian prophet, he brings him to [Jupiter] Hammon, in order to give the demons names that he called leprous people; for he says that the multitude of Jews were gathered together at the temples. Now, it is uncertain whether he ascribes this name to these lepers, or to those that were subject to such diseases among the Jews only; for he describes them as a people of the Jews. What people does he mean, foreigners, or those of that country? Why then
dost thou call them Jews, if they were Egyptians? But if they were foreigners, why dost thou not tell us whence they came? And how could it be that, after the king had thrown many of them into the sea, and ejected the rest into desert places, there should be still so great a multitude remaining? Or after what manner did they pass over the desert, and get the land which we now dwell in, and build our city, and that temple which hath been so famous among all mankind? And besides, he ought to have spoken more about our legislator than by giving us his bare name; and to have informed us of what nation he was, and what parents he was derived from; and to have assigned the reasons why he undertook to make such laws concerning the gods, and concerning matters of injustice with regard to men during that journey. For, in case the people were by birth Egyptians, they would not on the sudden have so easily changed the customs of their country; and in case they had been foreigners, they had for certain some laws or other which had been kept by them from long custom. It is true, that with regard to those who had ejected them, they might have sworn never to bear good-will to them, and might have had a plausible reason for so doing. But if these men resolved to wage an impalpable war against all men, in case they had acted as wickedly as he relates of them, and this while they wanted the assistance of all men, this demonstrates a kind of mad conduct indeed; but not of the men themselves, but very greatly so of him that tells such lies about them. He hath also impudence enough to say that a name, implying "Robbers of the temples," was given to their city, but that this name was afterwards changed. The reason of which is plain, that the former name brought reproach and hatred upon them in the times of their prosperity, while, it seems, those that built the city thought they did honour to the city by giving it such a name. So we see that this fine fellow had such an unbounded inclination to reproach us, that he did not understand that robbery of temples is not expressed by the same word and name among the Jews as it is among the Greeks. But why should a man say any more of a person who tells such lies, he lies! However, since this book is risen to a competent length, I will make another beginning, and endeavour to add what still remains to perfect my design, in the following book.

§ 1. In the former book, most honoured Euphrondites, I have demonstrated our antiquity, and confirmed the truth of what I have said, from the writings of the Phoenicians, and Chaldeans, and Egyptians. I have, moreover, produced many of the Grecian writers, as witnesses thereto. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Cherenmon, and of certain others of our enemies. I shall now therefore begin a confession of the remaining authors who have written anything against us; although I confess I have had a doubt upon me about Apion; the grammarian, whether I ought to take the trouble of confuting him or not; for some of his writings contain much the same accusations which the others have laid against us, some things that he hath added, are very frigid and contemptible, and for the greatest part of what he says, it is very scurrilous, and, to speak no more than the plain truth, it shews him to be a very unlearned person, and what he lays together, looks like the work of a man of very bad morals, and of one no better in his whole life than a mountebank. Yet, because there are a great many men so very foolish, that they are rather taught by such contrivances than what is written with care, and take pleasure in reproaching other men, and cannot abide to hear them commended, I thought it necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an accusation against us, as if he would bring us to make an answer in open court. For I also have observed, that many men are very much delighted when they see a man who first began to reproach another, to be himself exposed to contempt on account of the vices he hath himself been guilty of. However, it is not a very easy thing to go over this man's discourse, nor to know plainly what he means; yet does he seem, amidst great confusion and disorder in his falsehoods, to produce, in the first place, such things as resemble what we have examined already, and relate to the departure of our forefathers out of Egypt; and, in the second place, he accuses those Jews that are inhabitants of Alexandria; as, in the third place, he lies! However, since this book is arisen to a competent length, I will make another beginning, and endeavours to add what still remains to perfect my design, in the following book.
prove it, but is manifest from the works of Moses; for when he erected the first tabernacle to God, he did himself neither give order for any such kind of representation to be made at it, nor ordain that those who came after him should make such a one. Moreover, when in a future age Solomon built his temple in Jerusalem, he avoided all such needless decorations as Apion hath here devised. He says farther, "How he had heard of the ancient men, that Moses was of Heliopolis." To be sure that was, because being a younger man himself, he believed those that by their elder age were acquainted and conversed with him. Now, this [man], grammarians as he was, could not certainly tell which was the poet Homer's country, no more than he could which was the country of Pythagoras, who lived comparatively but a little while ago; yet does he thus easily determine the age of Moses, who preceded them such a vast number of years, as depending on his ancient men's relation, which she hath contrived to live a hundred years earlier to this chronological determination of the time when he says he brought the leprous people, the blind, and the lame, out of Egypt, see how well this most accurate grammarian of ours agrees with those that have written before him! Manetho says that the Jews departed out of Egypt, in the reign of Tethmosis, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus fled to Argos; Lysimachus says it was under king Bocchoris, that is, one thousand seven hundred years ago; Molo and some others determined it as every one pleased; but this Apion of ours, as deserving to be believed before them, hath determined it exactly to have been in the seventh olympiad, and the first year of that olympiad; the very same year in which he says that Carthage was built by the Phoenicians. The reason why he added this building of Carthage was, to be sure, in order, as he thought, to strengthen his assertion by so evident a character of chronology. But he was not aware that this character confutes his assertion; for if we may give credit to the Phoenician records as to the time of the first coming of their colonizers to Carthage, they themselves tell us that Tharros, their old king, was above one hundred and fifty years earlier than the building of Carthage; concerning whom I have formerly produced testimonials out of those Phoenician records, as also that this Hieron was a friend of Solomon when he was building the temple of Jerusalem, and gave him great assistance in his building that temple; while still Solomon himself built that temple six hundred and twelve years after the Jews came out of Egypt. As for the number of those that were expelled out of Egypt, he hath contrived to have the very same number with Lysimachus, and says they were a hundred and ten thousand. He then assigns a certain wonderful and plausible occasion for the name of Sabbath; for he says, that "when the Jews had travelled six days' journey, they had babooses in their groins; and that on this account it was that they rested on the seventh day, as having got safely to that country which is now called Judea; that then they preserved the language of the Egyptians, and called that day the Sabbath, for that mad- lady of babooses in their groin, was named Sabbath sīa." And Apion laugh at this fellow's trifling, or rather hate his impudence in writing thus! We must, it seems, take it for granted, that all these hundred and ten thousand men must have had these babooses! But, for certain, if those men had been blind and lame, and had all sorts of distempers upon them, as Apion says they had, they could not have gone one single day's journey; but if they had been all able to travel over a large desert, and, besides that, to fight and conquer those that opposed them, they had not all of them had babooses in their groins after the sixth day was over; for no such distemper comes naturally and of necessity upon those that travel; but still, when there are many ten thousands in a camp together, they constantly march a settled space [in a day]. Nor is it at all probable that such a thing should happen by chance; this would be prodigiously absurd to be supposed. However, our admirable author Apion hath before told us, that "they came to Judea in six days' time;" and again, that "Moses went up to a mountain that lay between Egypt and Arabia, which was called Saini, and was concealed there forty days, and that when he came down from there, he gave laws to the Jews." But, how is it possible for them to tarry forty days in a desert place, where there was no water, and at the same time to pass all over the country between that and Judea in the six days! And as for this grammatical translation of the word Sabbath, it either contains an instance of his great impudence or gross ignorance; for the words Sabbo and Sabbath are widely different from one another; for the word Sabbath in the Jewish language denotes rest from all sorts of work; but the word Sabbo, as he affirms, denotes among the Egyptians, the malady of a bube in the groin.

3. This is that novel account which the Egyptian Apion gives us concerning the Jews' departure out of Egypt, and is no better than a contrivance of his own. But why should we wonder at the lies he tells us about our forefathers, when he affirms them to be of Egyptian original, when he lies about himself! for although he was born at Oasis in Egypt, he pretends to be, as a man may say, the top man of all the Egyptians; yet does he forswear his real country and progenitors, and by false pretending to be born at Alexandria, cannot deny the pravity of his family; for though he knew that the Egyptians had a great hatred and enmity for his nation, he avowed it to be his own, and endeavours to reproach; for had he not deemed Egyptians to be a name of great reproach, he would not have avoided the name of an Egyptian himself; as we know that those who brag of their own countries, value themselves upon the denomination they acquire thereby, and reprove such as unjustly lay claim thereto. As for the Egyptians' claim to be of our kindred, they do it on one of the following accounts; I mean, either as they value themselves upon it, and pretend to bear that relation to us; or else as they would draw us in to be partakers of their misfortunes; but this fine fellow, Apion, seems to broach this reproachful appellation against us [that we were originally Egyptians], in order to bestow it on the Alexandrians as a reward for the privilege they had given him of being a fellow-citizen with them; he also is apprised of the ill-will the Alexandrians bear to those Jews who are their fellow-citizens, and so proposes to himself to reproach them, although he must thereby include all the other Egyptians also; while in both cases he is no better than an amiable vain-glorious liar.

4. But let us now see what those heavy and wicked crimes are, which Apion charges upon the Alexandrian Jews. "They came (says he) out of Syria, and inhabited near the tempestuous sea, and
were in the neighbourhood of the dashing of the waves." Now, if the place of habitation includes any thing that is reproachful, this man reproaches not his own real country [Egypt], but what he pretends to be of his own country, Alexandria; for all are agreed in this, that the part of that city which is near the sea, is the best part of all for habitation. Now, if the Jews gained that part of the city by force, and have kept it hitherto without impeachment, this is a mark of their valor; but in reality it was Alexander himself that gave them that place for their habitation, when they obtained equal privileges there with the Macedonians. Nor can I devise what Apion would have said, had his habitation been at Necropolis,* and not been fixed hard by the royal palace [as it is]; nor had their nation had the denomination of Macedonians given them till this very day [as they have]. Had this man now read the epistles of king Alexander, or those of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, or met with the writings of the succeeding kings, or that pillar which is still standing at Alexandria, and contain the privileges of both the great [Julius] Cæsar bestowed upon the Jews, and this man, I say, known these records, and yet hath the impudence to write in contradiction to them, he hath shown himself to be a wicked man: but if he knew nothing of these records, he hath shown himself to be a man very ignorant; nay, when he appears to wonder how Jews could be called Alexandrians, this is another like instance of his ignorance; for all such as are called out to be colonists, although they be ever so far remote from one another in their original, receive their names from those that bring them to their new habitations. And what occasion is there to speak of others, when those of us Jews that dwell at Antioch, are named Antiochians, because Seleucus, the founder of that city, gave them the privileges belonging thereto! After the like manner do those Jews that inhabit Ephesus and the other cities of Ionia enjoy the same name with those that were originally born there, by the grant of the succeeding princes; nay, the kindness and humanity of the Romans hath been so great, that it hath granted leave to almost all others to take the same name of Romans upon them; I mean not particularly, but entire and large nations themselves also; for those anciently named Iberi, and Tyrrheni, and Sabini, are now called Romani; and if Apion reject this way of obtaining the privilege of a citizen of Alexandria, let him abstain from calling himself an Alexandrian hereafter; for otherwise, how can he who was born in the very heart of Egypt be an Alexandrian, if this way of accepting such a privilege, of which he would have us deprived, be once abrogated? Although indeed these Romans, who are now the lords of the habitable earth, have forbidden the Egyptians to have the privileges of any city whatsoever, while this fine fellow, who is willing to parle of such a privilege himself, as he is forbidden to make use of, endeavours by calumnies to deprive those of it that have justly received it; for Alexander did not therefore get some of our nation to Alexandria because he wanted inhabitants for this his city, on whose building he had bestowed so much pains; but this was given to our people as a reward; because he had, upon a careful trial, found them all to have been men of virtue and fidelity to him; for, as Icecatus says concerning us, "Alexander honoured our na- tion to such a degree, that, for the equity and the fidelity which the Jews exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute. Of the same mind was Ptolemy the son of Lagus, as to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria." For he intrusted the fortresses of Egypt into their hands, as believing they would keep them faithfully and valiantly for them; and when he was desirous to secure the government of Cyrene, and the other cities of Libya to himself, he sent a party of Jews to inhabit them. And as for his successor Ptolemy, who was called Philopator, he did not only set all those of our nation free, who were captives under him, but did frequently give money [for their ransom]; and, what was his greatest work of all, he had a great desire of knowing our laws, and of obtaining the books of our sacred scriptures: accordingly he desired that such men might be sent him as might interpret our law to him; and in order to have them well compiled, he committed that care to no ordinary persons, but ordained that Demetrius Phalereus, and Andreas, and Aristaeus; the first, Demetrius, the most learned in the science of his age, and the others, such as were entrusted with the guard of his body, should take the care of this matter: nor would he certainly have been so desirous of learning our law and the philosophy of our nation, had he despised the men that made use of it, or had he not indeed had them in great admiration.

5. Now this Apion was unacquainted with almost all the kings of those Macedonians whom he pretends to have been his progenitors,—who were yet very well affected towards us; for the third of those Ptolemies, who were called Euergetes, when he had gotten possession of all Syria by force, did not offer his thank-offerings to the Egyptian gods for his victory, but came to Jerusalem, and, according to our own laws, offered many sacrifices to God, and dedicated to him such gifts as were suitable to such a victory: and as for Ptolemy Philometer and his wife Cleopatra, they committed their whole kingdom to Jews, when Onias and Dositheus, both Jews, whose names are laughed at by Apion, were the generals of their whole army; but certainly, instead of reproaching them, he ought to admire their actions, and return them thanks for saving Alexandria, when it was near to be taken by the city of Tyre, when those Alexandrians were making war with Cleopatra the queen, and were in danger of being utterly ruined, these Jews brought them to terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries of a civil war. "But then (says Apion) Onias brought a small army afterward upon the city, at the time when Thernus the Roman ambassador, was there present." Yes, do I venture to say, and that he did rightly and very justly in so doing; for that Ptolemy who was called Physco, upon the death of his brother Philometer, came from Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra as well as her sons out of their kingdom, that he might obtain it for himself unjustly. For this cause then it was that Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra’s account; nor would he desert that trust the royal family had reposed in him in their distress. Accord-

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* The burial-place for dead bodies, as I suppose.

1 For Тολάκης, or frequently, I would here read Τολάδης, a great deal of money: for we indeed read, both in Armenia and Josephus, that this Ptolemy Philadæophilus once gave a very great sum of money in reward above 100,000 Jewish captives; but not of any sum of money which he dishonestly on their account at other times, that I know of.

2 Here begins a great defect in the Greek copy; but the old Latin version fully supplies that defect.
ingly, God gave a remarkable attestation to his righteous procedure; for when Ptolemy Physco
had the presumption to fight against Onias's army, and had caught all the Jews that were in the city,
[Alexandria], with their children and wives, and exposed them naked and in bonds to his elephants,
that they might be trodden upon and destroyed, and when he had made those elephants drunk for that
purpose, the event proved contrary to his preparations;
for these elephants left the Jews who were exposed to them, and fell violently upon Physco's friends,
and slew a great number of them; nay, after this, Ptolemy saw a terrible ghost, which prohibited his hurting those men; his very concubine, whom he loved so well (some call her Ithaca,
and others Irene), making supplication to him, that he would not perpetrate so great a wickedness. So
he complied with her request, and repented of what he either had already done, or was about to do;
whence it is well known that the Alexandrian Jews do with good reason celebrate this day, on the ac-
count that they had thereon been vouchsafed such an evident deliverance from God. However, Apion,
the common calumniator of men, bath the presumption to accuse the Jews for making this war
against Physco, when he ought to have commended them for the same. This man also makes mention
of Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexandria, and abuses us, because she was ungrateful to us;
whereas he ought to have reproved her, who indulged herself in all kinds of injustice and wicked
practices, both with regard to her nearest relations, and husbands who had loved her, and indeed in
general with regard to all the Romans, and those emperors that were her benefactors; who also had
her sister Arsinoe slain in a temple, when she had done her no harm: moreover, she had her brother
slain by private treachery, and she destroyed the gods of her country, and the sepulchres of her pro-
genitors; and while she had received her kingdom from the first Caesar, she had the impudence to
rebel against his son and successor; may, she corrupted Antony with her love-tricks, and compelled
him an enemy to his country, and made him treacherous to his friends, and (by his means) despised
some of their royal authority, and forced others in her madness to act wickedly; but what need I en-
large upon this head any farther, when she left Antony in his flight at sea, though he were her hus-
band, and the father of their common children, and compelled him to resign up his government, with
the army, and to follow her [into Egypt]; nay, when last of all, Caesar had taken Alexandria, she
came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had been nursing her affairs so cunningly, and by
such she could kill the Jews, though it were with her own hand; to such a degree of barbarity
and perfidiousness had she arrived; and doth any one think that we cannot boast ourselves of any
thing, if, as Apion says, this queen did not at a time of famine, distribute wheat among us? However,
she at length met with the punishment she deserved. As for us Jews, we appeal to the great Caesar what
assistance we brought him, and what fidelity we showed to him against the Egyptians; as also to
the senate and its decrees, and the epistles of Augustus Caesar, whereby our merits [to the Romans]
are justified. Apion ought to have looked upon
those epistles, and in particular to have examined the testimonies given on our behalf, under Alex-
ander and all the Ptolemies, and the decrees of the senate and of the greatest Roman emperors, and,
If Germanicus was not able to make a distribution
of corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria, that only shows what a barren time it was, and how
great a want there was then of corn, but tends to
nothing to the accusation of the Jews; for what all
the emperors who have thought of the Alexandrian
Jews, is well known, for this distribution of what
was no otherwise omitted with regard to the Jews,
than it was with regard to the other inhabitants of
Alexandria; but they still were desirous to pre-
serve what the kings had formerly entrusted to
their care, I mean the custody of the river: nor did
those kings think them unworthy of having the
entire custody thereof upon all occasions.

6. But besides this, Apion objects to us thus:—
"If the Jews (says he) be citizens of Alexandria,
why do not they worship the same gods with the
Alexandrins?" To which I give this answer:—
Since you are yourselves Egyptians, why do you
fight one against another, and have imitable wars
about your religion? At this rate we must
call you all Egyptians, nor indeed, in general,
men, because you breed up with great care, besides
of a nature quite contrary to that of men, although
the nature of all men seems to be one and the same.
Now if there be such differences in opinion among
you Egyptians, why are you surprised that those
who came to Alexandria from another country, and
had original laws of their own before, should persevere in the observance of those laws? But still
he charges us with being the authors of sedition:
which accusation, if it be a just one, why is it not
laid against us all, since we are known to be all of
one mind! Moreover, those that search into such
matters with the greatest discernment have been such citizens of Alexandria as Apion
is; for while they were the Grecians and Macedoni-
ans who were in possession of this city, there was
no sedition raised against us, and we were permitted
to observe our ancient solemnities; but when the
number of the Egyptians therein, came to be consid-
erable, the times grew confused, and then these
seditions broke out still more and more, while our
people continued uncorrupted. These Egyptians
therefore, were the authors of these troubles, who
not having the constancy of Macedonians, nor the
prudence of Grecians, indulged all of them in the
wicked manners of the Egyptians, and continued their
ancient hatred against us; for what is here so pre-
sumptuously charged upon us, is owing to the dif-
fferences that are amongst themselves; while many
of them have not obtained the privileges of citizens
in proper times, but style those who are well known
to have had that privilege extended to them all, no
other than foreigners; for it does not appear that
any of the kings have ever formerly bestowed those
privileges of citizens upon Egyptians, no more
than have the emperors done it more lately; while it is Alexander who gave us the city at first,
the kings augmented our privileges therein, and the Romans have been pleased to pre-
serve them always inviolable. Moreover, Apion
would lay a blot upon us, because we do not erect
images to our emperors, as if those emperors did
not know this before, or stood in need of Apion as their defender: whereas, he ought rather to have admired the magnanimity and modesty of the Romans, whereby they do not compel those that are subject to them to transgress the laws of their countries, but are willing to receive the honours and gifts of others from them after such a manner as those who are to pay them esteem in perfect with pieties, and with their own laws; for they do not think people for conferring honours upon them, when they are compelled by violence so to do. Accordingly, since the Greeks and some other nations think it a right thing to make images, may, when they have painted the pictures of their parents, and wives, and children, they exult for joy; and some there are who take pictures for themselves of such persons as were no way related to them; may, some take the pictures of such servants as they were fond of. What wonder is it then if such as these appear willing to pay the same respect to their princes and lords? But then our legislators have forbidden us to make images, not by way of condemnation beforehand, that the human authority was not to be honoured, but as despising a thing that was neither necessary nor useful for either God or man; and he forbade them, as we shall prove hereafter, to make these images for any part of the animal creation, and much less for God himself, who is no part of such animal creation. Yet hath our legislator nowhere forbidden us to pay honours to worthy men, provided they be of another kind, and inferior to those we pay to God; with which honours we willingly testify our respect to our emperors, and to the people of Rome; we also offer perpetual sacrifices for them; nor do we only offer them every day at the common expenses of all the Jews, but although we offer no other such sacrifices out of our common expenses, no not for our own children, yet do we this as a peculiar honour to the emperors, and to them alone, while we do the same to no other person whatsoever. And let this suffice for an answer in general, to Apion, as to what he says with relation to the Alexandrian Jews.

7. However, I cannot but admire those other authors who furnished this man with such his materials, I mean Posidonius and Appolonius [the soi]; Molo, a while they accuse us for not worshipping the same gods whom others worship, they think themselves not guilty of impiety when they tell lies of us, and frame absurd and preposterous stories about our temple; whereas it is a most shameful thing for freemen to forge lies on any occasion, and much more so to forged them about our temple, which was so famous over all the world, and was preserved so sacred by us; and Apion hath the impudence to pretend, that "the Jews placed an ass’s head in their holy place;" and he affirms that this was discovered when Antiochus Epiphanes spoiled our temple, and found that ass’s head there made of gold, and worth a great deal of money. To which my first answer shall be this, that had there been any such thing among us, an Egyptian ought by no means to have thrown it in our teeth, since ass’s is not a more contemptible animal than ***; and goats, and other such creatures, which among them are gods. But besides this answer, I say farther, how comes it about that Apion does not understand this to be no other than a palpable lie, and to be confuted under the thing itself as utterly incredible? For the Jews are always governed by the same laws, in which we constantly persevere; and although many misfortunes have befallen our city, as the like have befallen others, and although these [Epiphanes], and Pompey the Great, and Lecinias Crassus, and last of all Titus Cesar, have conquered us in war, and gotten possession of our temple, yet has none of them found any such thing there, nor indeed any thing but what was agreeable to the strictest piety; although what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations. But for Antiochus [Epiphanes], he had no just cause for that rash and sacrilegious action, in the temple that he made; he may have come to it when he wanted money, without dealing himself our enemy, and attacked us while we were his associates and his friends: nor did he find any thing there that was ridiculous. This is attested by many worthy writers: Polycius of Megalopolis, Strabo of Cappadocia, Nicomachus of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the chronologer, and Apollodorus, who all say that it was out of Antiochus’s want of money that he broke his league with the Jews, and de-spoiled their temple when it was full of gold and silver. Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he had himself had either an ass’s heart or a dog’s impudence; or of such a dog I mean as they worship; for he had no other external reason for the lies he tells us of. As for us Jews, we abjure no honour or power to asse, as do the Egyptians to crocodiles and asps, when they esteem such as are seized upon by the former, or bitten by the latter, to be happy persons, and persons worthy of God. Asses are the same with us as tigers, creatures that bear the burdens which we lay upon them; but if they come to our threshing-flours and eat our corn, or do not perform what we impose upon them, we beat them with a great many stripes: because it is their business to minister to us in our husbandry affairs. But this Apion of ours was either perfectly unskilful in the composition of such fallacious discourses, or however, when he began [somewhat better], he was not able to persevere in what he had undertaken, since he hath no manner of success in these reproaches he casts upon us.

8. He adds another Grecian fable, in order to reproach us. I will answer to which, it would be enough to say that we who presume to speak about divine worship, ought not to be ignorant of this plain truth, that it is a degree of less impurity to pass through temples, than to forge wicked calumnies of its priests. Now, such men as he are more zealous to justify a sacrilegious king than to write what is just and what is true about us, and about our temple; for when they are desirous of gratifying Apion, and of concealing that his prodigalities and sacrilege which he was guilty of, with regard to our nation, when he wanted money, they endeavour to dignify us, and tell lies even relating to futurities. Apion becomes other men’s prophet upon this occasion, and says, that “Antiochus found in our temple a bed and a man lying upon it, with a small table before him, full of dainties, from the fishes of the sea, and the fruits of the dry land; that this man was amazed at these dainties thus set before him; that he immediately adored the king, upon
the coming in, as hoping that he would afford him all possible assistance; that he fell down upon his knees, and stretched out to him his right hand, and begged to be released; and that when the king bade him sit down, and tell him who he was, and why he dwelt there, and what was the meaning of those various sorts of food that were set before him, the man made a lamentable complaint, and with sighs, and tears in his eyes, gave him this account of the distress he was in; and said that he was a Greek, and that as he went over this province, in order to get his living, he was seized upon by foreigners, on a sudden, and brought to this temple, and shut up therein, and was seen by nobody, but was fastened by these curious provisions thus set before him: and that truly at the first such unexpected advantages seemed to him matter of great joy; that, after a while they brought a suspicion upon him, and at length astonished, what their meaning should be; that at last he inquired of the servants that came to him, and was by them informed that it was in order to the fulfilling a law of the Jews, which they must not tell him, that he was thus fed; and that they did the same at a set time every year; that they used to catch a Greek foreigner, and fasten him thus up every year, and then lead him to a certain wood, and kill him, and sacrifice with their accustomed solemnities, and taste of his entrails, and take an oath upon this sacrificing a Greek, that they would ever be at enmity with the Greeks; and that then they threw the remaining parts of the miserable wretch into a certain pit. Apion adds farther, that "the man said there were but a few days to come ere he was to be slain, and imprecated Antiochus that, out of the reverence he bore to the Grecian gods, he would disappoint the snare of the Jews laid for his blood, and would deliver him from the miseries with which he was encompassed." Now this is such a most tragical fable, as is full of nothing but cruelty and impudence; yet does it not excite Antiochus of his sacrilegious attempts, as those who wrote it in his vindication are willing to suppose; for he could not presume beforehand that he should meet with any such thing in coming to the temple, but must have found it unexpectedly. He was therefore still an impious person, that was given to unlawful pleasures, and had no regard to God in his actions. But [as for Apion] he hath done whatever his extravagant love of lying hath dictated to him, as is most easy to discover by a consideration of his writings; for the difference of our laws is known not to regard the Grecians only, but they are principally opposite to the Egyptians, and to some other nations also; for while it so falls out, that men of all countries come sometimes and sojourn among us, how comes it about that we take an oath, and conspire only against the Grecians, and that by the effusion of their blood also? Or how is it possible that all the Jews should get together to these sacrifices, and the entrails of one man should be sufficient for so many thousands to taste of them, as Apion pretends? Or why did not the king carry this man, whosoever he was, and whatsoever was his name (which is not set down in Apion's book), with great pride back into his own country? I why he might thereby have been esteemed a religious person himself, and a mighty lover of the Greeks, and might thereby have procured himself great assistance from all men against that hatred the Jews bore to him. But I leave this matter; for the proper way of confuting fools is not to use base words, but to appeal to the things themselves that make against them. Now then, all such as ever saw the construction of our temple, of what nature it was, know well enough how the the purity of it was never to be profaned; for it had four several courts. * It is remarkable that Josephus here, and I think, nowhere else, 
receives up four distinct courts of the temple, of that which the women of Jerusalem, that of the priests, of the lepers, and also that the court of the women admitted of the men (I suppose only of the head of those wives that were therein), while the rest of the 
men did not admit any woman into it at all.
Idumeans, there came a man out of one of the cities of the Idumeans, who had worshipped Apollo. This man, whose name is said to have been Zabidus, came to the Jews, and promised that he would deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into their hands, and that he would come to our temple, if they would agree with him, and bring the whole multitude of the Jews with them; that Zabidus made him a certain wooden instrument, and put it round about him, and set three rows of lamps therein, and walked after such a manner, that he appeared to those that stood a great way off him, to be a kind of star walking upon the earth: that the Jews were terribly frightened at so surprising an appearance, and stood very quiet at a distance; and that Zabidus, while they continued so very quiet, went into the holy house, and carried off that golden head of an ass (for so facetiously does he write), and then went his way back again to Dora in great haste."

And say you so, sir? as I may reply; then does Apion load the ass, that is himself, and lays on him a burden of fooleries and lies; for he writes of places that have no being; and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation; for Idumea borders upon our country, and is near to Gaza, in which there is no such city as Dora, although there be, it is true, a city named Dora in Phoenicia, near Mount Carmel, but it is four days' journey from Idumea.* Now, then, why does this man accuse us, because we have not gods in common like other nations? If the Egyptians were so easily persuaded upon to have Apollo come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the stars with him; for certainly those who have so many festivals, wherein they light lamps, must yet, at this rate, have never seen a candlestick! But still it seems that while Zabidus took his journey over the country, where were so many ten thousands of people, nobody met him. He also, it seems, even in a time of war, found the walls of Jerusalem destitute of guards. I omit the rest of this. But the whole house of the holy house were seventy cubits broad, three cubits high, and there were all plaited over with gold, and almost of solid gold itself, and there were no fewer than twenty-four men required to shut them every day; nor was it lawful ever to leave them open, though it seems this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily, or thought he opened them, as he thought he had the ass's head in his hand. Whether, therefore, he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it and brought it into the temple again, that Antochus might find it, and afford a handle for a second fable of Apion, is uncertain.

If Apion also tells a false story, when he mentions an oath of ours, as if we "swore by God, the maker of the heaven, and earth, and sea, to bear no good will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Greeks." Now this liar ought to have said directly that "we would bear no good-will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Egyptians." For then his story about the oath would have squared with the rest of his original forgeries, in case our forefathers had been driven away by their kinsmen the Egyptians, not on account of any wickedness they had been guilty of, but on account of the calamities they were under; for as to the

* Juden, in the Greek, by a gross mistake of the transcribers.
* Seven in the Greek, by a fine gross mistake of the transcribers. See of the War, b. vi. ch. vi. sect. 4.
* Two hundred in the Greek, contrary to the twenty in the War, b. vii. c. 2, sect. 6.

The Grecians, we are rather remote from them in place than different from them in our institutions, insomuch that we have no enmity with them, nor any jealousy of them. On the contrary, it hath so happened, that many of them have come over to our laws, and some of them have continued in their obser- vation, although they have not been left enough to persevere, and so departed from them again; nor did ever any body hear this oath sworn by us: Apion, it seems, was the only person that heard it, for he indeed was the first composer of it.

12. However, Apion deserves to be admired for his great prudence, as to what I am going to say, which is this, "That there is a plain mark among us, that we neither have just laws, nor worship God as we ought to do, because we are not governors, but are rather in subjection to Gentiles, sometimes to one nation, and sometimes to another; and that our city hath been liable to several calamities, while their city [Alexandria] hath been of old time an imperial city, and not used to be in subjection to the Romans." But now this man had better leave off his bragging; for every body but himself would think that Apion said what he hath said against himself; for there are very few nations that have had the good fortune to continue many generations in the principality, but still the mutations in human affairs have put them into subjection under others; and most nations have been often subdued, and brought into subjection by others. Now for the Egyptians, perhaps, they are the only nation that have had this extraordinary privilege, to have never served any of those monarchs who subdued Asia and Europe, and this on account, as they pretend, that the gods fled into their country and saved themselves by being changed into the shapes of wild beasts. Whereas these Egyptians are the very people that appear to have never, in all the past ages, had one day of freedom, no not so much as from their own lords. For I will not reproach them with relating the manner how the Persians used them, and how they once only held their city, when they held their city, and demolished their temples, and cut the throats of those animals whom they esteemed to be gods; for it is not reasonable to imitate the clownish ignorance of Apion, who hath no regard to the misfortunes of the Athenians, or of the Lacedemonians, the latter of whom were styled by all men the most courageous, and the former the most religious, of the Grecians. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them whose name was Cressus, nor what calamities he met with in his life; I say nothing of the citadel of Athens, of the temple at Ephesus, of that at Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, while nobody cast reproaches on those that were the sufferers, but on those that were the actors therein. But now we have met with Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that will forgets the miseries of his own people, the Egyptians; but it is that Sesostris, who was once so celebrated a king of Egypt, that hath..."
blinded him. Now we will not boast of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations; accordingly we let them alone. However, Apion is ignorant of what every body knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and were not free but slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty formerly; nay, more than that, had the dominion of the cities that lie round about us, and this nearly for a hundred and twenty years together, until Pompeius Magnus. And when all the kings everywhere were conquered by the Romans, our ancestors were the only people who continued to be esteemed their confederates and friends, on account of their fidelity to them.

13. "But," says Apion, "we Jews have not had as wonderful men amongst us, nor any inventors of arts, nor any eminent for wisdom." He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cineas, and some others of the same sort; and after all, he adds himself to them, which is the most wonderful thing of all that he says, and pronounces Alexandria to be happy, because it hath such a citizen as he is, in it; for he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own deserts, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a wicked mountebank, of a corrupt life, and ill discourses; on which account one may justly pity Alexandria, if it should value itself upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, we have had those who have been as deserving of commendation as any other whatsoever; and such as have perused our Antiquities cannot be ignorant of them.

14. As to the other things which he sets down as blame-worthy, it may perhaps be the best way to let them pass without apology, that he may be allowed to be his own accuser, and the accuser of the rest of the Egyptians. However, he accuses us for sacrificing animals, and for abstaining from swine's flesh, and laughs at us for the circumcison of our privy members. Now, as for our slaughter of tame animals, it is common to us and to all other men; but this Apion, by making it a crime to sacrifice them, demonstrates himself to be an Egyptian; for had he been either a Grecian or a Macedonian [as he pretends to be], he had not shown an uneasiness at it; for those people glory in sacrificing whole hecatombs to the gods, and make use of those sacrifices for feasting; and yet it is not the world thereby rendered destitute of cattle, as Apion was afraid would come to pass. Yet, if all men had followed the manners of the Egyptians, the world had certainly been made desolate as to mankind, but had been filled full of the wildest sort of brute beasts, which, because they support them to be gods, they carefully nourish. However, if any one should ask Apion which of the Egyptians he thinks to be the most wise, and most pious of them all, he would certainly acknowledge the priests to be so; for the histories say that two things were originally committed to their care by their kings' injunctions, the worship of the gods, and the support of wisdom and philosophy. Accordingly, these priests are all circumcised, and abstain from swine's flesh; nor does any one of the other Egyptians do so; and when asking those sacrifices they offer to those gods, Apion was therefore quite blinded in his mind when, for the sake of the Egyptians, he contrived to reproach us, and to accuse such others as not only make use of that conduct of life which he so much abuses, but have also taught other men to be circumcised, as says Herodotus; which makes me think that Apion is hereby justly punished for his casting such reproaches on the laws of his own country; for he was circumcised himself of necessity, on account of an ulcer in his privy member; and when he recovered no benefit thereby, he was persuaded, with great reason, that he died in great torment. Now, men of good temper, ought to observe their own laws concerning religion accurately, and to persevere therein, not presently to abuse the laws of other nations, while this Apion deserts his own laws, and tells lies about ours; and this was the end of Apian life, and this shall be the conclusion of our discourse about him.

15. But now, since Apollonius Molon, and Lykaon, and some others, write treatises about our laws, and about our laws, which are neither just nor true, and this partly out of ignorance, but chiefly out of ill-will to us, while they calculate Moses as an impostor and deceiver, and pretend that our laws teach us wickedness, but nothing that is virtuous, I have a mind to discourse briefly, according to my ability, about our whole constitution of government, and about the particular branches of it; for I suppose it will thence become evident that the laws we have given us are disposed after the best manner for the advancement of piety, for mutual communion with one another, for general love of mankind, as also for justice, and for sustaining labours with fortitude, and for a contest of death; and I beg of those that shall peruse the writing of mine, to read it without partiality; for it is not my purpose to write an encomium upon ourselves, but I shall esteem this as a most just apology for us, and taken from those our laws, according to which we lead our lives, against the many and the lying objections that have been made against us. Moreover, since this Apollonius does not deal with Apion, and lay a continued accusation against us, but does it only by slanders, and up and down his discourse, while he sometimes reproaches us as atheists, and madmen, and sometimes he is to the teeth with our want of courage, and yet sometimes, on the contrary, accuses us of too great boldness, and madness in our conduct; nay, he says that we are the weakest of all the barbarians, and this is the reason why we are the only people who have made no improvements in human life; now I think I shall have then sufficiently disproved all these his allegations, when it shall appear that our laws enjoin the very reverse of what he says, and that we very carefully observe those laws ourselves; and if I be compelled to make mention of the laws of other nations, that are contrary to ours, those ought deservedly to thank themselves for it, who have pretended to deprecate our laws in comparison of their own; nor will there, I think, be any room after that, for them to pretend, either that we have no such laws ourselves, an epitome of which I will present to the reader, or that we do not, above all men, continue in the observation of them.

16. To begin then a good way backward, I would advance this, in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under good laws, and who began to introduce them, may well have this testimony, that they are better than other men, both for moderation, and such virtue as is agreeable to nature. Indeed, their endeavour was to have every thing they cr-
dained, believed to be very ancient, that they might not be thought to imitate others, but might appear to have delivered a regular way of living to others after them. Since then this is the case, the excellent laws do not only secure the people's living after the best manner, and in prevailing with those that are to use the laws he ordains for them, to have a good opinion of them, and in obliging the multitude to persevere in them, and to make no changes in them, neither in prosperity nor adversity. Now, I venture to say, that our legislator is the most ancient of all the legislators whom we have anywhere heard of; for as for the Lycurgusses, and Solons, and Zaleucus Locrensis, and all those legislators who are so admired by the Greeks, they seem to be of yesterday, if compared with our legislator, insomuch as the very name of a law was not so much as known in old times among the Grecians. Homer is a witness to the truth of this observation, who never uses that term in all his poems; for indeed there was then no such thing among them, but the multitude was governed by wise maxims, and by the injunctions of their king. It was also a long time* that they continued in the use of these unwritten customs, although they were always changing them upon several occasions; but for our legislator, who was of so much greater antiquity than the rest (as even those that speak against us upon all occasions, do always confess), he exhibited himself to the people as their best governor and counsellor, and included in his legislation the entire conduct of their lives, and prevailed with them to receive it, and brought it so to pass, that those that were made acquainted with his laws did most carefully observe them.

17. But let us consider his first and greatest work; for when it was resolved on by our forefathers to leave Egypt and return to their own country, this Moses took the many ten thousands that were of the people, and saved them out of many desperate distresses, and brought them home in safety. And certainly it was here necessary to travel over a country without water, and full of sand, to overcome their enemies, and, during these battles, to preserve their children and their wives, and their prey; on all which occasions he became an excellent general of an army, and a most prudent counsellor, and one that took the truest care of them all: he also so brought it about, that the whole multitude depended upon him; and while he had them always obedient to what he enjoined, he made no manner of use of his authority for his own private advantage, which is the usual time when governors gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and accustom the multitude to live very luxuriously; whereas, when our legislator was in so great authority, he, on the contrary, thought he ought to have regard to piety, and to show his great good-will to the people; and by this means he thought he might show the great degree of virtue that was in him, and might procure the most lasting security to those who had made him the benefactor of their country. He also did not directly bring about to such a good resolution, and had performed such wonderful exploits, we had just reason to look upon ourselves as having him for a divine governor and counsellor; and when he had at first persuaded himself that his actions and designs were agreeable to God's will, he thought it his duty to impress, above all things, that notion upon the multitude; for those who have once believed that God is the inspector of their lives, will not be willing to do any sin; and this is the character of our legislator: he was no impostor, no deceiver, as his revisers say, though unjustly, but such a one as they bring Minoes to have been among the Greeks, and other legislators after him; for some of them suppose that they had their laws from Jupiter, while Minos said that the revelation of his laws was to be referred to Apollo, and his oracle at Delphi, whether they really thought they were so derived, or supposed, however, that they could persuade the people easily that so it was; but which of these it was who made the best laws, and which had the greatest reason to believe that God was their author, it will be easy, upon comparing these laws themselves together, to determine; for it is time that we came to that point. Now there are innumerable differences in the particular customs and laws that are among all mankind, which a man may briefly reduce under the following heads:—Some legislators have permitted their governments to be under monarchies, others put them under oligarchies, and others under a republican form; but our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but he ordained our government by following a certain expression, which he, by ascribing the authority and the power to God, and by persuading all the people to have a regard to him, as the author of all the good things enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each one in particular, and of all that they themselves obtained by praying to him in their greatest difficulties. He informed them that it was impossible to escape God's observation, either in any of our outward actions, or in any of our inward thoughts. Moreover, he represented God as unbegotten, and im-

* This expression is, Ευγενεία, "persuaded himself"; what he did was according to God's will, can mean no more, than Josephus's own conclusion of his own actions. Ws. Πρωτοκλητος, "persuaded," that he had "fully satisfied himself," that so it was, viz., of the many revelations he had received. In the explanation of God's miracles God had enabled him to work, as he both in these very two books against Apion, and in his Antiquities, most exactly and frequently makes use of. This is interpreted in this sense by Josephus, and he affirms that Moses was no impostor or deceiver, and where he affirms that Moses's legislation is not a pure and manifest evidence of theocracy and where he says they are to go for deliverance out of the distress by praying to God, and God has been sooner and more expeditiously to the present spirit of Moses that the Jews expected a resurrection from the dead. See also at the same use of the like words, Πρωτοκλητος, "to persuade God," Antiq. b. v. ch. v. sect. 6.

1. That is, Moses really was, what the heathen legislators pretended to be, under a divine direction: nor does it appear that these pretensions to a supernatural command, either in these legislatures or oracles, were more diabolical than heany demoniacal impostures, and that Josephus took them so to be; as the ancient and contemporary authors did still hold, and to be the base origin of these Hellenic and Hellene language, in all these cases. Moreover, Josephus directly supposes the Jewish settlement under Moses, to be a divine settlement, and indeed no other than a real Theocracy.

2. That is, the nation consisted of Jews, as also some other other clear expressions about the resurrection of the dead, and the state of departed souls, etc. In this last work of Josephus, look more like the explicit notions of the Essenes, or rather RBmistes Christians, than those of a mere Jew or
mutable, through all eternity, superior to all mortal conceptions in pulchritude; and, though known to us by his power, yet unknown to us as to his essence. I do not now explain how these notions of God are the sentiments of the wisest among the Greeks, and how they were taught them upon the principles that he afforded them. However, they testify with great assurance, that these notions are just, and agreeable to the nature of God, and to his majesty; for Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the Socratic philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all the rest, are of the same sentiments, and had the same notions of the nature of God; yet durst not these men disclose those true notions to more than a few, because the body of the people were prejudiced with other opinions beforehand. But our legislator, who made his actions agree to his laws, did not only prevail with those that were his contemporaries to agree with these his notions, but so firmly impressed this faith in God upon all their posterity, that it could never be removed. The reason why the constitution of this law is so better adapted to the universal, all, than other legislations were, is, that, Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but he saw and he ordained other virtues to be a part of religion; I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and a universal agreement of the members of the community with one another; for all our actions and studies, and all our words, [in Moses’s settlement] have a reference to piety towards God; for he hath left none of these in suspense, or undetermined; for there are two ways of coming at any sort of learning, and a moral conduct of life: the one is in words, the other by practical exercises. Now, other lawgivers have stipulated these two ways in their opinions, and choosing one of those ways of instruction, or that which best pleased every one of them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedemonians and the Cretians teach by practical exercises, but not by words; while the Athenians, and almost all the other Greeks, made laws about what was to be done, or left undone, but had no regard to the exercising them thereto in practice.

13. But for our legislator, he very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together; for he neither left them in suspense, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without the exercises for practice; but beginning immediately from the earliest infancy, and the appointment of every one’s diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the person himself. Accordingly, he made a fixed rule of law, what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should use; as also, what communion they should have with others, what great diligence they should use in their occupations, and what times of rest should be interposed, that, by living under that law as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor out of ignorance; for he did not suffer the guilt of ignorance to go on without punishment, but demonstrated the law to be the best and the most necessary instruction of all others, permitting the people to leave off their other employments, and assemble together for the hearing of the law, and learning it exactly, and this not once or twice, or often, but every week; which thing, all the other legislators seem to have neglected.

14. And indeed, the greatest part of mankind are so far from being according to their own laws, that they hardly know them; but when they have learned and taught them from others that they have transgressed the law. Those also who are in the highest and principal posts of the government, confess they are not acquainted with those laws, and are obliged to take such persons for their assessors in public administrations as profess to have skill in those laws; but for our people, if any body do ask any one of them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all, than he will tell his own name, and this is in compliance of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we were sensible of anything, and of our having them, as it were, engraven on our souls. Our transgressors of them are but few; and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape punishment.

20. And this very thing it is that principally creates such a wonderful agreement of minds amongst us all; for, this entire agreement of ours in all our notions concerning God, and our having no difference in our course of life and manners, procures among us the most excellent concord of these our instruments that is anywhere among mankind; for no other people but we Jews have avoided all discussions about God that any way contradict one another, which yet are frequent among other nations; and this is true not only among ordinary persons, according as every one is affected, but some of the philosophers have been insolent enough to indulge such contradictions, while some of them have undertaken to use such words as entirely take away the nature of God, as others of them have taken away his providence over mankind. Nor can any one perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives; but all our works are common in Warrick, and are of a sort of discourse concerning God, which is conformable to our laws. This, I say, that he sees all things; as also, we have but one way of speaking concerning the conduct of our lives, that all other things ought to have piety for their end; and this any body may hear from our women, and servants themselves.

21. Hence hath arisen that accusation which some make against us, that we have not produced men that have been the inventors of new operations, or of new ways of speaking; for others think it a fine thing to persevere in nothing that has been delivered down from their forefathers, and then testify it to be an instance of the sharpest wisdom when these men venture to transgress those traditions; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be our only wisdom and virtue to admit no actions nor suppositions that are contrary to our original laws; which procedure of ours is a just and sure sign that our law is admirably constituted; for such laws as are not thus well made, are convicted upon trial to want amendment.

22. But while we are ourselves persuaded that our law was made agreeably to the will of God, it...
would be impious for us not to observe the same; for what is there in it that any body would change! and what can be invented better! or what can we take of other people's laws that will exceed it! Perhaps some would have the entire settlement of our government altered. And where shall we find a better or more righteous constitution than ours, while this makes us esteem God to be the governor of the universe, and permit the priests in general to be the administrators of the principal affairs, and within intrusts the government over the other priests to the chief high-priest himself? which priests our legislator, at their first appointment, did not advance to that dignity for their riches, or any abundance of other possessious, or any plenty they had as the gifts of fortune; but he intrusted the principal management of divine worship to those that exceeded others in an ability to persuade men, and in prudence of conduct. These men had the main care of the law and of the other parts of the people's conduct committed to them; for they were the priests who were ordained to be the inspectors of all, and the judges in doubtful cases, and the punishers of those that were condemned to suffer punishment.

23. What form of government then can be more holy than this? what more worthy kind of worship can be paid to God than we pay, where the entire body of the people are prepared for religion, where an extraordinary degree of care is required in the priests, and where the whole pietie is so ordered as if it were a certain religious solemnity! For what things foreigners, when they solemnize such festivals, are not able to observe for a few days' time, and call them Mysteries and Sacred Ceremonies, we observe with great pleasure and an unshaken resolution during our whole lives. What are the things then that we are commanded or forbidden? They are simply and easily known. The first command is concerning God, and affirms that God contains all things, and is being every way perfect and happy, self-sufficient, and supplying all other beings; the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. He is manifest in his works and benefits, and more conspicuous than any other being whatsoever; but as to his form and magnitude, he is most obscure. All materials, let them be ever so costly, are unworthy to compose an image for him; and all arts are unfruitful to express the notion we ought to have of him. We can neither see nor think of any thing like him, nor is it agreeable to piety to form a resemblance of him. We see his works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun and the moon, the waters, the generations of animals, the productions of fruits. These things hath God made, not with hands, not with labour, nor as wanting the assistance of any to co-operate with him; but as his will resolved they should be made, and be good also, they were made, and became good immediately. All men ought to follow this Being, and to worship him in the exercise of virtue; for this way of worship of God is the most holy of all others.

24. There ought also to be but one temple for one God; for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement. This temple ought to be common to all men, because he is the common God of all men. His priests are to be continually about his worship, over whom that is the first by his birth, is to be their ruler perpetually. His business must be to offer sacrifices to God, together with those priests that are joined with him, to see that the laws be observed, to determine controversies, and to punish those that are convicted of injuries; while he that does not submit to him shall be subject to the same punishment as he has himself, not towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him, we do it not in order to surfeit ourselves, or to be drunken; for such excesses are against the will of God, and would be an occasion of injuries and of luxury; but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly, and ready for our other occupations, and being more temperate than others. And for our duty at the sacrifices themselves, we ought in the first place to pray for the common welfare of all, and after that our own; for we are made for fellowship one with another, and he who prefers the common good before what is peculiar to himself, is above all acceptable to God. And let our prayers and supplications be made humbly to God, not so much that he would give us what is good (for he hath already given that of his own accord, and hath proposed the same publicly to all), as that we may duly receive it, and when we have received it, may preserve it. Now the law has appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a funeral, after what sometimes happens to us in bed, and after accompanying with our sacrifices, and upon many other occasions, too long to set down. And this is our doctrine concerning God and his worship, and is the same that the law appoints for our practice.

25. But then, what are our laws about marriage! That law owns no other mixture of sexes but that which nature hath appointed, of a man with his wife, and that this be used only for the procreation of children. But it abhors the mixture of a male with a male; and if any one do that, death is his punishment. It commands us also, when we marry, not to have regard to portion, nor to take a woman by violence, nor to persuade her deceitfully and knavishly; but demand her in marriage of him who hath power to dispose of her; and is fit to give her away by the nearness of his kindred; for, saith the Scripture, "A woman is inferior to her husband in all things." Let her, therefore, be obedient to him; not so, that he should abuse her, but that she may acknowledge her duty to her husband; for God hath given the authority to the husband. A husband, therefore, is to lie only with his wife whom he hath married; but to have to do with another man's wife is a wicked thing; which, if any one venture upon, death is inevitably his punishment: no more can he avoid the same, who forces a virgin betrothed to another man, or entices another man's wife. The law, moreover, enjoins us to bring up all our offspring, and forbids women to cause abortion of what is begotten, or to destroy it afterward; and if any woman appears to have done so, she will be a murderer of her child, by destroying a living creature, and diminishing human kind; if any one, therefore, proceeds to such fornication, or murder, he cannot be clean. More-
over, the law enjoins, that after the man and wife have lain together in a regular way, they shall barthe themselves; for there is a defilement contraceted thereby, both in soul and body, as if they had gone into another country; for indeed they, as being unclean in their own blood, are subject to miseries, and is not freed therefrom again but by death; on which account, the law requires this purification to be entirely performed.

26. Nay, indeed, the law does not permit us to make festivals at the births of our children, and thereby afford occasion of drinking to excess; but it ordains that the very beginning of our education should be immediately directed to sobriety. It also commands us to bring those children up in learning and to exercise them in the laws, and make them acquainted with the acts of their predecessors, in order to their imitation of them, and that they may be nourished up in the laws from their infancy, and might neither transgress them, nor yet have any pretence for their ignorance of them.

27. Our law has also taken care of the decent burial of the dead, but without any extravagant expenses for their funerals, and without the erection of any illustrious monuments for them; but hath ordered that their nearest relations should perform their obsolences; and hath shown it to be regular, that all who pass by when any one is buried, should accompany the funeral, and join in the lamentation. It also ordains, that the house and its inhabitants should be purified after the funeral is over, that every one may thence learn to keep at a great distance from the thoughts of being pure, if he hath been once guilty of murder.

28. The law ordains also, that parents should be honoured immediately after God himself, and delivers that son who does not requite them for the benefits he hath received from them, but is deficient on any such occasion, to be stoned. It also says, that the young men should pay due respect to every elder, since God is the eldest of all beings. It does not give leave to conceal any thing from our friends, because that is not true friendship which will not commit all things to their fidelity: it also forbids the revelation of secrets, even though an enmity arise between them. If any judge takes bribes, his punishment is death: he that overlooks one that offers him a petition, and this when he is able to relieve him, he is a guilty person. What is not by one intrusted to another, ought not to be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that lends money, must not demand usury for its loan. These, and many more of the like sort, are the rules that unite us in the bands of society one with another.

29. It will also be worth our while to see what equity our legislator would have us to exercise in our intercourse with strangers; for it will thence appear that he made the best provision he could possibly, both that we should not dissolve our own constitution, nor show an envious mind towards those that would cultivate a friendship with us. Accordingly, our legislator admits all those that have a mind to observe our laws, so to do; and this after a friendly manner, as esteeming that a true union, which not only extends to our own stock, but to those that would live after the same manner with us; yet does he not allow those that come to us by accident only, to be admitted into communion with us.

30. However, there are other things which our legislator ordained for us beforehand, which of necessity we ought to do in common to all men; as to afford fire, and water, and food to all such as want it; to show them the roads; and not to let any man be unburied. He also would have us treat those that are esteemed our enemies, with moderation; for he doth not allow us to set their country on fire, nor permit us to cut down those trees that bear fruit: nay, farther, he forbids us to spoil those that have been slain in war. He hath also provided for such as are taken captive, that they may not be injured, and especially that the women may not be abused. Indeed he hath taught us gentleness and humanity so effectually, that he hath despised the care of brute beasts, by permitting no other than a regular use of them, and forbidding any other; and if any of them come to our house like suppliants, we are forbidden to slay them: nor may we kill the dame, together with their young ones; but we are obliged, even in an enemy's country, to spare and not to kill those creatures that labour for mankind. Thus hath our legislators contrived to teach us an equitable conduct every way, by using us to such laws as instruct us therein, while at the same time he hath ordained, that such as break these laws should be punished, without the allowance of any excuse whatsoever.

31. Now the greatest part of offences with us is capital: as if any one be guilty of adultery; if any one force a virgin; if any one be so impatient as to attempt sodomy with a male; or if, upon another's making an attempt upon him, he submits to be so used. There is also a law for slaves of the like nature, that can never be avoided. Moreover, if any one cheats another in measures or weights, or makes a knavish bargain and sale, in order to cheat another; if any one steal what belongs to another, and takes what he never deposited; all these and punishments allotted them, not such as are met with among other nations, but more severe ones. And as for attempts of unjust behaviour towards persons or property against God, though they be not actually accomplished, the offenders are destroyed immediately. However, the reward for such as live exactly according to the laws, is not silver or gold: it is not a garland of olive-branches or of smallol, nor any such public sign of commendation: but every good man hath his own conscience bearing witness to himself, and by virtue of our legislator's pious spirit, and of the firm security God himself affords such a one, he believes that God hath made this grant to those that observe these laws, even though they be obliged readily to die for them, that they shall come into being again, and at a certain revolution of things, receive a better life than they had enjoyed before. Nor would I venture to write thus at this time, were it not well known to all by our actions that many of our people have many a time bravely resolved to endure any sufferings, rather than speak one word against our law.

32. Nay, indeed, in case it had so fallen out, that our nation had not been so thoroughly known among all men as they are, and our voluntary submission to our laws had not been so open and manifest as it is, that somebody had pretended to have written these laws himself, and had read them to the Greeks, or had pretended that he had met with them out of the limits of the known world, that had such reverend notions of God, and had continued for a long time in the firm observance of such laws as ours, I cannot but suppose that all men...
would admire them on a reflection upon the frequent changes they had therein been themselves subject to; and this while those that have attempted to write somewhat of the same kind for politic government, and for laws, are accused as composing monstrous things, and are said to have undertaken an impossible task upon them. And here I will say nothing of those other philosophers, who have undertaken any thing of this nature in their writings. But even Plato himself, who is so admired by the Greeks on account of that gravity in his discourse and force in his words, and that ability he had to persuade men beyond all other philosophers, is little better than laughed at, and exposed to ridicule on that account, by those that pretend to sagacity in political affairs; although he that shall diligently peruse his writings, will find his precepts to be somewhat gentle, and pretty near to the customs of the generality of mankind. Nay, Plato himself confesseth that it is not safe to publish the true notion concerning God among the ignorant multitude. Yet do some men look upon Plato's discourses as no better than certain idle words set off with great artifice. However, the lawgiver was the principal lawgiver; and all men celebrate Sparta for having continued in the firm observance of his laws for a very long time. So far then we have gained, that it is to be confessed a mark of virtue to submit to laws. But then let such as admire this in the Lacedemonians compare that duration of theirs with more than two thousand years, which our political government hath continued; and let them farther consider, that though the Lacedemonians did seem to observe their laws, yet while they enjoyed their liberty, yet that when they undertook a change in their fortune, they forgot almost all those laws; while we, having been under ten thousand changes in our fortune by the changes that happened among the kings of Asia, have never betrayed our laws under the most pressing distresses we have been in; nor have we neglected them either out of sloth or for a livelihood. Nay, if any one will consider it, the difficulties and labours laid upon us, have been greater than what appears to have been borne by the Lacedemonian fortune, while they neither ploughed nor sowed, nor travelled, nor lived in their own city, free from all such pains-taking, in the enjoyment of plenty, and using such exercises as might improve their bodies, while they made use of other men as their servants for all the necessaries of life, and had their food prepared for them by the others; and these good and humane actions they do for no other purpose but this, that by their actions and their sufferings, they may be able to conquer all those against whom they make war. I need not add this, that they have not been fully able to observe their laws; for not only a few single persons, but multitudes of them, have in besp sed neglected those laws, and have delivered themselves, now as, together with their arms, into the hands of their enemies.

33. Now as for ourselves, I venture to say, that no one can tell of so many; nay, not of more than one or two that have betrayed our laws, no not out of fear of death itself; I do not mean such an easy death as happens in battles, but that which comes with bodily torments, and seems to be the severest kind of death of all others. Now I think, those that have conquered us have put us to such deaths, not out of their hatred to us when they had subdued us, but rather out of their desire of seeing a surprising sight, which is this, whether there be such men in the world who believe that no evil is to them so great as to be compelled to do or to speak any thing contrary to their own laws. Nor ought men to wonder at us, if we are more courageous in dying for our laws than for our lives; for other men are; for other men do not easily submit to the easier things in which we are instituted; I mean working with our hands, and eating but little, and being contented to eat and drink, not at random, or at every one's pleasure, or being under inviolable rules in lying with our wives, in magnificent furniture, and again in the observation of our times of rest; while those that can use their swords in war, and can put their enemies to flight when they attack them, cannot bear to submit to such laws about their way of living; whereas we being accustomed willingly to submit to laws in these instances, renders us fit to show our fortitude upon other occasions also.

34. Yet do the Lysimachi and the Molones, and some other writers (unskilful sophists as they are, and the deceivers of young men) reprove us as the vilest of all mankind. Now I have no mind to make an inquiry into the laws of other nations; for the custom of our country is to keep our own laws, but not to accuse the laws of others. And indeed, our legislator hath expressly forbidden us to laugh at and revile those that are esteemed gods by other people, on account of the very name of God ascribed to them. But since our antagonists think to run us down upon the comparison of their religion and ours, it is not possible to keep silence here, especially while what I shall say to confute these men will not be now first said, but hath been already said by many, and these of the highest reputation also; for who is there among those that have been adored among the Greeks for wisdom, who hath not greatly blamed both the most famous poets and most celebrated legislators, for spreading such notions originally in the body of the people in concerning the gods? such as these, that they may be allowed to be as numerous as they have a mind to have them; that they are begotten one by another, and that after all the kinds of generation you can imagine. They also distinguish them in their places and ways of living, as they would distinguish several sorts of animals: as some to be under the earth; some to be in the sea; and the ancientest of them all to be bound in hell; and for some to whom they have allotted heaven, they have set over them one, who in this is their father, but in his actions a tyrant and a lord; whence it came to pass that his wife, and his brother, and (daughter which daughter he brought forth from his own head), made a conspiracy against him to seize upon him and confine him, as he had himself seized upon and confined his own father before.

35. And justly have the wisest men thought these notions deserved severe rebukes; they also laugh at them for determining that we ought to believe some of the gods to be beardless and young, and others of them to be old, and to have beards accordingly: that some are set to trades; that one god is

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"It may not be amiss to set down here a very remarkable testimony of the great philosopher Cicero, as to the preference of "laws to philosophy." He says, 'I hold it not only desirable to publish, -—tion of the philosophers, that it is not to be not only of the greatest weight, but also much more useful.'—In Orat."

"Or, We have observed our times of rest, and sorts of food allowed us during our distresses."
a smith, and another goddess is a weaver; that one god is a warrior, and fights with men; that some of them are harpers, or delight in archery; and besides, that mutual seditions arise among them, and that they quarrel about men, and this so far, that they not only lay hands upon one another, but that they are wounded by men, and lament, and take on for such their affictions; but what is the grossest of all in point of lasciviousness, are those unbound lusts ascribed to almost all of them, and their amours; which how can it be other than a most absurd supposal, especially when it reaches to those male gods, and to the female goddesses also! Moreover, the chief of all their gods, and their first father himself, overlooks those goddesses whom he hath deluded and begotten with child, and suffers them to be kept in prison, or drowned in the sea. He is also so bound up by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding of tears.—These are fine things indeed! as are the rest that follow. Adulteries truly are so impudently looked on in heaven by the gods, that some of them have confessed they envied those that were found in the very act; and why should they not do so, seeing the eldest of all, who is his king also, hath not been able to restrain himself in the violence of his lust, from lying with his wife, so long as they might get into their bed-chamber! Now, some of the gods are servants to men, and will sometimes be builders for a reward, and sometimes will be shepherds; while others of them, like malefactors, are bound in a prison of brass; and what sober person is there who would not be provoked at such stories, and rebuke those that forsook them, and condemn the great silliness of those that admit them for true! Nay, others there are that have advanced a certain timorousness and fear, as also madness and fraud, and any other of the vilest passions, into the nature and form of gods, and have persuaded whole cities to offer sacrifices to the better sort of them; on which account they have been absolutely forced to esteem some gods as the givers of good things, and to call others of them averter of evil. They also endeavour to move them, as they would the vilest of men, by gifts and presents, as looking for nothing else than to receive some great mischief from them, unless they pay them such wages.

36. Wherefore it deserves our inquiry what should be the occasion of this unjust management, and of these scandals about the Deity. And truly I suppose it to be derived from the imperfect knowledge the heathen legislators had at first of the true nature of God; nor did they explain to the people even so far as they did comprehend of it: nor did they compose the other parts of their political settlements according to it but omitted it as a thing of very little consequence, and gave leave both to the poets to introduce what gods they pleased, and those subject to all sorts of passions, and to the orators to procure political decrees from the people for the admission of such foreign gods as they thought proper. The painters also, and statuaries of Greece, had herein great power, as each of them could contrive a shape [proper for a God]; the one to be formed out of clay, and the other by making a bare picture of such a one; but those workmen that were principally admired, had the use of gold as the constant materials for whereby it comes to pass that some deserted, while others are in great esteem, and adorned with all the rise of all kinds of purification.]. Besides this, the first gods, who have long flourished in the honours dose them, are now grown old, while those that flourished after them are come in their room as a second rank, that I may speak the most honourably of them that I can: nay, certain other gods there are who are newly introduced, and newly worshipped [as we, by way of digression have said already, and yet have left their places of worship desolate]; and for their temples, some of them are already left desolate, and others are built anew, according to the necessities of men; whereas they should have preserved their opinion about God, and that worship which is due to him, always and immutably the same.

37. But now, this Apollonius Molo was one of these foolish and proud men. However, noting that I have said was unknown to those that were real philosophers among the Greeks, nor were they unacquainted with those frigid pretences of allegories [which had been alleged for such things] on which account they justly despised them, but have still agreed with us as to the true and becoming notions of God, who is the eldest of all, they have not have political settlements to admit of any of the other poets, and dismisses even Homer himself, with a garland on his head, and with ointment poured upon him, and this because he should destroy the right notions of God with his fables. Nay, Plato principally imitated our legislator is this point, that he enjoined his citizens to have the main regard to this precept, "That every one of them should learn their laws accurately." He also ordained, that they should not admit of foreigners intermixing with their own people at random; and provided that the commonwealth should keep itself pure, and consist of such only as persevered in their own laws. Apollonius Molo did no way consider this, when he made it one branch of his accusation against us, that we do not admit of such as have different notions about God, nor will we have fellowship with those that choose to observe a way of living different from ourselves; yet is this method peculiar to us, but common to all other men; not among the ordinary Greeks only, but among such of those Greeks as are of the greatest reputation among them. Moreover, the Lacedemonians continued in their way of expelling foreigners, and would not, indeed, give leave to their own people to travel abroad, as suspecting that those two things would introduce a dissolution of their own laws; and perhaps there may be some reason to blame the rigid severity of the Lacedemonians, for they bestowed the privilege of their city on no foreigners, nor would give leave to them to stay among them; whereas we, though we do not think fit to imitate other institutions, yet do we willingly admit of those that desire to partake of ours, which I think I may reckon to be a plain indication of our humanity and at the same time of our magnanimity also.

38. But I shall say no more of the Lacedemonians. As for the Athenians, who glory in having made their city to be common to all men, what their behaviour was, Apollonius did not know, while they punished those that spoke contrary to their laws about the gods, without mercy; for on what other account was it that Socrates was put to death by them I Certainly, he neither betrayed their city to its enemies, nor was he guilty of sacrilege toward their temples; but on this account, that he
that form of their government which suffer them not to associate with any others, as well as their contempt of matrimony! And why do not the Eleians and Thebans abolish that unnatural and impious lust, which makes them live with males? For they will not shew a sufficient sign of the repentance of what they of old thought to be very excellent, and very advantageous in their practices, unless they entirely avoid all such actions for the time to come: nay, such things are inserted into the body of their laws, and had once such a power among the Greeks, that they ascribed these sodomy practices to the gods themselves, as part of their good character; and indeed it was according to the same manner that the gods married their own sisters. This the Greeks contrived as an apology for their own abased and unnatural pleasures.

39. I omit to speak concerning punishments, and how many ways of escaping them the greatest part of legislators have afforded malefactors, by ordaining that, for adulteries, fines in money should be allowed, and for corrupting [virgins] they need only marry them; as also what excuses they may have in denying the facts, if any one should attempt to inquire into them; for amongst most other nations it is a studied art how men may transgress their laws! but no such thing is permitted amongst us; for though we be deprived of our wealth, of our cities, or of other advantages we have, our law continues immortal; nor can any Jew go so far from his own country, nor be so affrighted at the severest lord, as not to be more affrighted at the law than at him. If, therefore, this be the disposition we are under, with regard to the excellency of our laws, let our enemies make use of this concession, that our laws are most excellent; and if still they imagine that though we so firmly adhere to them, yet are they had laws notwithstanding, what penalties then do they deserve to undergo who do not observe their own laws, which they esteem superior! Whereas, therefore, length of time is esteemed to be the truest touchstone in all cases, I would make that a testimonial of the excellency of our laws, and of that belief thereby delivered to us concerning God; for as there hath been a very long time for this comparison, if any one will but compare its duration with the duration of the laws made by other legislators, he will find our legislator to have been the most ancient of them all.

40. We have already demonstrated that our laws have been such as have always inspired admiration and imitation into all other men: nay, the earliest Grecian philosophers, though in appearance they observed the laws of their own countries, yet did they, in their actions and their philosophic doctrines, follow our legislator, and instructed men to live sparingly, and to have friendly communication one with another. Nay, farther, the multitude of mankind itself have had a great inclination of a long time to follow our religious observances; for there is not any city of the Grecians, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever, whither our

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*a See what these novel mores were in Dr. Hudson's note, viz. to swear by an oak, by a pest, and by a dog, as also by a woman, so says Philostratus and others. The swearing also was forbidden by the Tyrians, b. i. sect. 20, as Suidas herein notes.
customs of resting on the seventh day hath not come, and by which our fasts and lighting up lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to our food, are not observed; they also endeavour to imitate our mutual concord with one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in our trades, and our fortitude in undergoing the distresses we are in, on account of our laws; and, what is here matter of the greatest admiration, our law hath no bait of pleasure to allure men to it, but it prevails by its own force; and as God himself pervades all the world, so hath our law passed through all the world also. So that if any one will but reflect on his own country, and his own family, he will have reason to give credit to what I say. It is therefore but just, either to condemn all mankind of indulging a wicked disposition, when they have been so desirous of imitating laws that are to them foreign and evil in themselves, rather than following laws of their own that are of a better character, or else our accusers must leave off their spite against us; nor are we guilty of any envious behaviour towards them, when we honour our own legislator, and believe what he, by his prophetic authority, hath taught us concerning God; for though we should not be able ourselves to understand the excellency of our own laws, yet would the great multitude of those that desire to imitate them, justify us, in greatly valuing ourselves upon them.

41. But as for the [distinct] political laws by which we are governed, I have delivered them accurately in my books of Antiquities; and have only mentioned them now, so far as was necessary to my present purpose, without proposing to myself either to blame the laws of other nations, or to make an encomium upon our own,—but in order to convict those that have written about us unjustly, and in an impudent affectation of disguising the truth:—and now I think I have sufficiently completed what I proposed in writing these books; for whereas our accusers have pretended that our nation are a people of very late origin, I have demonstrated that they are exceeding ancient; for I have produced, as witnesses thereto, many ancient writers, who have made mention of us in their books, while they said no such writer had so done. Moreover, they said that we were sprung from the Egyptians, while I have proved that we came from another country into Egypt; while they had told lies of us, as if we were expelled thence on account of diseases on our bodies, it has appeared on the contrary, that we returned to our country by our own choice, and with sound and strong bodies. These accusers reproached our legislator as a vile fellow; whereas God in old time bare witness to his virtuous conduct; and since that testimony of God, time itself hath been discovered to have borne witness to the same thing.

42. As to the laws themselves, more words are unnecessary, for they are visible in their own nature, and appear to teach not impiety, but the true piety in the world. They do not make men hates one another, but encourage people to communicate what they have, to one another freely; they are enemies to injustice, they take care of righteousness, they banish idleness and expensive living, and instruct men to be content with what they have, and to be laborious in their callings; they forbid men to make war from a desire of getting more, but make men courageous in defending the laws: they are inexorable in punishing malefactors: they admit no sophistry of words, but are always established by actions themselves, which actions we ever propose as surer demonstrations than what is contained in writing only; on which account I am bold as to say that we are become the teachers of other men, in the greatest number of things, and that the most excellent nature only; for what is more excellent than inviolable piety? what is more just than submission to laws? and what is more advantageous than mutual love and concord? and this far that we are to be neither divided by calamities, nor to become injurious and seditions in prosperity; but to continue devoted when we are in war, and, in peace, to apply ourselves to our mechanical occupations, or to our tillage of the ground; while we all things, and in all ways, are satisfied that God is the inspector and governor of our actions. If these precepts had either been written at first, or more exactly kept by any others before us, we should have owed them thanks as disciples owe to their masters; but if it be visible that we have made use of them more than any other use, and if we have demonstrated that the original invention of them is our own, let Apion, and the Molones, and all the rest of those that delight in lies and reproaches, stand confounded; but let this, and the foregoing book be dedicated to thee, Epiphonius, who art so great a lover of truth, and by thy means to those that have been in like manner desirous to be acquainted with the affairs of our nation.
Now as to Hades, wherein the souls of the righteous and unrighteous are detained, it is necessary to speak of it. Hades is a place in the world not properly finished; a subterraneous region, where the light of this world does not shine; from which circumstance, that in this place the light does not shine, it cannot be but there must be in it perpetual darkness. This region is allowed as a place of custody for souls, in which angels are appointed as guardians to them, who distribute to them temporary punishments, agreeable to every one's behaviour and manners.

In this region there is a certain place set apart, as a lake of unquenchable fire, wherein we suppose no one hath hitherto been cast; but it is prepared for a day afore-determined by God, in which one righteous sentence shall deservedly be passed upon all men; when the unjust and those that have been disobedient to God, and have given honour to such idols as have been the vain operations of the hands of men, as to God himself, shall be adjudged to this everlasting punishment, as having been the causes of defilement; while the just shall obtain an incorruptible and never-fading kingdom. These are now indeed confined in Hades, but not in the same place wherein the unjust are confined.

For there is one descent into this region, at whose gate we believe there stands an archangel with an host; which gate when these pass through that are conducted down by the angels appointed over souls, they do not go the same way; but the just are guided to the right hand, and are led by hymns, sung by the angels appointed over that place, unto a region of light, in which the just have dwelt from the beginning of the world; not constrained by necessity, but ever enjoying the prospect of the good things they see, and rejoicing in the expectation of those new enjoyments which will be peculiar to every one of them, and esteeming those things beyond what we have here; with whom there is no place of toil, no burning heat, no piercing cold, nor are any briers there; but the countenance of the fathers and of the just, which they see, always smiles upon them, while they wait for that rest and eternal new life in heaven, which is to succeed this region. This place we call The Bosom of Abraham.

But as to the unjust, they are dragged by force to the left hand, by the angels allotted for punishment, no longer going with a good-will, but as prisoners driven by violence; to whom are sent the angels appointed over them to reproach them and to threaten them with their terrible looks, and to thrust them still downwards. Now those angels that are set over these souls, drag them into the neighbourhood of hell itself; who, when they are hard by it, continually hear the noise of it, and do not stand clear of the hot vapour itself; but when they have a nearer view of this spectacle, as of a terrible and exceeding great prospect of fire, they are struck with a fearful expectation of a future judgment, and in effect punished thereby; and not only so, but where they see the place [or choir] of the fathers and of the just, even hereby are they punished; for a chaos deep and large is fixed between them; insomuch that a just man that hath compassion upon them, cannot be admitted, nor can one that is unjust, if he were bold enough to attempt it, pass over it.

This is the discourse concerning Hades, wherein the souls of all men are confined until a proper season, which God hath determined, when he will make a resurrection of all men from the dead, not procuring a transmigration of souls from one body to another, but raising again those very bodies, which you Greeks, seeing to be dissolved, do not believe [their resurrection]; but learn not to disbelief it; for while you believe that the soul is created, and yet is made immortal by God, according to the doctrine of Plato, and this in time, be not incredulous; but believe that God is able when he hath raised to life that body which was made as a compound of the same elements, to make it immortal; for it must never be said of God, that he is able to do some things, and unable to do others. We have therefore believed that the body will be raised again; for although it be dissolved, it is not perished; for the earth receives its remains, and preserves them; and while they are like seed, and are mixed among the more fruitful soil, they flourish, and what is even is indeed sown bare grain; but at the mighty sound of God the Creator, it will sprout up, and be raised in a clothed and glorious condition, though not before it has been dissolved, and mixed [with the earth]. So that we have not rashly believed the resurrection of the body; for although it be dissolved for a time on account of the original transgression, it exists still, and is cast
into the earth as into a potter’s furnace, in order to be formed again, not in order to rise again as it was before, but in a state of purity, and so as never to be destroyed any more: and to every body shall its own soul be restored; and when it hath clothed itself with that body, it will not be subject to misery, but, being itself pure, it will continue with its pure body, and rejoice with it, with which it having walked righteously now in this world, and never having had it as a snare, it will receive it again with great gladness: but as for the unjust, they will receive their bodies not changed, not freed from diseases or distempers, nor made glorious, but with the same diseases wherein they died; and such as they were in their unbelief, the same shall they be when they shall be faithfully judged.

6. For all men, the just as well as the unjust, shall be brought before God the word; for to him hath the Father committed all judgment; and he, in order to fulfill the will of his Father, shall come our Judge, whom we call Christ. For Moises and Rhesias also, who do not judge, as you suppose, but he whom God even the Father hath glorified; concerning whom we have elsewhere given a more particular account, for the sake of those who seek after truth. This person, exercising the righteous judgment of the Father towards all men, hath prepared a just sentence for every one, according to his works; at whose judgment-seat when all men, and angels, and demons shall stand, they will send forth one voice, and say, just is thy judgment; the rejoinder to which will bring a just sentence upon both parties, by giving justly to those that have done well an everlasting fruition; but allotting to the lovers of wicked works eternal punishment. To these belong the unquenchable fire, and that without end, and a certain fiery worm never dying, and not destroying the body, but continuing its extraction out of the body with never-ceasing grief; neither will sleep give ease to these men, nor will the night afford them comfort; death will not free them from their punishment, nor will the interceding prayers of their kindred profit them; for the just are no longer seen by them, nor are they thought worthy of remembrance; but the just shall remember only their righteous actions, whereby they have attained the heavenly kingdom, in which there is no sleep, no sorrow, no corruption, no care, no night, no day measured by time, no sun driven in his course along the circle of heaven by necessity, and measuring out the bounds and conversions of the seasons, for the better illumination of the life of men; no moon decreasing and increasing, or introducing a variety of seasons, nor will she then moisten the earth; no burning sun, no Bear turning round [the pole], no Orion to rise, no wandering of innumerable stars. The earth will not then be difficult to be passed over, nor will it be hard to find out the court of Paradise, nor will there be any fearful roaring of the sea, forbidding the passengers to walk on it: even that will be made easily passable to the just, though it will not be void of moisture. Heaven will not then be inhabitable by men; and it will not be impossible to discover the way of ascending thither. The earth will not be uncultivated, nor require too much labour of men, but will bring forth its fruits of its own accord, and will be well adorned with them. There will be no more generations of wild beasts, nor will the substance of the rest of the animals shoot out any more: for it will not produce men, but the number of the righteous will continue, and never fail, together with righteous angels, and spirits [of God], and with his word, as a choir of righteous men and women that never grow old, and continue in an incorruptible state, singing hymns to God, who hath advanced them to that happiness, by the means of a regular institution of life; with whom the whole creation also will lift up a perpetual hymn from corruption to incorruption, as glorified by a splendid and pure spirit. It will not then be restrained by a bond of necessity, but with a lively freedom shall offer up a voluntary hymn, and shall praise him that made them, together with the angels, and spirits, and men now freed from all bondage.

7. And now, if you Gentiles will be persuaded by these motives, and leave your vain imaginations about your pedigrees, and gaining of riches and philosophy, and will not spend your time about subtilties of words, and thereby lead your minds into error, and if you will apply your ears to the hearing of the inspired prophets, the interpreters, both of God and of his word, and will believe in God, you shall both be partakers of these things, and obtain the good things that are to come; you shall see the ascent into the immense heavens plainly, and that kingdom which is there; for what God hath now concealed in silence [will be then made manifest], what neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him.

8. In whatsoever ways I shall find you, in them shall I judge you entirely; so cries the end of all things. And he who hath at first lived a virtuous life, but towards the latter end falls into vice, these labours by him before endured, shall be altogether vain and unprofitable, even as in a play, brought to an ill catastrophe. Whosoever shall have lived wickedly and luxuriously may repent; however, there will be need of much time to conquer an evil habit, and even after repentance his whole life must be guarded with great care and diligence, after the manner of a body, which, after it hath been a long time afflicted with a distemper, requires a stricter diet and method of living; for though it may be possible, perhaps, to break off the chain of our irregular affections at once,—yet our amendment cannot be secured without the grace of God, the prayers of good men, the help of the brethren, and our own sincere repentance and constant care. It is a good thing not to sin at all; it is also good, having sinned, to repent,—as it is best to have health always; but it is a good thing to recover from a distemper. To God be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.
APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION I.

THE TESTIMONIES OF JOSEPHUS CONCERNING JESUS CHRIST, JOHN THE BAPTIST AND JAMES THE JUST, VINDICATED.

Since we meet with several important testimonies in Josephus, the Jewish historian, concerning John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, and concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus of Nazareth; and since the principal testimony, which is that concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, has of late been greatly questioned by many, and rejected by some of the learned as spurious, it will be fit for me, who have ever declared my firm belief that these testimonies were genuine, to set down fairly some of the original evidence and citations I have met with in the first fifteen centuries concerning them; and then to make proper observations upon that evidence, for the reader's more complete satisfaction.

But before I produce the citations themselves, out of Josephus, give me leave to prepare the reader's attention, by setting down the sentiments of perhaps the most learned person, and the most competent judge that ever was, as to the authority of Josephus, I mean of Joseph Scaliger, in the Prolegomena to his book De Emendatione Temporum, p. 17. "Josephus is the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers; nor are we afraid to affirm of him, that it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers; and this, because his fidelity and his compass of learning are everywhere conspicuous."

THE ANCIENT CITATIONS OF THE TESTIMONIES OF JOSEPHUS, FROM HIS OWN TIME TILL THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

About A.D. 110. Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. cap. 44.
—Nero, in order to stifle the rumour, [as if he himself had set Rome on fire], ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar, Christians; these he punished exquisitely. The author of this name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate the procurator.

About A.D. 147. Just. Mart. Dial. omn Trypt. p. 230.—You [Jews] know that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretell to happen.

About A.D. 230. Origen. Comment. in Matth. p. 234.—This James was of so shining a character among the people, on account of his righteousness, that Flavius Josephus, when, in his twentieth book of the Jewish Antiquities, he had a mind to set down what was the cause why the people suffered such miseries, till the very holy house was demolished, he said, that these things befell them by the anger of God, on account of what they had dared to do to James, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ; and wonderful it is, that while he did not receive Jesus for Christ, he did nevertheless bear witness that James was so righteous a man. He says farther, that the people thought they had suffered these things for the sake of James.

About A.D. 250. Id. Contr. Cel. lib. i. p. 35, 36.—I would say to Celsus, who denieth a Jew, that admitted of John the Baptist and how he baptized Jesus, that one who lived but a little while after John and Jesus, wrote, how that John was a baptizer unto the remission of sins; for Josephus testifieth in the eighteenth book of his Jewish Antiquities, that John was the Baptist; and that he promised purification to those that were baptized. The same Josephus also, although he did not believe in Jesus as Christ, when he was inquiring after the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the demolition of the temple, and ought to have said that their machinations against Jesus were the cause of those miseries coming on the people, because they had slain that Christ who was foretold by the prophets, he, though as it were unwillingly, and yet as one not remote from the truth, says, "these miseries befell the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called Christ; because they had slain him who was a most righteous person." Now this James was he whom that genuine disciple of Jesus, Paul, said he had seen as the Lord's brother [Gal. i. 19]; which relation implies not so much nearness of blood, or the same nature of education, as it does the agreement of manners and preaching. If therefore he says the desolation of Jerusalem befell the Jews for the sake of James, with how much greater reason might he have said that it happened for the sake of Jesus? &c.

About A.D. 324. Euseb. Demonstr. Ecan. lib. iii. p. 124. Certainly, the attestation of those I have already produced concerning our Saviour may be sufficient. However, it may not be amiss, if, over and above, we make use of Josephus the Jew for a farther witness; who, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, when he was writing the history of what happened under Pilate, makes mention of our Saviour in these words:—"Now there was about this time, Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful
to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as had a veneration for truth. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles: he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first, did not forsake him; for he appeared unto them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had spoken of these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him: whences the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. If therefore we have this historian's testimony, that he not only brought over to himself the twelve apostles, with the seventy disciples, but many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also, he must manifestly have had somewhat in him extraordinary, above the rest of mankind; for how otherwise could he draw over so many of the Jews and of the Gentiles, unless he performed admirable and amazing works, and used a method of teaching that was not common? Moreover, the scripture of the Acts of the Apostles (xxi, 20.) bears witness, that there were many ten thousands of Jews, who were persuaded that he was the Christ of God, who was foretold by the prophets.

About A.D. 350. Id. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 11. Now the divine scripture of the Gospel makes mention of John the Baptist as having his head cut off by the younger Herod. Josephus also concours in this history, and makes mention of Herodias by name, as the wife of his brother, whom Herod had married, upon divorcing his former lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petran Arabians; and which Herodias he had parted from her husband while he was alive; on which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas [Aretas made war with him], because his daughter had been used dishonourably: in which war, when it came to a battle, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed; and that he suffered this because of his wicked contrivance against John. Moreover, the same Josephus, by acknowledging John to have been a most righteous man, and the Baptist, conspires in his testimony with what is written in the Gospels. He also relates, that Herod lost his kingdom for the sake of the same Herodias, together with whom he was himself condemned to be banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul; and this is his account in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes this of John terribilis:

"Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and one that commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism, for that by this means, the washing [with water] would appear acceptable to him, when they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body, supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified before it was cleansed when [the others] came in crowds about him, for they were greatly delighted in hearing his words, Herod was afraid that this so great power of persuading men might tend to some sedition or other, for they seemed to be disposed to do every thing he should advise them to, so he supposed it better to prevent any attempt from him, by cutting him off, than after any such mutation should be brought about, and the public should suffer, to repent [of such negligence]. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicions, to Maceberus, the castle I before mentioned, and here, &c."

When Josephus had said this of John, he makes mention also of our Saviour, in the same history after this manner: Now there was about this time, one Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles also: he was the Christ. And when Pilate at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him: and still the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. And since this writer, sprang from the Hebrews themselves, hath delivered these things above, in his own work, concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what room is there for any further evasion, &c.

Now James was so wonderful a person, and was so celebrated by all others for righteousness, as that the judicious Jews thought this to have been the occasion of that siege of Jerusalem, which came so presently after his martyrdom; and that it befell them for no other reason than that infamous fact they were guilty of against him. Josephus therefore did not refuse to attest theoreto in writing, by the words following: These miseries befall the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called Christ, or account that they had slain him who was a most righteous person.

The same Josephus declares the manner of his death in the twentieth book of the Antiquities, in these words: Caesar sent Albinus into Judea to be procurator, when he had heard that Festus was dead. Now Ananus, junior, who, as we said, had been admitted to the high-priesthood, was in his temper bold and daring in an extraordinary manner. He was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are more savage in judgment than any of the other Jews, as we have already signified. Since therefore this was the character of Ananus, he thought he had now a proper opportunity to exercise his authority; because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road: so he assembled the sanhedrin of judges, and brings before them James, the brother of Jesus who was called Christ, and some others of his companions; and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those who were the most uneasy at the breach of the law, they disliked what was done. They also sent it to the king [Agrippa], desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done could not be justified, &c.

About A.D. 360. Ambrose, or Hegesippus & Euseb. Urb. Hierosolym. lib. ii. cap. 12. We have discovered that it was the opinion and belief of the Jews, as Josephus affirms (who is an author not to be rejected, when he writes against himself), that Herod lost his army, not by the desert of men, but
by the anger of God, and that justly, as an effect of
revenge for what he did to John the Baptist, a just
man, who had said to him, It is not lawful for thee
to have thy brother's wife.

The Jews themselves also bear witness to Christ, as
a wise man, the writer of their history, who says thus:—
That there was at that time a wise man, if (says he) it be lawful to have him called
a man, a doer of wonderful works, who appeared to his
disciples after the third day from his death,
alive again, according to the writings of the
prophets, who foretold these, and innumerable other
miraculous events concerning him; from whom
began the congregation of Christians, and hath
penetrated among all sorts of men: nor doe there
remain any nation in the Roman world which con-
tinues strangers to his religion." If the Jews do
not believe us, let them at least believe their own
writers. Josephus, whom they esteem a very great
man, hath said this, and yet hath he spoken truth
after such a manner; and so far was his mind wan-
dered from the right way, that even he was not a
believer as to what he himself said; but thus he
spake, in order to deliver historical truth, because
he thought it was not lawful for him to deceive,
while yet he was no believer, because of the hard-
ness of his heart and his perfidious intention. How-
ever, it was no prejudice to the truth that he was
not a believer; but this adds more weight to his
testimony, that while he was an unbeliever, and
unwilling this should be true, he has not denied it
to be so.

About A.D. 450. Hieronym. de Vir. Illustr. in
Josepho.—Josephus in the eighteenth book of An-
tiquities, most expressly acknowledges that Christ
was slain by the Pharisees, on account of the great-
ness of his miracles; and that John the Baptist was
truly a prophet; and that Jerusalem was de-
stroyed on account of the slaying of James the
apostle. Now, he wrote concerning our Lord after
this manner:—"At the same time there was Jesus,
a wise man, if you be lawful to call him; for he was a
doer of wonderful works, a teacher of those
who willingly receive the truth. He had
many followers, both of the Jews and of the Gentiles:
— he was believed to be Christ. And when
by the envy of our principal men, Pilate had con-
demned him to the cross, yet notwithstanding,
those who had loved him at first persevered, for he
appeared to them alive on the third day, as the
oracles of the prophets had foretold many of these
and other wonderful things concerning him; and
the sect of Christians, so named from him, are not
extinct at this day."

About A.D. 410. Isidorus Pelusiacus, the Scholar
of Chrysostom, lib. iv. epist. 225.—There was one
Josephus, a Jew of the greatest reputation, and one
that was zealous of the law; one also that para-
phrased the Old Testament with truth, and acted
vainly for the Jews, and had showed that their
settlement was nobler than can be described by
words. Now since he made their interest give
place to truth, for he would not support the opinion
of impious men, I think it necessary to set down
his words. What then does he say? "Now there
was a wise man, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of
wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive
the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both
many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles:—he
was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the sugges-
tion of the principal men among us, had condemned
him to the cross, those that loved him at first, did
not forsake him; for he appeared to them the third
day alive again, as the divine prophets had said
these, and a vast number of other wonderful things
concerning him: and the tribe of Christians, so
named from him, are not extinct at this day." Now I
cannot but wonder greatly at this great man's love
of truth in many respects, but chiefly where he
says, "Jesus was a teacher of men who received
the truth with pleasure."

cap. 1. Now Josephus, the son of Matthias, a
priest, a man of very great note, both among the
Jews and the Romans, may well be a witness of
credit as to the truth of Christ's history; for he
scrupled to call him a man, as being a doer of won-
derful works, and a teacher of the words of truth.
He names him Christ openly; and is not ignorant
that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared
on the third day alive, and that ten thousand other
wonderful things were foretold of him by the divine
prophets. He testifies also, that those whom he
drew over to him, being many of the Gentiles, as
well as of the Jews, continued to love him, and
that the tribe named from him was not then extinct.
Now he seems to me by this relation almost to
proclaim that Christ is God. However he appears
to have been so affected with the strangeness of the
thing, as to run, as it were, in a sort of middle way,
so as not to put any indignity upon believers in him,
but rather to afford his suffrage to them.

About A.D. 510. Cassiodorus Hist. Tripartit. 4
Sosomone.—Now Josephus, the son of Matthias,
and a priest, a man of great nobility among the Jews,
and of great dignity among the Romans, shall be
a truth of Christ's history: for he dare not call him
a man, as a doer of famous works, and a teacher of
true doctrines: he names him Christ openly; and
is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross,
and appeared on the third day alive, and that
an infinite number of others foretold of him by the holy prophets. Moreover, he
testifies also, that there were then alive many
whom he had chosen, both Greeks and Jews, and
that they continued to love him; and that the sect
which was named from him was by no means extinct
at that time.

About A.D. 640. Chron. Alex. p. 514.—Now
Josephus also relates in his eighteenth book of the
Antiquities, how John the Baptist, that holy man,
was beheaded, on account of Herodias, the wife of
Philip, the brother of Herod himself; for Herod
had divorced his former wife, who was still alive,
and had been his lawful wife: she was the daugh-
ter of Aretas, king of the Petreans. When there-
tofore Herod had taken Herodias away from her hus-
bond, while he was yet alive (on whose account he
killed John also), Aretas made war against Herod,
because his daughter had been dishonourably
treated. In which war, he says, that all Herod's
army was destroyed, and that he suffered that ex-
lampity because of the wickedness he had been guilty
of against John. The same Josephus relates, that
Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias,
and that with her he was banished to Lyons, &c.

p. 626, 627.) Now that our Saviour taught his
preaching three years, is demonstrated both by
other necessary reasonings, as also out of the holy
Gospels, and out of Josephus's writings, who was a
wise man among the Hebrews, &c.
P. 384, 386.] Josephus relates, in the fifth book of the [Jewish] war, that Jerusalem was taken in the third [second] year of Vespasian, as after forty years since they had dared to put Jesus to death: in which year, that James, the brother of our Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, was thrown down [from the temple], and slain of them, by stoning.

About A.D. 740. Anastasius Abbas contr. Jud. - Now Josephus, an author and writer of your own, says of Christ, that he was a just and good man, shewed and declared so to be by divine grace, who gave aid to many by signs and miracles.

About A.D. 790. Georgius Synesius Chron. p. 582.—These miseries befell the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called Christ, on the account that they had slain him who was a most righteous person. Now as Ananus, a person of that character, thought he had a proper opportunity, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road, so he assembles the sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, and some of his companions; and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but for these that seemed the most equitiable of the citizens, and those that were the most uneasy at the breaking of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also sent to the king [Agrippa], desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done could not be justified, &c.

About A.D. 850. Johan. Malala Chron. lib. x. — From that time began the destruction of the Jews, as Josephus, the philosopher of the Jews, hath written; who also said this, That from the time the Jews crucified Christ, who was a good and a righteous man (that is, if it be fit to call such a one a man, and not God), the land of Judea was never free from trouble. These things the same Josephus the Jew has related in his writings.

About A.D. 880. Photius Cod. lib. xlviii.—I have read the treatise of Josephus About the Universe, whose title I have elsewhere read to be, Of the Substance of the Universe. It is contained in two very small treatises. He treats of the origin of the world in a brief manner. However, he speaks of the divinity of Christ, who is our true God, in a way very like to what we use, declaring that the same name of Christ belongs to him, and writes of his ineffable generation of the Father after such a manner as cannot be blamed; which thing may perhaps raise a doubt in some, whether Josephus was the author of the work, though the phraseology does not at all differ from this man's other works. However, I have found in some papers, that this discourse was not written by Josephus, but by one Callus, a presbyter.

Cod. cccxviii.] Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee and of Perea, the son of Herod the Great, fell in love, as Josephus says, with the wife of his brother Philip, whose name was Berenice, who was the granddaughter of Herod the Great, by his son Aristobulus, whom he had slain. Agrippa was also her brother. Now Herod took her away from her husband, and married her. This is he that slew John the Baptist, that great man, the forerunner [of Christ], being afraid (as Josephus says) lest he should raise a sedition among his people; for they all followed the directions of John, on account of the excellency of his virtue. In his time was the passion of our Saviour.

Cod. ccxxxiii.] I have read the Chronicle of Justus of Tiberias. He omits the greatest part of what was necessary to be related; but, as infected with Jewish prejudices, being also himself a Jew by birth, he makes no mention at all of the advent, or of the acts done, or of the miracles wrought, by Christ.

The time uncertain, Macarius in Actis S. S. tom. v. p. 149. ap. Fabric. Joseph. p. 61.—Josephus, a priest of Jerusalem, and one that wrote with truth the history of the Jewish affairs, bears witness that Christ, the true God, was incarnate, and crucified, and the third day rose again; whose writings are reposed in the public library. Then he says:—"Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles also: this was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first, did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again on the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold; and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him: and still the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." Since, therefore, the writer of the Hebrews has engraved this testimony concerning our Lord and Saviour in his own book, what defence can there remain for the unbelievers?

About A.D. 380. Suidas in voc. Ιερόου.—We have found Josephus, who hath written about the taking of Jerusalem (of whom Eusebius Pamphilus makes frequent mention in his Ecclesiastical History), saying openly in his Memoirs of the Captivity, that Jesus officiated in the temple with the priests. Thus have we found Josephus saying, a man of ancient times, and not very long after the apostles, &c.

About A.D. 1080. Cedrenus, Compend. Histor. p. 196.—Josephus does indeed write concerning John the Baptist as follows:—Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that he was punished very justly for what punishment he had inflicted on John, that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to venerate virtue, both by righteousness towards one another and piety towards God, and so came to baptism. But as concerning Christ, the same Josephus says, that about that time there was Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure: for that Christ drew over many even from the Gentiles; when Pilate had crucified, those who at first had loved him did not leave off to preach concerning him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had testified, and spoke these and other wonderful things concerning him.

About A.D. 1083. Theophylact. in Joa. lib. xiii.—The city of the Jews was taken, and the wrath of God was kindled against them: as also Josephus witnesses, that this came upon them on account of the death of Jesus.

About A.D. 1120. Zonaras Annal. tom. i. p. 267.—Josephus in the eighteenth book of Antiqui-
ties, writes thus concerning our Lord and God Jesus Christ:—Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles:—he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had said these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him: and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

About A.D. 1120. Giesius Anno. p. 234.—Then did Philo, that wise man, and Josephus, flourish. This last was styled The Lover of Truth, because he commended John, who baptized our Lord; and because he bore witness that Christ, in like manner, was a wise man, and the doer of great miracles, and that, when he was crucified, he appeared the third day.

About A.D. 1170. Gewfridus Vitriensis Chron. p. 366. e Vers. Rasin.—Josephus relates that a very great war arose between Aretas, king of the Arabians, and Herod, on account of the sin which Herod had committed against John. Moreover, the same Josephus writes thus concerning Christ: There was at this time Jesus, a wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as willingly hear truth. He also drew over to him many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles:—he was Christ. And when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, those that had loved him from the beginning did not forsake him; for he appeared to them the third day alive again, according to what the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him: and the famous name of Christians, taken from him, as well as their sect, do still continue in being this day.

About A.D. 1360. Nikephorus Callistus Hist. Eccles. lib. i. p. 90, 91.—Now this [concerning Herod the tetrarch] is attested to, not only by the book of the Holy Gospels, but by Josephus, that lover of truth; who also makes mention of Herodias his brother's wife, whom Herod had taken away from him while he was alive, and married her; having divorced his former lawful wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petrean Arabians. This Herodias he had married, and lived with her: on which account also, when he had slain John, he was made war with Aretas, because his daughter had been dishonourably used; in which war he relates that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this on account of the most unjust slaughter of John. He also adds, that John was a most righteous man. Moreover, he makes mention of his baptism, agreeing in all points thereto relating with the Gospel. He also informs us, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, with whom also he was condemned to be banished to Vienna, which was their place of exile, and a city bordering upon Gaul, and lying near the utmost boundaries of the west.

About A.D. 1450. Hardmannus Schedelius Chron. p. 110.—Josephus the Jew, who was called Flavius, a priest, and the son of Matthias, a priest of that nation, a most celebrated historian, and very skilful in many things; he was certainly a good man, and of an excellent character, who had the highest opinion of Christ.

About A.D. 1480. Platina de Vita Pontificum, in Christo.—I shall avoid mentioning what Christ did until the 30th year of his age, when he was baptized by John, the son of Zacharias, because not only the Gospels and Epistles are full of those acts of his, which he did in the most excellent and most holy manner, but the books of such as were quite remote from his way of living, and acting, and ordaining, are also full of the same. Flavius Josephus himself, who wrote twenty books of Jewish Antiquities in the Greek tongue, when he had proceeded as far as the government of the emperor Tiberius, says, There was in those days Jesus, a certain wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of men, of such especially as willingly hear the truth. On this account he drew over to him many, both of the Jews and Gentiles:—he was Christ. But when Pilate, instigated by the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, yet did not those that had loved him from the beginning forsake him; and besides, he appeared to them the third day after his death alive, as the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him: and the famous name of Christians, taken from him, as well as their sect, do still continue in being.

The same Josephus also affirms, That John the Baptist, a true prophet, and on that account one that was had in esteem by all men, was slain by Herod, the son of Herod the Great, a little before the death of Christ, in the castle of Macherus,—not because he was afraid for himself and his kingdom, as the same author says,—but because he had incestuously married Herodias, the sister of Agrippa, and the wife of that excellent person his brother Philip.

About A.D. 1480. Trihenius Abbas de Script. Eccles.—Josephus the Jew, although he continued to be a Jew, did frequently commend the Christians: and in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, wrote down an eminent testimony concerning our Lord Jesus Christ.

Observations from the foregoing evidence and citations.

I. The style of all these original testimonies belonging to Josephus, is exactly the style of the same Josephus, and especially the style about those parts of his Antiquities wherein we find these testimonies. This is denied by nobody, as to the other concerning John the Baptist and James the Just, and is now become equally undeniable as to that concerning Christ.

II. These testimonies therefore being confessedly and undeniably written by Josephus himself, it is next to impossible that he should wholly omit some testimony concerning Jesus Christ; nay, while his testimonies of John the Baptist and of James the Just are so honourable, and gave them so great characters, it is also impossible that this testimony concerning Christ should be other than very honourable, or such as afforded him a still greater character also. Could the very same author who gave such a full and advantageous character of John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth,
whose disciples were by him directed to Jesus of Nazareth as to the true Messiah, and all whose disciples became afterwards the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, say nothing honourable of that Jesus of Nazareth himself—but this is in a history of those very times in which that Jesus lived and died and that while the writer lived but a little after him in the same country in which he was born, and lived, and died. This is almost incredible. And further, could the very same author, who gave such an advantageous character of James the Just, and this under the very appellation of James, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, which James was one of the principal disciples or apostles of this Jesus Christ, and had been many years the only Christian bishop of the believing Jews of Judea and Jerusalem, in the very days and in the very country of this writer—could he, I say, wholly omit any, say, a very honourable account of Jesus Christ himself, whose disciple and bishop this James most certainly was? This is also most incredible. Hear what Litigius, one of the wisest and learnedest of all those who have lately inclined to give up the testimony concerning Christ, as it stands in our copies, for spurious, says upon this occasion:—"If any one object to me, that Josephus hath not omitted John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, nor James the disciple of Christ, and that therefore he could not have done the part of a good historian, if he had been entirely silent concerning Christ, I shall freely grant that Josephus was not entirely silent concerning Christ; yet, I shall further grant, that when Josephus was speaking of Christ, he did not abstain from his commendation; for we are not to determine from that invertebrate hatred which the modern Jews bear to Christ, what was the behaviour of those Jews, upon whom the miracles that were daily wrought by the apostles in the name of Christ, impressed a sacred horror.

III. The famous clause in this testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, This was Christ, or the Christ, does not mean that this Jesus was the Christ of God, or the true Messiah of the Jews; but that this Jesus was distinguished from all others of that name, of which there were not a few, as Michaelis by his, the addition of the other name of Christ; or that this person was no other than he whom all the world knew by the name of Jesus Christ, and his followers by the name of Christians. This I esteem to be a clear case, and that from the arguments following:

(1.) The Greeks and Romans, for whose use Josephus wrote his Antiques, could not otherwise understand these words. The Jews indeed, and afterwards the Christians, who knew that a great Messias, a person that was to be Christ, the anointed of God, and that to perform the office of a King, a Priest, and a Prophet, to God's people, might readily so understand this expression; but Josephus, as I have already noted, wrote here not to Jews or Christians, but to Greeks and Romans, who knew nothing of this: but knew very well that an eminent person, living in Judea, whose name was Jesus Christ, or Jesus Christ, had founded a new and numerous sect, that was called Christians, or Christians; in which sense alone they could understand these words of Josephus, and in which sense I believe he desired they should understand them; nor does Josephus ever use the Hebrew term Messiah in any of his writings, nor the Greek term Christ in any such acceptance elsewhere.

(2.) Josephus himself as good as explains his own meaning, and that by the last clause of this very passage, where he says the Christians were named from this Jesus, or from the true Messiah; and though he really meant he was the true Messiah, or Christ of God. He farther seems to me to explain this his meaning in that other place, where alone he elsewhere mentions this name of Christ; that is, when upon occasion of the mention of James, when he was condemned by Ananus, he calls him the Brother of Jesus, not that was the true Messiah, at the true Christ, but only that was called Christ.

(3.) It was quite beside the purpose of Josephus to declare himself here to be a Christian, or a believer in Jesus as the true Messiah. Had he intended so to do, he would surely have explained the meaning of the word Christ to his Greek and Roman readers; he would surely have been a great deal fuller and larger in his accounts of Christ, and of the Christian religion; nor would such a declaration at that time have recommended him, or his nation, or his writings, to either the Greeks or the Romans; of his reputation with both which people he is known to have been, in the writing of these Antiques, very greatly solicitous.

(4.) Josephus's usual way of writing, is historical and declarative of facts, and of the opinions of others, and but rarely such as directly informs us of his own opinion, unless we prudently gather it from what he says historically, or as the opinions of others. This is very observable in the writings of Josephus, and in particular as to what he says of John the Baptist and of James the Just; so that this interpretation is most probable, as most agreeable to Josephus's way of writing in parallel cases.

(5.) This seems to be the universal sense of all the ancients, without exception, who cite this testimony from him; and though they almost everywhere object to this Jesus of Christ, without a syllable anywhere else, Josephus to be still an unbelieving Jew, and not a believing Christian; yet Jerome appears so well assured of this interpretation, and that Josephus did not mean to declare any more by these words, than a common opinion, that, according to his usual way of interpreting authors, not to the words but to the sense (of which we have, I think, two more instances in his accounts of Josephus now before us), he renders this clause, Crediditur esse Christus, i.e. He was believed to be Christ. Nor is the parallel expression of Pilate to be otherwise understood, when he made that inscription upon the cross, This is Jesus, the King of the Jews (Matt. xxvii, 31); which is well explained by himself elsewhere, and corresponds to the import of the present clause, What shall I do with Jesus, who is called Christ (Matt. xxvii, 22). And we may fully as well prove from Pilate's inscription upon the cross, that he hereby declared himself a believer in Christ, for the ruling king of the Jews, as we can from those words of Josephus, that he thereby declared himself to be a real believer in the Messiah.

IV. Though Josephus did not design here to declare himself openly to be a Christian, yet could he not possibly believe all that he here asserts concerning Jesus Christ, unless he were so far a Christian as the Jewish Nazarenes or Ebionites were, who believed Jesus of Nazareth to be the true
Messiah, without believing he was more than a
man: who also believed the necessity of the observa-
tion of the ceremonial law of Moses in order to
salvation for all mankind, which were the two main
articles of those Jewish Christians' faith, though in
opposition to all the thirteen apostles of Jesus Christ
in the first century, and in opposition to the whole
Catholic Church of Christ in the following centuries
also. Accordingly, I have elsewhere proved, that
Josephus was no other in his own mind and con-
science than a Nazarene or Ebionite Jewish Christ-
ian; and have observed, that this entire testimony,
and all that Josephus says of John the Baptist and
of James, as well as his absolute silence about all
the rest of the apostles and their companions, ex-
actly agree to him under that character and no
other; and indeed to me it is most astonishing,
that all our learned men, who have of late con-
sidered these testimonies of Josephus, except the
converted Jew Galatians, should miss such an ob-
vious and natural observation. We all know this
fraternity of the end of the 20th century, that
too many ten thousands of Jews as believed in
Christ, in the first century, were all zealous of the
eremonial law, or were no other than Nazarenes or
Ebionites Christians; and, by consequence, if there
were any reason to think our Josephus to be in any
sense a believer or a Christian, as from all these
testimonies there were very great ones, all those
and many other reasons, could not but conspire to
ensure us, he was no other than a Nazarene or
Ebionite Christian; and this I take to be the plain
and evident key of this whole matter.

V. Since therefore Josephus appears to have been
in his own heart and conscience, no other than a
Nazarene or Ebionite Christian, and, by conse-
quence, with them rejected all our Greek Gospels
and Greek books of the New Testament, and re-
ceived only the Hebrew Gospels of the Nazarenes
or Ebionites, styled by them, the Gospel according
to the Hebrews, or according to the Twelve Apostles,
or even according to Matthew, we ought always to
have that Nazarene or Ebionite Gospel, with the
other Nazarene or Ebionite fragments, in view,
whom we can now see any part of Jewish believ-
ing to Christ or to Christianity. Thus, since that
Gospel omitted all that is in the beginning of our
St. Matthew's and St. Luke's Gospels, and began
with the ministry of John the Baptist; in which
first parts of the Gospel History are the accounts of
the slaughter of the infants, and of the enrolment
or taxation under Augustus Caesar and Herod, it is
no great wonder that Josephus has not taken care
particularly and clearly to preserve those histories
to us. Thus when we find that Josephus calls
James the brother of Christ, by the name of James
the Just, and describes him as a most just and righ-
teous man, in an especial manner, we are to re-
member that such is his name and character in the
Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the other
Ebionite remains of Hegesippus, but nowhere else,
that I remember, in the earliest antiquity; nor are
we to suppose they herein referred to any other
than that righteousness which was by the Jewish
law, wherein St. Paul (Phil. iii. 4, 5; 6.), before
he embraced Christianity, professed himself to have
been blasphemer. Thus when Josephus with other
dees describes this testimony of that nation under
Vespasian and Titus, with the destruction of Jeru-
usalem, to the barbarous murder of James the Just,
we must remember what we learn from the Ebionite
fragments of Hegesippus, that these Ebionites in-
terpreted a prophecy of Isaiah as foretelling this
very murder, and those consequent miseries:—Let
us take away the just one, for he is unprofitable to
us: therefore shall they eat the fruit of their own
ways (Isaiah iii. 10). Thus when Josephus says,
as we have seen, that the most equitable citizens of
Jerusalem, and those that were most zealous of the
law, were very uneasy at the condemnation of this
James, and some of his friends and fellow-Chris-
tians, by the high priest and sanhedrim, about A. D.
62, and declares that he himself was one of those
Jews who thought the terrible miseries of that na-
tion, effects of the vengeance of God for their mur-
der of this James, about A. D. 68, we may easily
see those opinions could only be the opinions of
converted Jews or Ebionites. The high-priest
and sanhedrim, who always persecuted the Chris-
tians, and now condemned these Christians, and
the body of these unbelieving Jews, who are
supposed to suffer for murdering this James, the
high priest and sanhedrim of the Jews in Judea, could not, to be sure, be of that opinion; nor
could Josephus himself be of the same opinion, as
he declares he was, without the strongest inclina-
tions to the Christian religion, or without being se-
cretly a Christian Jew, i.e. a Nazarene or Ebionite;
which thing is, by the way, a very great additional
argument that such he was, and no other. Thus,
lastly, when Josephus is cited in Suidas, as affir-
m ing that Jesus officiated with the priests in the
temple, this account is by no means disagreeable to
the pretensions of the Ebionites. Hegesippus
affirms the very same of James the Just himself.

VI. In the first citation of the famous testimony
concerning our Saviour, from Tacitus, almost all
that was true of the Jews, is directly taken by him
out of Josephus, as will be demonstrated under the
Third Dissertation hereafter.

VII. The second author I have alleged for it is
Justin Martyr, one so nearly coeval with Josephus,
that he might be born about the time when he
wrote his Antiquities: he appeals to the same An-
tiquities by that very name; and though he does
not here directly quote them, yet does he seem to
me to allude to this very testimony in them con-
cerning our Saviour, when he affirms, in this place,
to Trypho the Jew, that his nation originally knew
that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended
into heaven, as the prophecies did foretell was to
happen. Since there neither now is, nor probably
in the days of Justin was, any other Jewish testi-
mony extant which is so agreeable to what Justin
himself affirms of those Jews, as is this of Josephus
the Jew before us; nor indeed does he seem to me
to have had any thing else particularly in his view
here, but this very testimony, where Josephus says,
"That Jesus appeared to his followers alive the
day after his crucifixion, as the divine pro-
phets had foretold these and ten thousand other
wonderful things concerning him."

VIII. The third author I have quoted for Joseph-
us's testimonies of John the Baptist, of Jesus of
Nazareth, and of James the Just, is Origen, who is
indeed allowed on all hands to have quoted him for
the excellent character of John the Baptist, and of
James the Just; but whose supposed entire silence
about this testimony concerning Jesus Christ is usually
alleged as the principal argument against its being
genuine, and particularly as to the clause, This was
the Christ: and that, as we have seen, because he
twice assures us that, in his opinion, Josephus
himself did not acknowledge Jesus for Christ. Now,
as to this latter clause, I have already shown that
Josephus did not here, in writing to Greeks and
Romans, mean any such thing by those words, as
Jews and Christians naturally understand by them;
I have also observed, that all the ancients allow
still, with Origent, that Josephus did not, in the
Jewish and Christian sense, acknowledge Jesus for
the true Messiah, or the true Christ of God, not-
withstanding their express quotation of that clause
in Josephus as genuine; so that unless we suppose
Origent to have a different notion of these words
from all the other ancients, we cannot conclude from
this assertion of Origent, that he had not those
words in his copy, not to say that it is, after all,
much more likely that his copy a little differed from
the other copies in this clause, or indeed omitted it
entirely, than that he, on its account, must be sup-
posed not to have had the rest of this testimony
therein, though indeed I see no necessity of making
any such supposal at all. However, it seems to me
that Origent affords us four several indications that
the main parts at least of this testimony itself were
in his copy;
(1.) When Origent introduces Josephus’s testi-
mony concerning James the Just, that he thought
the miseries of the Jews were an instance of the
divine vengeance on that nation for putting James
to death instead of Jesus, he uses an expression no
way necessary to his purpose, nor occasioned by any
words of Josephus there, That they had slain that
Christ which was foretold in the prophecies.
Whence would this expression come here into
Origent’s words, if he was not a testimony of
Josephus concerning the brother of Christ, but
from his remembrance of a clause in the testimony
of the same Josephus concerning Christ himself,
that the prophets had foretold his death and resur-
tection, and ten thousand other wonderful things
concerning him?
(2.) How came Origent to be so surprised at
Josephus’s ascribing the destruction of Jerusalem to
the Jews’ murdering of James the Just, and not to
their murdering of Jesus, as we have seen he was,
if he had not known that Josephus had spoken of
Josephus and his death before, that unless we suppose
him to be a being of a diviner kind? This looks
so very like the fifth and sixth clauses of this testi-
mony in Josephus, that Jesus was a wise man, if it
be lawful to call him a man, that it is highly prob-
able Origent thereby alluded to them; and this is
the more to be depended on, because all the unbe-
lieving Jews, and all the rest of the Nazarene Jews,
estimated Jesus with one consent, as a mere man,
the son of Joseph and Mary; and it is not, I think,
possible to produce any one Jew but Josephus, who
in a sort of concurrence with the Romans and the
Catholic Christians, who thought him a God, would
say any thing like his being a God.
(4.) How came Origent, as before, and, as
expressly, that Josephus did not himself own, in the
Jewish and Christian sense, that Jesus was Christ,
notwithstanding his quotations of such eminent tes-
timonies out of him for John the Baptist his forer-
unner, and for James the Just, his brother, and
one of his principal disciples? There is no passage
in all Josephus so likely to persuade Origent of this,
as is the famous testimony before us, wherein, as
he and all the ancients understood it, he was gene-
 rally called Christ indeed, but not any otherwise
than as the common name whence the sect of Chris-
tians was derived, and where he all along speaks of
those Christians as a sect then in being, whose an-
thor was a wonderful person, and his followers
great lovers of him and of the truth, yet as such a
sect as he had not joined himself to; which exposi-
tion, as it is a very natural one, so was it, I doubt,
but too true of our Josephus at that time; nor can
I devise any other reason but this, and the parallel
language of Josephus elsewhere, when he speaks of
James as the brother, not of Jesus who was Christ,
but of Jesus who was called Christ, that could so
naturally induce Origent and others to be of that
opinion.
IX. There are two remarkable passages in Suid-
as and Theophylact, already set down as citing
Josephus; the former, that Jesus associated with
the priests in the temple; and the latter, that the
destruction of Jerusalem, and miseries of the Jews,
were owing to their putting Jesus to death, which
are in none of our present copies, nor cited thence
by any ancients authors, nor indeed do they seem
altogether consistent with the other most authen-
tic passages. However, since Suidas cites his pas-
sage from a treatise of Josephus, called Memoirs
of the Jews’ Captivity, a book never heard of else-
where, and since both citations are not at all dis-
agreeable to Josephus’s character as a Nazarene or
Ezionite, I dare not positively conclude they are
spurious, but must leave them in suspense, for the
farther consideration of the learned.
X. As to that great crime Photus, in the ninth
century, who is supposed not to have had this tes-
imony in his copy of Josephus, or else he has ex-
certed it spruce; because, as he relates of Josephus’s
Anabasis, it is not expressly mentioned,—this is a strange thing indeed!—that a
section, which had been cited out of Josephus’s cop-
ies all along before the days of Photus, as well as
it has been all along cited out of them since his days,
should be supposed not to be in his copy, because
he does not directly mention it in certain short and
imperfect extracts, no way particularly relating to
such matters. Those who lay a stress on this vi-
cence of Photus, seem little to have attended to the
nature and brevity of those extracts. They contain
little or nothing, as he in effect professes at their
entrance, but what concerns Antipater, Herod the
Great, and his brethren and family, with their ex-
ploits, till the days of Agrippa junior, and Cumanus,
the governor of Judea, fifteen years after the death
of our Saviour, without one word of Pilate, or what
happened under his government, which yet was the
only proper place in which this testimony could
have been mentioned. However, since Photus
seems to us, as we have seen, to suspect the
treatise ascribed by some to Josephus, Of the Un-
civility, because it speaks very high of the
eternal generation and divinity of Christ, this looks
very like his knowledge and belief of somewhat
really in the same Josephus, which spake in a lower manner of him, which could be hardly any other passage than this testimony before us; and since we have also seen, when he speaks of the Jewish history of Dositheus of Tiberias, as infected with the prejudices of the Jews, in taking no manner of notice of the advent, of the acts, and of the miracles of Jesus Christ, while yet he never speaks so of Josephus himself, this most naturally implies also, that there was not the like occasion here as there; but that Josephus had not wholly omitted that advent, those acts, or miracles which yet he has done everywhere else, in the books seen by Photius, as well as Justus of Tiberias, but in this famous testimony before us, so that it is most probable, Photius not only had this testimony in his copy, but believed it to be genuine also.

XI. As to the silence of Clement of Alexandria, who cites the Antiquities of Josephus, but never cites any of the testimonies now before us, it is no strange thing at all, since he never cites Josephus but once, and that for a point of chronology only, to determine how many years had passed from the days of Moses to the days of Josephus,—so that his silence may almost as well be alleged against a hundred other remarkable passages in Josephus's works as against those before us.

XII. Nor does the like silence of Tertullian imply that these testimonies, or any of them, were not in the copies of his age. Tertullian never once hints at any treatises of Josephus but those against Apion, and that in general only, for a point of chronology; nor does it any way appear that Tertullian ever saw any of Josephus's writings besides, and far from being certain that he saw even those. He had particular occasion in his dispute against the Jews to quote Josephus, above any other writer, to prove the completion of the prophecies of the Old Testament in the destruction of Jerusalem and miseries of the Jews at that time, of which he there discourses, yet does he never once quote him upon that solemn occasion; so that it seems to me that Tertullian never read either the Greek Antiquities of Josephus, or his Greek books of the Jewish wars: nor is this at all strange in Tertullian, a Latin writer, that lived in Africa, by none of which African writers is there any one clause, that I know of, cited out of any of Josephus's writings; nor is it worth my while in such numbers of positive citations of these clauses, to mention the silence of other later writers as being here of very small consequence.

DISSERTATION II.

CONCERNING GOD’S COMMAND TO ABRAHAM TO OFFER UP ISAAC, HIS SON, FOR A SACRIFICE.

Since this command of God to Abraham (Gen. xxii) has of late been greatly mistaken by some, who venture to reason about very ancient facts from very modern notions, and this without a due regard to either the customs, or opinions, or circumstances of the times whereof those facts belong, or indeed to the true reasons of the facts themselves; since the mistakes about those customs, opinions, circumstances and reasons, have of late so far prevailed, that the very same action of Abraham, which was so celebrated by St. Paul (Rom. iv. 16–25), St. James (chap. ii. 21, 22), the author to the Hebrews (chap. xi. 17–19), Philo, and Josephus, in the first century, and by innumerable others since, as an uncommon instance of signal virtue, of heroic faith in God, and piety towards him; nay, is in the sacred history (Gen. xxii. 18–20) highly commended by the divine Angel of the Covenant, in the name of God himself, and promised to be plentifully rewarded; since this command, I say, is now at last, in the eighteenth century, become a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence among us, and that sometimes to persons of otherwise good sense, and of a religious disposition of mind also, I shall endeavour to set this matter in its true, i.e. in its ancient and original light, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive. In order whereby we are to consider,

1. That till this very profane age, it has been, I think, universally allowed by all truthful persons, who owned themselves the creatures of God, that the Creator has a just right over all his rational creatures, to protract their lives to what length he pleases,—to cut them off when and by what instruments he pleases,—to afflict them with what sicknesses he pleases—and to remove them from one state or place in this his great palace of the universe to another, as he pleases; and that all those rational creatures are bound in duty and interest to acquiesce under the divine disposal, and to resign themselves up to the good providence of God in all such his dispensations towards them. I do not mean to intimate, that God may, or ever does, act in these cases after a mere arbitrary manner, or without sufficient reason, believing, according to the whole tenor of natural and revealed religion, that he hath nothing that he hath made (Wisdom, xi. 14); that whatsoever he does, how melancholy soever it may appear at first sight to us, is really intended for the good of his creatures, and at the upshot of things, will fully appear so to be: but that still he is not obliged, nor does in general give his creatures an account of the particular reasons of such his dispensations towards them immediately, but usually tries and exercises their faith and patience, their resignation and obedience, in their present state, of probation, and reserves those reasons to the last day, the day of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God. (Rom. ii. 5.)

2. That the entire histories of the past ages, from the days of Adam till now, show that Almighty God has ever exercised his power over mankind, and that without giving them an immediate account of the reasons of such his conduct; and that withal, the best and wisest men of all ages, Heathens as well as Jews and Christians,—Marcus Antoninus,
as well as the patriarch Abraham and St. Paul, have ever humbly submitted themselves to this conduct of the Divine Providence, and always confessed that they were obliged to the undeserved goodness and mercy of God for every enjoyment, but could not demand any of them of his justice; no, not so much as the continuance of that life wherein those enjoyments do appertain. When God was pleased to sweep the wicked race of men away by a flood, the young innocent infants, as well as the guilty old sinners; when he was pleased to shorten the lives of men after the Flood, and still downward till the days of David and Solomon; when he was pleased to destroy impure Sodom and Gomorrah by fire and brimstone from heaven, and to extirpate the main body of the Amorites out of the land of Canaan, as soon as their iniquities were full (Gen. xv. 16), and in these instances included the young innocent infants, together with the old hardened sinners; when God was pleased to send an angel, and by him to destroy 185,000 Assyrians (Acts vii. 55, quoted by Benjamin the Chaldean, as well as by our own Bibles) in the days of Hezekiah, most of whom seem to have had no other peculiar guilt upon them than that common to soldiers in war, of obeying without reserve their king Sennacherib, his generals and captains; and when, at the plague of Athens, London, Marseilles, &c. so many thousand righteous men and women, with innocent babes, were swept away on a sudden, by a fatal contagion.—I do not remember that sober men have complained that God dealt unjustly with such his creatures, in those to us seemingly severe dispensations. Nor are we certain when any such seemingly severe dispensations are really such, nor do we know but shortening the lives of men may sometimes be the greatest blessing to them, and prevent or put a stop to those courses of gross wickedness which might bring them to a greater misery in the world to come; nor is it fit for such poor, weak, and ignorant creatures as we are, in the present state, to call our almighty, and all-wise, and all-good Creator and Benefactor to an account upon any such occasions,—since we cannot but acknowledge that it is He that hath made us, and not we our creatures (Psalm c. 3), that we are nothing, and have nothing of ourselves independent of him, but that all we are, all we have, and all we hope for, is derived from him, from his free and undeserved bounty, which therefore he may justly take from us in any way sooner or whencesoever he pleases; all wise and good men still saying in such cases with the pious Psalmist (Ps. xxxix. 9), I was dumb, I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it; and with patient Job (ch. i. 21; ii. 10), Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall not receive evil? The Lord giveth, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord. If therefore this shortening or taking away the lives of men be an objection against any divine command for that purpose, it is full as strong against the present system of the world, against the conduct of Divine Providence in general, and against natural religion, which is founded on the justice of that Providence, and is no way peculiar to revealed religion, or to the fact of Abraham now before us; nor in this case much different from what was soon after the days of Abraham thoughtfully settled, after Job's and his friends' debates, by the inspiration of Eliphaz, and the determination of God himself, where the Divine Providence was at length thoroughly cleared and justified before all the world, as it will be, as question, more generally cleared and justified at the final judgment.

3. That till this profane age, it has also, I think, been universally allowed by all sober men, that a command of God, when sufficiently made known to be so, is abundant authority for the taking away the life of any person whomsoever. I doubt not ancient and modern princes, generals of armies, and judges, even those of the best reputation also, have ventured to take many men's lives away upon much less authority; nor indeed do the most sceptical of the moderns care to deny this authority directly; they rather take a method of objecting somewhat more plausible, though it amounts to much the same: they say that the apparent disagreement of any command to the moral attributes of God, such as this of the slaughter of an only child seems plainly to be, will be a greater evidence that such a command does not come from God, than anything else; and this argument is to this matter, although divine revelations have not so long ceased, that we are not well acquainted with the manner of conveying such revelations with certainty to men; and by consequence the apparent disagreement of a command with the moral attributes of God, ought at present, generally, if not constantly, to deter men from acting upon such a pretended revelation, yet was there no such uncertainty in the days of the old prophets of God, or of Abraham, the friend of God (Isa. xli. 8), who are ever found to have had an entire certainty of these their revelations; and what evidently shows they were not deceived, is this, that the events and consequences of things afterwards always corresponded, and secured them of the truth of such divine revelations. Thus the first miraculous voice from heaven (Gen. xxiii. 11, 12), calling to Abraham not to execute this command, and the performance of those eminent promises made by the second voice (Gen. xxiv. 17, 18), on account of his obedience to that command, are demonstrations that Abraham's commission for what he did was truly divine, and are an entire justification of his conduct in this matter. The words of the second voice are hereafter to be set down in a fitter place; but the glorious promises made to Abraham's obedience by the second voice, must here be produced from verse 15-18. And the angel of the Lord called to Abraham out of heaven the second time, and said, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; and they shall shew mercy upon the children of the just, as long as the sun endureth. And as for me, I will altogether bless thee, and I will greatly increase thy seed.
as was this his readiness to offer up his only begotten son Isaac, was now first promised, and has been long ago performed in the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, the son of David, the son of Abraham (Matt. i. 1), which highly deserves our observation in this place; nor can we suppose that any thing else than clear conviction that this command came from God could induce so good a man and so tender a father as Abraham was, to sacrifice his own beloved son, and to lose thereby all the comfort he received from him at present, and all the expectation he had of a remunerous and happy posterity from him hereafter.

4. That long before the days of Abraham, the demons or heathen gods had required and received human sacrifices, and particularly that of the offerer's own children, and this both before and after the Deluge. This practice had been indeed so long left off in Egypt, and the custom of sacrificing animals there, was confined to so few kinds in the days of Herodotus, that he would not believe they had ever offered human sacrifices at all; for he says, that the fable, as if Heracles was sacrificed to Jupiter in Egypt, was feigned by the Greeks, who were entirely unacquainted with the nature of the Egyptians and their laws; for how should they sacrifice men, with whom it is unlawful to sacrifice any brute beast, boars and bulls, and pure calves and ganders only excepted? However, it is evident from Sanchoniatho, Manetho, Pausanias, Diodorus, Siculus, Philo, Fluterach, and Porphyry, that such sacrifices were frequent both in Phocis and Egypt, and that long before the days of Abraham, as Sir John Marsham and Bishop Cumberland have fully proved; nay, that in other places (though not in Egypt) this cruel practice continued long after Abraham, and this till the very third, if not also to the fifth century of Christianity, before it was quite abolished. Take the words of the original authors in English, as most of them occur in their originals, in Sir John Marsham's Chronicon, p. 76—78, 300 —

"Choron offered up his only-begotten son as a burnt-offering, to his father Uranus, when there was a famine and a pestilence."†

"Choron, whom the Phocianics name Israel [it should be II], and who was, after his death, consecrated into the star Saturn, when he was king of the country, and had by a nymph of that country, named Anobret, an only begotten son, whom, on that account, they called Jehovah, (the Phocianics to this day calling an only begotten son by that name), he in his dread of very great dangers that lay upon the country from war, adorned his son with royal apparel, and built an altar, and offered him in sacrifice."‡

"The Phocianics, when they were in great dangers by war, by famine, or by pestilence, sacrificed to Saturn one of the dearest of their people, whom they chose by public suffrage for that purpose; and Sanchoniatho's Phocianic history is full of such sacrifices." [These hitherto I take to have been before the Flood.]‡

"In Arabia, the Dumatii sacrificed a child every year.

"They relate, that of old the [Egyptian] kings sacrificed such men as were of the same colour with Typho, at the sepulture of Osiris."‡

"Manetho relates, that they burnt Typhonian men alive in the city Idithya [or Illithia], and scattered their ashes like chaff that is winnowed; and this was done publicly, and at an appointed season in the dog days."‡

"The barbarous nations did a long time admit of the slaughter of children, as of a holy practice, and acceptable to the gods; and this thing, both private persons, and kings, and entire nations, practise at proper seasons."‡‡

"The human sacrifices that were enjoined by the Dodonean oracle, mentioned in Pausanias's Achæas, in the tragic story of Coreseus and Calirrhoe, sufficiently intimate that the Phocianic and the Egyptian priests had set up this Dodonean oracle before the time of Amosis, who destroyed that barbarous practice in Egypt."‡‡

These bloody sacrifices were, for certain, instances of the greatest degree of impiety, tyranny, and cruelty in the world: that either wicked demons or wicked men, who neither made nor preserved mankind, who had therefore no right over them, nor were they able to make them amends in the next world for what they thus lost or suffered in this, should, after so inhuman a manner, command the taking away the lives of men, and particularly of the offerer's own children, without the commission of any crime; this was, I think, an abomination derived from him who was a murderer from the beginning (John viii. 44); a crime truly and properly diabolical.

5. That accordingly Almighty God himself, under the Jewish dispensation, vehemently condemned the Pagans, and sometimes the Jews themselves, for this crime; and for this, among other heinous sins, cast the idolatrous nations (nay, sometimes the Jews too) out of Palestine. Take the principal texts hereto relating, as they lie in order in the Old Testament:

"Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech. Dwell not yourselves in any of these things, for in all these the nations are defiled, which I cast out before you," &c. (Lev. xvi. 21.)

"Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death; the people of the land shall stone him with stones." (Lev. xx. 2.)

"Take heed to thyself, that thou be not snared by following the nations, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods, even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God; for every abomination of the Lord, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their sons and their daughters have they burnt in the fire to their gods." (Deut. xii. 30, 31. See chap. xviii. 10, and 2 Kings xvii. 17.)

"And Ahaz made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom

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Rex aditus hic tribula dicta reportat:
Surgens placitius vento, et argeas casus,
Cremat primus Leidas Daniæ vendita ad oras:
Sanguis purpurea relictus, animaque lilandum
Argolis—

Vin. Ab. ii. 115,

He from the gods this dreadful weep he brought:
O Grecians, when the Trojan shores you sought,
Your passage with a virgin's blood was bought:
So must your sons return to the gods' ways:
And Grecian blood once more stain the main.

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Dowten.

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2 x 2

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the Lord cast out before the children of Israel." (2 Kings xvi. 3.)

"Moreover, Ahaz burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt his children (his son, in Josephus) in the fire, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel." (2 Chron. xxviii. 3.)

"And the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Ashtaroth and Topeph, the gods of the Sepharvaim," &c. (2 Kings xvii. 31.)

"And Josiah defiled Tophet, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire unto Molech." (2 Kings xxiii. 10.)

"Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto demons; and shed innocent blood, the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Carman; and the land was polluted with blood." (2 Kings xxiii. 10.)

"The children of Judah have done evil in my sight, saith the Lord; they have set their abominations in the house which is called by my name to pollute it; and they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, nor came it into my heart." (Jer. vii. 30—32.)

"Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, Behold I will bring evil upon this place, the which whosoever heareth, his ears shall tingle, because they have forsaken me, and have estranged this place, and have burnt incense unto other gods, whom neither they nor their fathers have known, nor the kings of Judah, and have filled this place with the blood of innocents. They have built also the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my heart." (Jer. xix. 3—5.)

"They built the high places of Baal, which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart that they should do this abomination, to cause Judah to sin." (Jer. xxiii. 35.)

"Moreover, thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou hast born unto me, and these hast thou sacrificed unto them to be devoured. Is this of thy whoredoms a small matter, that thou hast slain my children, and delivered them to cause them to pass through the fire for them?" (Ezek. xvi. 20, 21. See chap. xx. 19; 1 Cor. x. 8.)

"Thou hast boasted the old inhabitants of thy holy land, for doing most odious works of witchcraft and wicked sacrifices; and also those merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man's flesh, and eaters of blood, with their priests, out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the parents that killed with their own hands souls destitute of help."—(Wisd. xii. 4—6.)

6. That Almighty God never permitted, in any one instance, that such a human sacrifice should actually be offered to himself (though he had a right to have required it, if he had so pleased) under the whole Jewish dispensation, were it not full of many other kinds of sacrifices, and this at a time when mankind generally thought such sacrifices of the greatest virtue for the procuring pardon of sin and the divine favour. This the ancient records of the heathen world attest. Take their notion in the words of Philo Biblius,* the translator of Sanchoniatho:—"It was the custom of the ancients, in the greatest calamities and dangers, for the governors of the city or nation, in order to avert the destruction of all, to devote their beloved son to be slain, as a price of redemption to the punishing [or avenging] demons; and those so devoted were killed after a mystical manner." This the history of the king of Moab (2 Kings iii. 27), when he was in great distress in his war against Israel and Judah, informs us of; who then "took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the city-wall." This also the Jewish prophet Micah (chap. vi. 6—8) implies, when he inquires, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the High God! Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old! Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, and ten thousands of fat kids of the goats! Shall I give my first born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" No, certainly; "For he hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to humble thyself to walk with thy God?"

It is true, God did here try the faith and obedience of Abraham to himself, whether they were as strong as the Pagans exhibited to their demons or idols, yet did he wish take effectual care, and that by a miraculous interposition also, to prevent the execution, and provided himself a ram, as a vicarious substitute, to supply the place of Isaac immediately:—"And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham, and said Abraham, Abraham!—and he said, Here am I!—and he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and beheld a ram caught in a thicket by his horns; and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son." (Gen. xxii. 11—13.) Thus though Jephtha (Judg. xi. 36—39) has, by many, been thought to have vowed to offer up his daughter and only child for a sacrifice, and that as bound on him, upon supposition of his vow, by a divine law (Levit. xxvii. 28—29), of which I was once myself; yet upon more mature consideration, I have, for some time, thought this to be a mistake, and that his vow extended only to her being devoted to serve God at the tabernacle, or elsewhere, in a state of perpetual virginity; and that neither that law did enjoin any human sacrifices, nor do we meet with any example of its execution in this sense afterwards. Philo never mentions any such law, no more than Josephus; and when Josephus thought that Jephthah had made such a vow, and executed it, he is so far from hinting at its being done in compliance with any law of God, that he expressly condemns him for it, as having acted contrary thereto; or, in his own words,* "as having offered an oblation neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, nor weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice."

7. That Isaac being at this time, according to

* And Philo Biblius, p. 76.

[ASR's, 3d ed. ch. ii. sect. 10.]
promises, in these circumstances, to raise Isaac again from the dead; and this was an eminent instance of that faith whereby "Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness" (Gen. xv. 6), viz. that if God should permit Isaac to be sacrificed, he would certainly and quickly raise him up again from the dead, "from whence also he received him in a figure," as the author to the Hebrews (chap. xi. 19) here justly observes.

10. That the firm and just foundation of Abraham's faith and assurance in God for such a resurrection was this, besides the general consideration of the divine veracity, that during the whole time of his sojourning in strange countries, in Canaan and Egypt, ever since he had been called out of Chaldea or Mesopotamia at seventy-five years of age (Gen. xiv. 4), he had had constant experience of a special, of an over-ruling, of a kind and gracious Providence over him, till his 122d year, which, against all human views, had continually blessed him and enriched him, and, in his elder age, had given him first Ishmael by Hagar, and afterward promised him Isaac to "spring from his own body now dead, and from the deadness of Sarah's womb (Rom. iv. 19), when she was past age (Heb. xi. 11), and when it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women (Gen. xviii. 11), and had actually performed that and every other promise, how improbable soever that performance had appeared, he had ever made to him, and this during fifty entire years together; so that although, at his first exit out of Chaldea or Mesopotamia, he might have been tempted to stagger at such a promise of God, through unbelief, yet might he now, after fifty years' constant experience, be justly strong in faith, giving glory to God, as being fully persuaded that what God had promised, (the resurrection of Isaac) he was both able and willing to perform. (Rom. iv. 20, 21.)

11. That this assurance therefore, that God, if he permitted Isaac to be slain, would infallibly raise him again from the dead, entirely alters the state of the case of Abraham's sacrificing Isaac to the true God, from that of all other human sacrifices whatsoever offered to false ones, all those others being done without the least promise or prospect of such a resurrection; and this indeed takes away all pretence of injustice in the divine command, as well as of all inhumanity or cruelty in Abraham's obedience to it.

12. That upon the whole, this command to Abraham, and what followed upon it, looks so very like an intention of God to typify or represent beforehand, in Isaac, a beloved or only begotten son, what was to happen long afterwards to the great Son and seed of Abraham, the Messiah, the beloved and the only begotten of the Father, whose day Abraham saw by faith beforehand, and rejoiced to see it (John viii. 56), viz. that he, by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, should be crucified and slain, as a sacrifice, and should be raised again on the third day (Acts ii. 22—32), and this at Jerusalem also; and that in the meantime, God would accept of the sacrifices of rams and the like animals, at the same city Jerusalem, that one cannot easily avoid the application. This seems the reason why Abraham was obliged to go to the land of Moriah, or Jerusalem, and why it is noted that it was the third day (Gen. xxii. 2, 4) that he came to the place, which implies that the return back,
after the slaying of the sacrifice, would naturally be the third day also; and why this sacrifice was not Ishmael the son after the flesh only, but Isaac the son by promise, the beloved son of Abraham; and why Isaac was styled the only son, or only begotten son of Abraham (Heb. xi. 17), though he had Ishmael besides; and why Isaac himself was to bear the wood on which he was to be sacrificed (Gen. xxii. 6; John xix. 17); and why the place was no other than the land of Moriah, or vision, i. e. most probably a place where the Shechinah or Messiah had been seen, and God by him worshipped, even before the days of Abraham, and where laterly lived, and perhaps now lived, Melchisedek, the grand type of the Messiah (who might then possibly be present at the sacrifice); and why this sacrifice was to be offered either on the mountain called afterwards distinctly Moriah, where the temple stood, and where all the Mosaic sacrifices were afterwards to be offered, as Josephus* and the gentilis suppose, or perhaps, as others suppose, that there the Messiah himself was to be offered,—its neighbour mount Calvary. This seems also the reason why the ram was substituted as a vicarious sacrifice instead of Isaac. These circumstances seem to me very peculiar and extraordinary, and to render the present hypothesis extremely probable. Nor perhaps did St. Clement mean any thing else, when, in his fore-cited passage, he says, that “Isaac was fully persuaded of what he knew was to come,” and therefore “cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice.” Nor indeed does that name of this place, Jehovah-Jireh, which continued till the days of Moses, and signified God will see, or rather, God will provide, seem to be given it by Abraham, on any other account, than that God would there, in the fulness of time, provide himself a Lamb (that Lamb of God (John i. 29), which was to take away the sin of the world) for a burnt-offering.

But now, if after all it be objected, that how peculiar and how typical soever the circumstances of Abraham and Isaac might be in themselves, of which the heathens about them could have little notion, yet such a divine command to Abraham for slaying his beloved son Isaac, must however be of very ill example to the Gentile world, and that it probably did either first occasion, or at least greatly encourage, their wicked practices, in offering their children for sacrifices to their idols, I answer by the next consideration:

13. That this objection is so far from truth, that God’s public and miraculous prohibition of the execution and this command to Abraham (which command itself the Gentiles would not then at all be surprised at, because it was so like to their own usual practices), as well as God’s substitution of a vicarious oblation, seems to have been the very occasion of the immediate abolition of those impious sacrifices by Tethmios or Amosis, among the surrounding Egyptians, and of the substitution of more inoffensive ones there instead of them. Take the account of this abolition, which we shall presently prove was about the time of Abraham’s offering up his son Isaac, as it is preserved by Porphyry, from Manetho, the famous Egyptian historian and chronologer, which is also cited from Porphyry by Eusebius and Theoretors:—“Amosis,” says Porphyry, “abolished the laws for slaying of men at Heliopolis in Egypt, as Manetho bears witness in his book of Antiquity and Piety. They were sacrificed to Juno, and were examined, as were the pure calves, that were also sealed with them: they were sacrificed three in a day. In whose stead Amosis commanded that men of wax of the same number, should be substituted.”

Now I have lately shown that these Egyptians had Abraham in great veneration, and that all the wisdom of those Egyptians, in which Moses was afterwards learned, was derived from no other than Abraham. Now it appears evidently by the fore-cited passage, that the first abolition of these human sacrifices, and the substitution of waxen images in their stead, and particularly at Heliopolis, in the north-east of Egypt, in the neighborhood of Beersheba, in the south of Palestine, where Abraham now lived, at the distance of about a hundred and twenty miles only, was in the days, and by the order of Tethmios or Amosis, who was the first of the Egyptian kings, after the expulsion of the Phœnician shepherds. Now therefore we are to inquire when this Tethmios or Amosis lived, and compare his time with the time of the sacrifice of Isaac. Now, if we look into my Chronological Table, published A. D. 1721, we shall find that the hundred and twenty-fifth year of Abraham, or, which is all one, the twenty-fifth year of Isaac, falls into A. D. 2573, or into the thirteenth year of Tethmios or Amosis, which is the very middle of his twenty-five years’ reign; so that this abolition of human sacrifices in Egypt, and substitution of others in their room, seems to have been occasioned by the solemn prohibition of such a sacrifice in the case of Abraham, and by the following substitution of a ram in its stead: which account of this matter not only takes away the groundless suspicions of the moderns, but shows the great seasonableness of the divine prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, as probably the direct occasion of putting a stop to the barbarity of the Egyptians in offering human sacrifices, and that for many, if not for all, generations afterwards.

*Antiq. 1. ch. xili. sect. ii.

† Apul. Marsh. p. 301.
Dissertation III.


Since Tacitus, the famous Roman historian, who has written more largely and professedly about the origin of the Jewish nation, about the chorography of Judea, and the last Jewish war under Cestius, Vespasian, and Titus, than any other old Roman historian: and since both Josephus and Tacitus were in favour with the same Roman emperors,—Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and since Tacitus was an eminent pleader and writer of history at Rome during the time, or not long after, our Josephus had been there studying the Greek language, reading the Greek books, and writing his own works in the same Greek language, which language was almost universally known at Rome in that age; and since therefore it is next to impossible to suppose that Tacitus could be unacquainted with the writings of Josephus, it cannot but be highly proper to compare their accounts of Judea, of the Jews, and Jewish affairs, together. Nor is it other than a very surprising paradox to me, how it has been possible for learned men, particularly for the several learned editors of Josephus and Tacitus, to be so very silent about this matter as they have hitherto been, especially when not only the correspondence of the authors as to time and place, but the likeness of the subject matter and circumstances, is so often so very remarkable: nay, indeed, since many of the particular facts belonged peculiarly to the region of Judea, and to the Jewish nation, and are such as could hardly be taken by a foreigner from any other author than from our Josephus,—this strange silence is almost unaccountable, if not inexcusable. The two only other writers whom we know of, when such Jewish affairs might be supposed to be taken by Tacitus, who never appears to have been in Judea himself, are Justus of Tiberias, a Jewish historian, contemporary with Josephus, and one Antonius Julianus, once mentioned by Minutius Felix, in his Octavius (sect. 33), as having written on the same subject with Josephus, and both already mentioned by me on another occasion (Dissert. 1.) As to Justus of Tiberias, he could not be the historian whence Tacitus took his Jewish affairs; because, as we have seen in the place just cited, the principal passage in Tacitus of that nature, concerning Christ and his sufferings under the emperor Tiberius, and by his procurator Pontius Pilate, was not there, as we know from the testimony of Photius (Cod. xxx) —and as to Antonius Julianus, his very name shows him to have been not a Jew, but a Roman. He is never mentioned by Josephus; and so probably knew no more of the country or affairs of Judea than Tacitus himself. He was, I suppose, rather an epitomizer of Josephus, and not so early as Tacitus, than an original historian himself before him. Nor could he, in fact, be a writer at Tacitus, ever take up with such poor and almost unknown historians as these were, while Josephus's seven books of the Jewish War were then so common; were in such great reputation at Rome; were attested to, and recommended by Vespasian and Titus, the emperors, by king Agrippa, and king Archelaus, and Herod, king of Chalced; and he was there honoured with a statue; and these his books were reposed in the public library at Rome, as we know from Josephus himself, from Eusebius, and Jerome, while we never hear of any other history of the Jews, that had then and there any such attestations or recommendations. Some things indeed Tacitus might take from the Roman records of this war. I mean from the Commentaries of Vespasian, which are mentioned by Josephus himself, in his own Life (sect. 65), and some others from the relations of Roman people, where the affairs of Rome were concerned: as also other affairs might be remembered by old officers and soldiers that had been in the Jewish war. Accordingly I still suppose that Tacitus had some part of his information these ways, and particularly where he a little differs from or makes additions to Josephus: but then as this will all reach no farther than three or four years during this war, so will it by no means account for that abridgment of the geography of the country, and entire series of the principal facts of history thereto relating, which are in Tacitus, from the days of Antiochus Ephiphanes, two hundred and forty years before that war, with which Antiochus both Josephus and Tacitus begin their distinct histories of the Jews, preparatory to the history of this last war. Nor could Tacitus take the greatest part of those earlier facts belonging to the Jewish nation from the days of Moses, or to Christ and the Christians in the days of Tiberius, from Roman authors; of which Jewish and Christian affairs those authors had usually very little knowledge, and which the heathens generally did grossly pervert and shamefully falsify; and this is so true as to Tacitus's own accounts of the origin of the Jewish nation, that the reader may almost take it for a constant rule, that when Tacitus contradicts Josephus's Jewish Antiquities, he either tells direct falsehoods, or truths so miserably disguised, as renders them little better than falsehoods, and hardly ever lights upon any thing relating to them that is true and solid, but when the same is in those Antiquities at this day:—of which matters more will be said in the notes on this history immediately following.

History of the Jews.

Book V. Chap. II.

Since we are now going to relate the final period of this famous city [Jerusalem], it seems proper to give an account of its original.—The tradition is,

(a) Most of these stories are so entirely groundless, and so contradict one another, that they do not deserve a serious consideration. It is strange Tacitus could persuade himself thus utterly to set them down.
that the Jews ran away from the island of Crete, and settled themselves on the coast of Libya, and this at the time when Saturn was driven out of his kingdom by the power of Jupiter; an argument for it is fetched from their names. The men of Ida are famous in Crete: and the neighbouring inhabitants are named Idi, which, with a barbarous argument, becomes the name of Judai [Jews]. Some say they were a people that were very numerous in Egypt, under the reign of Isis; and that the Egyptians got free from that burden, by sending them into the adjacent countries, under their captains Hierosolymus and Judas. The greatest part say they were those Ethiopians whom fear and hatred obliged to change their habitations, in the night to a region over-shadowed by a grove of trees, report that they were Assyrians, who, wanting lands, got together, and obtained part of Egypt, and soon afterward settled themselves in cities of their own, in the land of the Hebrews, and the parts of Syria that lay nearest to them. Others pretend their origin to be more eminent, and that the Solymi, a people celebrated in Homer's poems, were the founders of this nation, and gave this their own name Hierosolyma to the city which they built there. [2] CHAP. III.] Many authors agree, that when once an infectious distemper was arisen in Egypt, and made men's bodies impure, Bocchoris, their king, went to the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon, and begged he would grant him some relief against this evil, and that he was enjoined to purge his nation of them, and to banish this kind of men into other countries, as hateful to the gods. When he had sought for, and gotten them all together, they were left in a vast desert; that hereupon the rest devoted themselves to weeping and inactivity; but one of these exiles, Moses by name, advised them to look for no assistance from any of the Israelites, or from any of mankind, since they had been abandoned by both, but made them believe in him, as in a celestial leader, by whose help they had already gotten clear of their present miseries. They agreed to it; and though they were unacquainted with every thing, they began their journey at random; but nothing tired them so much as the want of water; and now they laid themselves down on the ground to a great extent, as just ready to perish, when a herd of wild asses, came from feeding, and went toward them, whither Moses followed them, as conjecturing that there was some grassy soil, and so he opened large sources of water for them. That was an ease to them; and when they had journeyed continually six days entire, on the seventh day they drove out the inhabitants, and obtained those lands wherein their city and temple were dedicated. CHAP. IV.] As for Moses, in order to secure the nation firmly to himself, he ordained new rites, and such as were contrary to those of other men. All things are with them, profane which with us are sacred: and again, those practices are allowed among them which are by us esteemed most abominable. They place the image of that animal in their most holy place, by whose indication it was that they had escaped their wandering condition and their thirst. They sacrifice rams by way of reprobation to [Jupiter] Hammon. An ox is also sacrificed, which the Egyptians worship under the name of Apis. They abstain from swine's flesh, as a memorial of that miserable destruction which the range, to which that creature is liable, brought on them, and with which they had been defiled. That they had endured a long famine, they attest still by their frequent fastings; and that they stole the fruits of the earth, we have an argument from the bread of the Jews, which is unleavened.

IT is generally supposed that they rest on the seventh day, because that day gave them the first rest from their labours. Besides which, they are idle on every seventh year, as being pleased with a lazy life. Others say that they do homage thereby to Saturn, or perhaps the Idai gave them this part of their religion, which [as above was expelled, and when Saturn, and who, as we have been informed, were the founders of this nation; or else it was because the star Saturn moves in the highest orb, and of the seven planets, excites the principal part of that energy whereby mankind are governed; and indeed the most of the heavenly bodies exert their power and perform their courses according to the number seven.

CHAP. V.] These rites, by which manner sooner they were first begun, are supported by their antiquity. The rest of their instuctions are awkward, impure, and got ground by their pravity; for every vile fole, despising the rites of his forefathers, brought thither their tribute and contributions, by which means the Jewish commerce was augmented; and because among themselves there is an unalterable fidelity and kindness always ready at hand, but bitter enmity towards all others; for they are a people separated from all others in their food and in their beds; though they be the lowest nation upon earth, yet will they not admit any of the Gentile's food.

(6) This is not true in general; but only so far, that the Levites were by their brethren and others to be kept separate from the wicked and idolatrous nations about them.

(7) This strange story contains what the same Tactius will tell us presently, that when Pompey went into the holy of holies he burnt up the image there.

(8) These are only guesses of Tactius, or of his heathen author, but no more.

(9) Such memorials of what must have been very rare events, are stranger than the rest of mankind, and without any probability.

(10) The Jews claim that no one sacrificed to any god during the whole year, the great day of expiation.

(11) Unheard of was only used at the Passover.

(12) It is very strange that Tactius should not know or observe, that the Jews have throughout the year and every year of the world, the same day of the year, and the same day that the Jews observe, of God's last year, the same day that is set apart for the sabbath year, and the sabbath of years. Every Jew, as well as every Christian, could have informed Tactius of this matter.

(13) A strange hypothesis of the origin of the Jewish year, and with out all good foundation, Tactius probably had never heard of the year of Jubilees.

(14) As if the Jews in the days of Moses, or long before, knew how the Greeks and Romans would long afterward use to celebrate that day, and the sabbath of years.

(15) That the Jews, who, and their sabbath rule over theJubilees, was a barbarous custom, but all other things and the practice, Moses, and his disciples were not known, or not observed by them.

(16) Strange enough that so many years should have passed, without any instance; and yet it may be, they may have observed the same day, or the same time.

(17) That is to be understood, and as a matter of justice, that Moses professed to have his laws from God.

(18) Strange enough that so many years should have passed, and yet no instance of that kind of practice.

(19) Strange enough, and as a matter of justice, that Moses professed to have his laws from God.
corrupt foreign women, though nothing be esteemed unlawful among themselves.

They have ordained circumcision of the part used in generation, that they may thereby be distinguished from other people. The proselytes to their religion have the same usage.

These they taught not, nor, sooner than to deseave themselves to remove the country, and to have their parents, children, and brethren in the utmost contempt; but still they take care to increase and multiply, for it is esteemed utterly unlawful to kill any of their children.

They also look on the souls of those that die in battle, or are put to death for their crimes, as eternal. Hence comes their love of posterity and contempt of death.

They derive their custom of burying instead of burning their dead, from the Egyptians; they have also the same care of the dead with them, and the same persuasion about the invisible world below; but of the gods above their opinion is contrary to theirs. The Egyptians worship abundance of animals, and images of various sorts.

The Jews have no notion of any more than one Divine Being; and that known only by the mind. They esteem such to be profane who frame images of gods out of perishable matter, and in the shape of men; that this Being is supreme and eternal, immutable and unchangeable, is their doctrine. Accordingly, they have no images in their cities, much less in their temples; they never grant this piece of flattery to kings, or this kind of honour to emperors. But because their priests, when they play on the pipe and the timbrels, wear ivory round their head, and a golden vine has been found in their temple, some have thought that they worshipped our father Bacchus, the conqueror of the East; whereas the ceremonies of the Jews do not at all agree with those of Bacchus, for he appointed rites that were of a jovial nature, and fit for festivals, while the practices of the Jews are absurd and sordid.

CHAP. VI.] The limits of Judaea are bounded by Arabia; Egypt lies on the south; on the west are Phoenicia and the [Great] Sea. They have a prospect of Syria on their north quarter, as at some distance from them.

The bodies of the men are healthy, and such as will bear great labours.

They have not many showers of rain; their soil is very fruitful; the produce of their land is ours, in great plenty.

They have also, besides ours, two trees peculiar to themselves, the balsam-tree and the palm-tree. Their groves of palms are tall and beautiful. The balsam-tree is not very large. As soon as any branch is swelled, the veins quake as for fear, if you bring an iron knife to cut them. They are sometimes opened with the broken piece of a stone, or with the shell of a fish. The juice is useful in physic.

Libanus is their principal mountain, and is very high; and yet, what is very strange to be related, it is always shadowed with trees, and never free from snow. The same mountain supplies the river Jordan with water, and affords it its fountains also. Nor is this Jordan carried into the sea; it passes through one and a second lake undiminished; but it is stopped by the third.

This third lake is vastly great in circumference, as if it were a sea. It is of an ill taste; and is pernicious to the adjoining inhabitants by its strong smell. The wind raises no waves there, nor will it maintain either fishes or such birds as use the water. The reason is uncertain, but the fact is thus, that bodies cast into it are borne up as by somewhat solid. Those who can, and those who cannot swim, are equally borne up by it. At a certain time of the year(a) it casts out bitumen; the manner of gathering it, like other arts, has been taught by experience. The liquor is of its own nature, of a black colour; and, if you pour vinegar upon it, it clings together, and swains on the top. Those whose business it is, take it in their hands, and pull it into the upper parts of the ship, after which it follows, without further attraction, and fills the ship full, till you cut it off, nor can you cut it off either with a brace or an iron instrument; but it cannot bear the touch of blood, or of a cloth wet with the menstrual purgations of women, as the ancient authors say; but those that are acquainted with the place assure us, that these waves of bitumen are driven along, and by the hand drawn to the shore, and that when they are dry by the warm steams from the earth, and the force of the sun, they are cut in pieces with axes and wedges, as timber and stones are cut in pieces.

CHAP. VII.] Not far from this lake are those plains, which are related to have been of old fertile, and to have had many cities(a) full of people, but to have been burnt up by a stroke of lightning: it is also said that the footsteps of that destruction still remain; and that the earth itself appears as burnt earth, and has lost its natural fertility; and that as an argument thereof, all the plants that grow of their own accord, or are planted by the hand, whether they arrive at the degree of an herb, or of a flower, or at complete maturity, become black and empty, and, as it were, vanish into ashes.

As for myself, I am willing to allow that these once famous cities were burnt by fire from heaven, so would I suppose that the earth is infected with

1. A high, and, I doubt, a false commendation of the Jews.

2. An entirely fall-a-character, and contrary to their laws against sedition.

3. The pro stylos of justice only, not the pomeroyne of the gate.

4. A passage which is admirable for the shortness of the subject, and the weight of the arguments.

5. Which probably means that they preferred the divine commandments before their nearest relations, which is the highest degree of Jewish and Christian piety.

6. This custom is at least as old among the Hebrews as the days of Joshua, and the land of Manaplah, long before the Israelites went into Egypt. Gen. xxxli. 11-19, and xxi.

7. The customs which the Jews have here been described, not only surprize the property of the Jewish nation, in the worship of one end of images, in the rejection of idolatry, and, and of all worship of images, arising from the continual influence of the first

8. In Josephus, Of the War, b. v. ch. viii. sect. 4.

9. That is, a man could not sink into the water of this lake so deep as the sea.

10. The last branch of this, Tacitus might have from Josephus, Of the War, b. v. ch. iii. sect. 5, & c.; the other is not in the present copies.

11. These accounts of Jordan, of the mountains derived from mount Libanus, and of the two lakes it runs through, and its stoppages by the wind, are exactly what are said at this time by the ancients.

12. Josephus says, that a man could not sink into the water of this lake so deep as the sea.

13. Tacitus never says that this bitumen was cast up at a certain time of the year only. In Josephus, Of the War, b. v. ch. viii. sect. 4.

14. This is true, according to Josephus, and must have been taken from him in the place first cited; and that, particularly, because it is peculiar to him, so far as I know, in all antiquity. The rest thought the cities were in the very same place where now the lake is; but, oth-

15. Mr. Reuick's opinion also.
the vapour of the lake, and the spirit [or air] that is over it thereby corrupted, and that by this means the fruits of the earth, both corn and grapes, rot away, both the soil and the air being equally unwholesome.

The river Belus does also run into the sea of Judea; and the sands that are collected about its mouth, when you mix nitre with them, are melted into glass; this sort of shore is but small, but its sand, for the use of those that carry it off, is inexhaustible.

CHAP. VIII.] A great part of Judea is composed of scattered villages; it also has larger towns; Jerusalem is the capital city of the whole nation. In that city there was a temple of immense wealth; in the first parts that are fortified is the city itself; next it the royal palaces. The temple is inclosed in its most inward recesses. A Jew can come no farther than the gates; all but the priests are excluded by their threshold. While the East was under the dominion of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, the Jews were of all slaves the most despisable. (a)

After the dominion of the Macedonians prevailed, king Antiochus tried to conquer their superstition, and to introduce the customs of the Greeks; but he was disappointed of his design, which was to give this most profane nation a change for the better; and that was by his war with the Parthians, for at this time Arsesaces had fallen off [from the Macedonians]. Then it was that the Jews set kings over them, because the Macedonians were become weak, the Parthians were not yet very powerful, and the Romans were very remote; which kings, when they had been expelled by the mobility of the vulgar, and had recovered their dominion by war, attempted the same things that kings used to do, I mean they introduced the destruction of cities, the slaughter of brethren, of wives, and parents, but still went on in their superstition: for they took upon them without the honourable dignity of the high-priesthood, as a firm security to their power and authority.

CHAP. IX.] The first of the Romans that conquered the Jews was Cæcina Pompeius, who entered the temple by right of victory. Thence the report was everywhere divulged, that therein was no image of a god, but an empty place, and mysteries, most secret places that have nothing in them. The walls of Jerusalem were then destroyed, but the temple continued still. Soon afterward arose a civil war among us; and when therein these provinces were reduced under Marcus Antonius, Pescorus, king of the Parthians, got possession of Judea, but was himself slain by Paulus Ventidius, and the Parthians were driven beyond Euphrates; and for the Jews, Cæsarius subdued them. Antonius gave the kingdom to Herod; and when Augustus conquered Antonius he still augmented it.

After Herod's death, one Simon, without waiting for the disposition of Caesar, took upon him the title of king, who was straight to punishment by [or under] Quinctilius Varus, when he was president of Syria. Afterward the nation was reduced, and the children of Herod governed it in three partitions.

Under Tiberius the Jews had rest. After some time, they were enjoined to place Cæsars Caesar's statue in the temple; but rather than permit that they took arms; (g) which sedition was put an end to by the death of Caesar.

Claudius, after the kings were either dead or reduced to smaller dominions, gave the province of Judea to Roman knights, or to freed men, to be governed by them; among whom was Antonius Felix, one that exercised all kinds of barbarity and extravagance, as if he had royal authority, but with the disposition of a slave. He had married Drusilla, the grand-daughter of Antonius; so that Felix was the grand-daughter's husband, and Claudius the grand-son of the same Antonius.

ANNALS, BOOK XII.

But he that was the brother of Pallas, whose surname was Felix, did not act with the same moderation [as did Pallas himself]. He had been a good while ago set over Judea, and thereof he might be guilty of all sorts of wickedness with impunity while he relied on so sure an authority.

The Jews had almost given a specimen of sedition; and even after the death of Cælius was known, and they had not obeyed his command, there remained a degree of fear lest some future prince should renew that command [for the setting up the prince's status in their temple]; and in the meantime, Felix, by the use of unreasonable remedies, blew up the coals of sedition into a flame, and was imitated by his partner in the government, Venti
dius Cambus, the country being thus divided between them; that the nation of the Galileans were under Cambus, and the Samaritans under Felix; which two nations were of old at variance, but now, out of contempt of their governors, did less restrain their hatred: they then began to plunder one another; to send in parties of robbers to lie in wait, and sometimes to fight battles, and within to bring spoils and prey to the procurators [Cambus and Felix]. Whereupon these procurators began to rejoice; yet when the mischief grew considerable, orders were sent to quiet them, but the diuers were killed; and the province had been in a flame of war, had not Quadratus, the president of Syria, afforded his assistance. Nor was it long in dispute whether the Jews, who had killed the soldiers in the mutiny, should be put to death; it was agreed they should die,—only Cambus and Felix occasioned a delay; for Claudius, upon hearing the causes as to this rebellion, had given [Quadratus] authority to determine the case, even as to the procurators themselves; but Quadratus showed Felix among the judges; and with him into his seat of judgment, on purpose that he might disgrace his accusers. So Cambus was condemned for those flagitious actions, of which both he and Felix had been guilty, and peace was restored to the province. (r)

HISTOR. BOOK V. CHAP. X.

However, the Jews had patience till Gessius Florus was made procurator. Under him it was that the war began. Then Cestius Gallus, the president (a) A great slander against the Jews, without any just foundation. Josephus would have informed him better.

(g) Hier. begin Josephus's and Thomson's true accounts of the Jews prominent in the last war. See of the War, Proem, sect. 7.

(r) They came to Ptolemais, the president of Syria, in vast numbers; but without arms, and as humble suppliants only. See Tacitus proem. where he otherwise sets this matter almost right, according to Josephus, and by way of correction; but that mound in his Amalns, which were written after this which is in his Historians. This seems to be a great relaxation about the Jewish affairs in the war. See of the War, book 1, chap. 11, sect. 8.
of Syria, attempted to appease it, and tried several battles, but generally with ill success.

Upon his death, when his war was carried on by fate, or that he was weary of his life, is uncertain. Vespasian had the good fortune, by his reputation, and excellent officers, and a victorious army, in the space of two summers, to make himself master of all the open country and all the cities, Jerusalem excepted.

[Flavius Vespasianus, whom Nero had chosen for his general, managed the Jewish war with three legions. Histor. b. i. ch. x.]

The next year, which was employed in a Jewish war [at home], so far as the Jews were concerned, pastured, and in the end the Romans packed the care of foreign parts was revived. The Jews were the only people that stood out; which increased the rage of the Romans. It was also thought most proper that Titus should stay with the army, to prevent any accident or misfortune which the new government might be liable to.

[Vespasian had put end to the Jewish war; the siege of Jerusalem was the only enterprise remaining, which was a work hard and difficult; but rather from the nature of the mountain and the obstinacy of the Jewish populace, than the besieged had strength enough to undergo the distresses [of a siege]. We have already informed the reader that Vespasian had with him three legions well exercised in war. Histor. b. ii. ch. v.]

When Vespasian was a very young man, it was promised him that he should arrive at the very highest pitch of fame: but what did first of all seem to confirm the omen, was his triumphs, and consulship, and the glory of his victories over the Jews. When he had once obtained these, he believed it possible for him to come to the empire. (1)

There is between Judea and Syria a mountain and a god, both called by the same name of Carmel, though our predecessors have informed us that this had no image, and no temple, and indeed no more than an altar and solemn worship. Vespasian was once offering a sacrifice there, at a time when he had some secret thought in his mind; the priest whose name was Basiliades, when he, over and over, looked at the entrails, said, "Vespasian, whatever thou art about, whether the building of thy house or enlargement of thy lands, or augmentation of thy slaves, or setting up a young man in a higher station, which includes a great number of men." These doubtful answers were soon spread abroad by fame, and at the time were explained; nor was anything so much in public vogue, and very many discourses of that nature were made before him, and the more, because they foretold what he expected.

Mucianus and Vespasian went away, having fully agreed on their design; the former to Antioch, the latter to Cesarea. Antioch is the capital of Syria, and Cesarea the capital of Judea. The commencement of Vespasian's advancement to the empire was at Alexandria, where Tiberius Alexander made such haste, that he obliged the legions to take the oath of fidelity to him on the kalends of July, which was ever after celebrated as the day of his inauguration, although the army in Judea had taken that oath on the fifth of the Nones of July, with that eagerness, that they would not stay for his son Titus, who was then on the run, returning out of Syria, ch. lxxix. Vespasian delivered over the strongest part of his forces to Titus, to enable him to finish what remained of the Jewish war. Histor. b. iv. ch. ii.

During these months in which Vespasian continued at Alexandria, waiting for the usual set time of the summer-gales of wind, and said for settled fair weather at sea, many miraculous events happened; by which the good-will of Heaven, and a kind of inclination of the Deity in his favour, was declared.

A certain man of the vulgar sort at Alexandria, well known for the decay of his eyes, kneeling down by him and groaned, and begged of him the cure of his blindness, as by the admonition of Serapis, the god which this superstitious nation worships above others. He also desired that the emperor would be pleased to put some of his spittle upon the balls of his eyes. Another infirm man there, who was lame of his hand, prayed Cesar, as by the same god's suggestion, to tread upon him with his foot. Vespasian at first began to laugh at them, and to reject them; but when he perceived that they were in earnest, and sometimes feared he should have the reputation of a vain person, and sometimes, upon the solicitation of the infirm, he flattered himself, and others flattered him, with the hopes of succeeding. At last he ordered the physicians to give their opinion, whether this sort of blindness and lameness were curable by the art of man or not? The physicians answered uncertainly, that the one had not the usual faculty utterly destroyed, and that it might be restored, if the obstacles were removed: that the other man's limbs were disordered, but if a healing virtue were made use of, they were capable of being made whole. Perhaps, said they, the gods are willing to assist, and that the emperor is chosen by divine interposition. However, they said at last, that if the cures succeeded, Cesar would have the glory; if not, the poor miserable objects would only be laughed at. Whereupon Vespasian imagined that his good fortune would be universal, and that nothing on that account could be incredible; so he looked cheerfully, and in the sight of the multitude, who stood in great expectation, he did what they desired him to do, being deeply moved, and the blind man saw immediately. Both these cures are related to this day by those that were present, and when speaking falsely will get no reward.

BOOK V. CHAP. I.

At the beginning of the same year, Titus Cesar, who was pitched upon by his father to finish the conquest of Judea, and, while both he and his father might be celebrated afterward from his first proclamation at the great city Alexandria; only then the Nones or ides in Taurus and Susanna must be of June, and not of July.

(1) The miraculous cures done by Vespasian are attested by Suetonius in Vespasian, sect. 7, and Dio Cassius, p. 120.; and also seen to me well attested. Our nature seems to have over-ruled the heathen oracle of the entrails, so that even the sacrifice to the dea deorum was so contrary to the empire of Rome, as he suggested the like approbation to the adoration both of Vespasian and Titus, whom Jupiter had been chosen Instruments in bringing on that terrible destruction upon the Jewish nation, which he had prepared to execute by these Roman armies. Nor could any other Roman generals than Vespasian and Titus, at that time, in human probability, have prevailed over the Jews, who were already subdued; their zeal for him, he had made known to all the world by these Roman armies. Nor could any other Roman generals than Vespasian and Titus, at that time, in human probability, have prevailed over the Jews, who were already subdued; their zeal for him, he had made known to all the world by these Roman armies.
there were private persons, he celebrated for his martial conduct, acted now with greater vigour and hopes of reputation, the kind inclinations both of the provinces and of the armies striving one with another, who the most esteem to do him. He was such a man as himself disposed to show himself more than equal to his fortune; and when he appeared in arms, he did all things after such a ready and graceful way, treating all after such an affable manner, and with such kind words, as invited the good-will and good wishes of all. He appeared also in his actions and in his place in the troops; he mixed with the common soldiers, yet without any stain to his honour as a general. He was received in Judaea by three legions, the fifth, the tenth, and the fifteenth, who were Vespasian's old soldiers. Syria also afforded him the twelfth, and Alexandria soldiers out of the twenty-second and twenty-third legions. Twenty cohorts of auxiliaries accompanied, as also eight troops of horse.

King Agrippa was also there, and King Solomon, and the auxiliaries of king Antiochus, and a strong body of Arabians, who, as is usual in nations that are neighbours to one another, went with their accustomed hatred against the Jews, with many others out of the city of Rome, as every one's hopes led him, of getting early into the general's favour, before others should prevent the matter.

He entered into the borders of the enemy's country with these forces, in exact order of war; and looking carefully about him, and being ready for battle, he pitched his camp not far from Jerusalem.

Chap. XI.] When therefore he had pitched his camp, as we said just now, before the walls of Jerusalem, he pompously showed his legions ready for an engagement.

Chap. XI.] The Jews formed their camp under the very wall of the city; and if they succeeded, they resolved to venture farther; but if they were beaten back, that was their place of refuge. When a body of cavalry were sent against them, and with them cohorts that were expedito and nimble, the fight was doubtful; but soon afterwards the enemies gave ground, and on the following days there were frequent skirmishes before the gates, till after many losses they were driven into the city. The Romans then betook themselves to the siege, for it did not seem honourable to stay till the enemies were reduced by famine. The soldiers were very eager to expose themselves to dangers; part of them out of true valour, and many out of a brutish fierceness, and out of a desire of reward. Titus had Rome, and the riches and pleasures of it, before his eyes; all which seemed to be too long delayed, unless Jerusalem could be soon destroyed.

The city stood on a high elevation, and it had great works and ramparts to secure it; such indeed as were sufficient for its fortification, had it been on plain ground; for there were two hills of a vast height, which were enclosed by walls made crooked by art, or natural fortifications, besides that they might flank the besiegers, and cast darts on them sideways. The extreme parts of the rock were craggy, and the towers, when they had the advantage of the ground, were sixty feet high; when they were built on the plain ground they were not lower than one hundred and twenty feet: they were of uncommon beauty, and to those who looked at them at a great distance, they seemed equal. Other walls there were beneath the royal palace, besides the tower of Antonia, with its top particularly conspicuous. It was called so by Herod, in honour of Marcus Antonius.

Chap. XII.] The temple was like a citadel, having walls of its own, which had more labour and pains bestowed on them than the rest. The cloisters therewith the temple was enclosed were an excellent fortification.

They had a fountain of water that ran perpetually, and the mountains were hollowed under ground; they had moreover pools and cisterns for the preservation of the rain-water.

They that built this city foresaw, that from the distance of their outlying life from their neighbours, they should have frequent wars; these it came to pass that they had provision for a long siege. After Pompey's conquest also, their fear and experience had taught them generally what they should want.

Moreover, the covetous temper that prevailed under Claudius, gave the Jews an opportunity of purchasing for money leave to fortify Jerusalem; so they built walls in time of peace, as if they were going to war, they being augmented in number by those rude multitudes of people that retailed either on the ruin of the other cities; and thus by every obsequious fellow ran away thither, and there became more seditionous than before.

There were three captains, and as many armies. Simon had the remotest and largest parts of the walls under him. John, who was also called Bar Gioras (the son of Gioras), had the middle parts of the city under him; and Eleazar had fortified the temple itself. John and Simon were superior in multitude and strength of arms, Eleazar was superior by his situation, but battles, factions, and burnings, were common to them all; and a great quantity of corn was consumed by fire. After a while, John sent some, who, under the pretence of offering sacrifices, might slay Eleazar and his body of troops, which they did, and got the temple under their power. So the city was now parted into two factions, until, upon the coming of the Romans, this war abroad, produced peace between these that were at home.

Chap. XIII.] Such prodigies had happened, of those pools, see Josephus, of the War, b. v. ch. 12, sect. 6.

The cloisters are mentioned by Josephus, of the War, b. v. ch. 12, sect. 6.

This is a proper description of the town, as Josephus, of the War, b. v. ch. 12, sect. 6.

This is a proper description of the town, as Josephus, of the War, b. v. ch. 12, sect. 6.

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as this nation, which is superstitious enough in its own way, would not agree to expiate by the ceremonies of the Roman religion, nor would they stone the gods by sacrifices and vows, as these used to do either in life or death. As they were seen to fight in the sky, and their armour looked of a bright light colour, and the temple awoke with sudden flashes of fire out of the clouds. The doors of the temple were opened on a sudden, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were retiring, and at the same time there was a great motion perceived, as if they were going out of it, which some esteemed to be causes of terror. The greater part had a firm belief that it was contained in the old ecclesiastical books, that at this very time the east would prevail, and that some that came out of Judea, should obtain the empire of the world, which obscure oracle foretold Vespasian and Titus; but the generality of the common people, as usual, indulged their own inclinations, and when they had once interpreted all to forbode grandeur to themselves, adversity itself could not persuade them to change their minds, though it were from falsehood to truth.\(^{(l)}\)

We have been informed, that the number of the besieged, of every age and of both sexes, was six hundred thousand.\(^{(l)}\) There were weapons for which they could not have thought more than could be expected, for their number, were bold enough to do so. The men and the women were equally obstinate; and when they supposed they were to be carried away captive, they were more afraid of life than of death. Against this city and nation Titus Cæsar resolved to fight, by ramparts and ditches, since the situation of the place did not admit of taking it by storm or surprise. He parted the duty among the legions; and there were no further engagements, until whatever had been invented for the taking of cities by the ancients, or by the ingenuity of the moderns, was got ready.

ANNALS, BOOK XV.

Nero, in order to stifle the rumour [as if he had himself set Rome on fire], ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar Christians; these he punished exquisitely. The author of this name was Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate, the procurator.\(^{(m)}\) For the present this pernicious superstition was in part suppressed; but it broke out again, not only over Judea, whence this mischief first sprang, but in the city of Rome also, whither do run from every quarter and make a noise, all the flagrant and shameful enormities. At first, therefore, those were seized who confessed; afterward a vast multitude were detected by them, and were convicted, not so much as really guilty of setting the city on fire, but as hating all mankind; nay, they made a mock of them as they punished, and destroyed them by putting them into the skins of wild beasts, and setting dogs upon them to tear them to pieces; some were nailed to crosses, and others flamed to death; they were also used in the night-time instead of torches for illumination. Nero had offered his own gardens for this spectacle. He also gave them Cirensian gales, and dressed himself like the driver of a chariot, sometimes appearing among the common people, sometimes in the circle itself; whence a commiseration arose, though the punishments were levelled at guilty persons, and such as deserved to be made the most flagrant examples, as if these people were destroyed,—not for the public advantage, but to satisfy the barbarous humour of one man.

Since I have set down all the vile calumnies of Tacitus upon the Christians as well as the Jews, it will be proper, before I come to my Observations, to set down two heathen records in their favour, and those hardly inferior in antiquity, and of much greater authority than Tacitus; I mean Pliny's Epistle to Trajan when he was proconsul of Bithynia; with Trajan's Answer or rescript to Pliny, cited by Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerome. These are records of so great esteem with Haver camp, the last editor of Josephus, that he thinks they not only deserve to be read, but almost to be learned by heart also.

PLINY'S EPISTLE TO TRAJAN.

ABOUT A.D. 112.

Sir,

It is my constant method to apply myself to you for the resolution of all my doubts; for who can better govern my dilatory way of proceeding or instruct my ignorance! I have never been present at the examination of the Christians [by others], on which account I am unacquainted with what uses to be inquired into, and what, and how far they used to be punished; nor am my doubts small, whether there be not a distinction to be made between the age [of the accused] and whether tender youth ought to have the same punishment with strong men! Whether there be not room for pardon upon repentance (as) or whether it may not be an advantage to one that had been a Christian, that he has forsaken Christianity! Whether the bare name(s) without any crimes besides, or the crimes adhering to that name, be to be punished! In the meantime I have taken this course about those who have been brought before me as Christians. I asked them whether they were Christians or not! If they confessed that they were Christians, I asked them again, and a third time, intimating threatening with the questions. If they persevered in their confessions, I ordered them to be executed (as) for I did not doubt but, let their confessions be of any sort whatsoever, this positive and inflexible obstinacy deserved to be punished. There have been some of this mad sect whom I took notice of in particular as Roman citizens, that they might be sent to that city.\(^{(q)}\) After some time, as is usual in

\(^{(l)}\) This Interpretation, and the reflections upon it, are in Josephina, of the War, b. vii. ch. vi. sect. 4.

\(^{(l)}\) The number of 600,000 for the besieged is nowhere in Josephina, but it is there for the poor burnt at the public charge, of the War, b. vii. ch. ii. sect. 7, which might be about the number of the besieged, because of the number of the hands, as Josephina implies, of the War, b. vii. ch. ii. sect. 8.

\(^{(m)}\) This passage seems to have been directly taken from Josephina's famous testimony concerning Christ, and the Christians, Antiq. b. xiii. ch. iii. sect. 3, of which see Deuerit. 1, before.

\(^{(a)}\) I have tried to explain the reasons why I have not allowed the same cases of the Jews, or the history of the Jews, or the Christian sect, as that of the Christians, and the Christians, Antiq. b. xiii. ch. iii. sect. 3, of which see Deuerit. 1.

\(^{(b)}\) It is the most that is known of the Roman historians concerning Christ, and the Christians, Antiq. b. xiii. ch. iii. sect. 3, of which see Deuerit. 1, before.

\(^{(q)}\) After some time, as is usual in
such examinations, the crime spread itself, and many more cases came before me. A libel was sent to me, though without an author, containing many names [of persons accused]. These denied that they were Christians now, or ever had been. They called the crime a god, and cursed the images of the gods, by which I came to be brought to me for that purpose, with frank incense and wine; they also cursed Christ (a) none of which things, it is said, can any of those that are really Christians be compelled to do: so I thought fit to let them go.

Others of them that were named in the libel, said they were Christians, but presently denied it again; that indeed they had been Christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years, some many more; and there was that said he had not been so these twenty years. All those worshipped your image, and the images of our gods; these also cursed Christ. However, they assured me that the main of their fault, or of their mistake, was this:—That they were wont, on a stated day, to meet together before it was light, and to sing a hymn to Christ, as to a god, alternately; and to oblige themselves by a sacrament [or oath], not to do any thing that was ill; but that they would commit no theft, or pilfering, or adultery; that they would not break their promises, or deny what was deposited with them, when it was required back again; after which it was their custom to depart, and to meet again at a common but innocent meal, (t) which they had left off upon that edict which I published at your command, and wherein I had forbidden any such conventicles. These examinations made me think it necessary to inquire by torments what the truth was; which I did of two servant-maids, who were called Deaconesses: but still I discovered no more than that they were addicted to a bad and to an extravagant superstition. Hereupon I have put off any further examinations, and have recourse to you, for the affair seems to be well worth consultation, especially on account of the number(s) of those that are in danger; for there are many of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes, who are now and hereafter likely to be called to account, and to be in danger; for this superstition is spread like a contagion, not only into cities and towns, but into country villages also, which yet there is reason to hope may be stopped and corrected. To be sure, the temples which were almost forsaken, begin already to be frequented; and the holy solemnities, which were long intermitted, begin to be revived. The sacrifices begin to sell well everywhere, of which very few purchasers had of late appeared; whereby it is easy to suppose how great a multitude of men may be amended, if place for repentance be admitted.

TAJAN'S EPITOME TO PLINY.

My Pliny,—You have taken the method which you sought in examining the causes of those that had been accused as Christians, for indeed no certain and general form of judging can be ordained in this case. These people are not to be sought for; but if they be accused and convicted, they are to be punished; but with this caution, that he who desires himself to be emulated in his conduct, and makes it plain that he is not so by supplicating to our gods, although he had been so formerly, may be allowed pardon, upon his repentance. As for libels sent without an author, they ought to have no place in any accusation whatsoever, for that would be a thing of very ill example, and not agreeable to my reign.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE PASSAGES TAKEN OUT OF TACITUS.

I. We see here what a great regard the best of the Roman historians of that age, Tacitus, had to the history of Josephus, while though he never names him, as he very rarely names any of those Roman authors whence he derives other parts of his history, yet does it appear that he refers to his seven books of the Jewish Wars several times in a very few pages, and almost always depends on his accounts of the affairs of the Romans and Parthians, as well as of the Jews, during no fewer than 240 years, to which those books extend. II. Yet does it appear that when he now and then followed other historians, or reports concerning the Romans, the Parthians, or the Jews, during that long interval, he was commonly mistaken in them, and had better have kept close to Josephus than hearken to any of his other authors or informers.

III. It also appears highly probable that Tacitus had seen the Antiquities of Josephus, and knew that the most part of the accounts he produced of the origin of the Jewish nation entirely contradicted those Antiquities. He also could hardly avoid seeing that those accounts contradicted one another, and were childish, absurd, and supported by no good evidence whatsoever: as also, he could hardly avoid seeing that Josephus's accounts in those Antiquities were authentic, substantial, and thoroughly attested by the ancient records of that nation, and of the neighbouring nations also, which indeed no one can now avoid seeing, that carefully peruses and considers them.

IV. Tacitus therefore in concealing the greatest part of the true ancient history of the Jewish nation, which lay before him in Josephus, and producing such fabulous, ill-grounded, and partial histories, which he had from the heathens, acted a most unfair part; and this procedure of his is here the more gross, in regard he professes such great impartiality (Hist. b. i. ch. i.), and is allowed indeed to have observed that impartiality as to the Roman affairs.

V. Tacitus's hatred and contempt of God's peculiar people, the Jews, and his attachment to the grossest idolatry, superstition, and astral fatality of the Romans, were therefore so strong in him, as to overbear all restraints of sober reason and equity in the case of those Jews, though he be allowed so exactly to have followed them on other occasions relating to the Romans.

VI. Since therefore Tacitus was so bitter against the Jews, and since he knew that Christ was a Jew himself, and that his apostles, and first followers...
were Jews, and also knew that the Christian religion was derived into the Roman provinces from Judea,—it is no wonder that his hatred and contempt of the Jews extended itself to the Christians also, whom the Romans usually confounded with the Jews; as therefore his hard words of the Jews appear to have been generally groundless, and hurt his own reputation instead of theirs, so ought we to esteem his alike hard words of the Christians to be blots upon his own character, and not upon theirs.

VII. Since therefore Tacitus, soon after the publication of Josephus's Antiquities, and in contradiction to them, was determined to produce such idle stories about the Jews, and since one of those idle stories is much the same with that published in Josephus, against Apion, from Manetho and Lyonsachus, and nowhere else met with so fully in all antiquity, it is most probable that those Antiquities of Josephus were the very occasion of Tacitus giving us these stories; as we know from Josephus himself, against Apion, b. i. sect. 1, that the same Antiquities were the very occasion of Apion's publication of his equally scandalous stories about them, and which Josephus so thoroughly confuted in these two books, written against him; and if Tacitus, as I suppose, had also read these two books, his procedure in publishing such stories after he had seen so thorough a confutation of them, was still more highly criminal. Nor will Tacitus's fault be much less, though we suppose he neither saw the Antiquities, nor the books against Apion: because it was very easy for him, then at Rome, to have had more authentic accounts, of the origin of the Jewish nation, and of the nature of the Jewish and Christian religions, from the Jews and Christians themselves, who he owns were very numerous there in his days; so that his publication of such idle stories is still utterly inexcusable.

VIII. It is therefore very plain, after all, that notwithstanding the encomiums of several of our learned critics upon Tacitus, and hard suspicions upon Josephus, all the (involuntary) mistakes of Josephus, in all his large works put together, their quality as well as quantity considered, do not amount to near so great a sum as do these gross errors and misrepresentations of Tacitus about the Jews amount to in a few pages; so little reason have some of our later and lesser critics to prefer the Greek and Roman historians and writers to the Jewish, and particularly to Josephus. Such later and lesser critics should have learned more judgment and modesty from their great father Joseph Scaliger, when, as we have seen, after all his deeper inquiries, he solemnly pronounces (De Emend. Temp. Prolegom. p. 17), that "Josephus was the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers;" and is not afraid to affirm, that "it is more safe to believe him not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers; and this because his fidelity and compass of learning are everywhere conspicuous."
### Table of the Jewish Weights and Measures, Particularly of Those Mentioned in Josephus’ Works.

#### Of the Jewish Measures of Length.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Feet</th>
<th>Inches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cubit, the standard</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zereth or large span</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small span</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palm or hand’s breadth</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inch or thumb’s breadth</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digit or finger’s breadth</td>
<td>0.575</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oraya or fathom</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esaikel’s Caneh or reed</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabian Caneh or pole</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schenmus, line or chain</td>
<td>1620</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath-day’s journey</td>
<td>42000</td>
<td>3500</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish mile</td>
<td>84000</td>
<td>7000</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stadium or furlong</td>
<td>6400</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parasang</td>
<td>22500</td>
<td>3500</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Of the Jewish Measures of Capacity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Cub. Inches</th>
<th>Pints or Pounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bath or Epta</td>
<td>597.274</td>
<td>27.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corns or Chomer</td>
<td>807.874</td>
<td>37.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seash or Satose</td>
<td>269.698</td>
<td>12.996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto according to Josephus</td>
<td>626.28</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hin</td>
<td>134.54</td>
<td>6.1633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto according to Josephus</td>
<td>414.12</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once or Assaron</td>
<td>90.292</td>
<td>4.273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cab</td>
<td>44.659</td>
<td>2.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leg</td>
<td>11.21</td>
<td>0.522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miterote or Syrian fistie</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>9.125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Of the Jewish Weights and Coins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stater, Sicilus, or shekel</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyrian coin, equal to the shekel</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bekah, half of the shekel</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drachm, Arric, one-fourth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gera, two-twentieth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manach, or Mina—100 shekels in weight—21,280 grana Troy.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manach, or Mina, or Mina, as a coin—60 shekels—</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talent of silver—3600 shekels</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drachm of gold, not more than</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinar of gold, not more than</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talent of gold, not more than</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
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### Table of the Jewish Months in Josephus and Others, With the Syro-Macedonian Names Josephus Gives Them, and the Names of the Julian or Roman Months Corresponding To Them.

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<td>Xanthicus</td>
<td>March and April</td>
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<td>(2) Jyar</td>
<td>Artemisius</td>
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<td>(3) Sivan</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Panemus</td>
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<td>(5) Ab</td>
<td>Lous</td>
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<td>(6) Elul</td>
<td>Gerpecius</td>
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<td>(7) Tisri</td>
<td>Hyperberactus</td>
<td>September and October</td>
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<td>(8) Marchesvan</td>
<td>Dias</td>
<td>October and November</td>
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<td>(9) Casleu</td>
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<td>December and January</td>
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<td>(11) Shabat</td>
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<tr>
<td>(12) Adar</td>
<td>Dysprus</td>
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