EAST FRONT OF THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.
DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM,

AND THE

DESOLATION OF PALESTINE,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

JEWISH NATION,

FROM

THE DAYS OF ABRAHAM TO ITS FINAL DISPERSION.

With Map and Engravings.

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PREFACE.

The cumbersome nature of the books in which the narrative of the Jewish race has been told, and the religious or political bias of the writers, has precluded the general reader from a consecutive and impartial view of the history of a nation from whose faith the dominant religions of the world have their origin, and whose laws are the basis of all justice and equity.

To evolve from the mass of mingled truth and fiction the circumstantial and connected story of five thousand years of strange vicissitudes, to collect the fragments that are scattered through many ponderous folios of the past ages, and embody them in a concise form, has required much patient analysis and careful discrimination.

The Jews emerge from the obscurity that enshrouds the beginning of humanity, with a traditional history, bearing evident marks of general truthfulness. But when we reach the period of contemporaneous writers, the many contradictions render a satisfactory deduction extremely difficult.

The Roman historian characteristically gilded the story of his nation's achievements, and glossed its faults and shortcomings. The accounts of the reduction of Palestine must be read with a remembrance of the disfavor in which the Romans held the origin, history, and religion of the race they subdued but could not annihilate. The Jewish kingdom was a continual source of exasperation to its conquerors. The turbulent Jews, when not seditious, were fratricidal. Conciliation and coercion
were alike ineffectual in quieting them, and the historian mentions with contempt, astonishment, and disgust, by turns, the insurrections of the petty province, magnifying or diminishing the subject as the occasion may require.

The Christian narratives abound with hatred toward the Jews. Long after the Pagans had ceased their warfare, Christian zeal employed itself in avenging the persecutions of its early days. The Inquisition found plenty of material for its tortures, and its upholders were never weary of inventing new calumnies. Their accounts are wholly unreliable, as are the Jewish works which have passed through the fire of Christian purification. The Church has endeavored to turn the artillery of its opponents upon themselves, by judicious interpolations, and we must scrutinize carefully the published accounts, or we shall be mystified by their candor toward the new faith.

On the other hand, Josephus, upon whom the general reader relies for information, labors under the imputation of having purchased his exemption from the fate of his nation by shrewd treachery, and his history resolves itself into a palliation of his conduct.

The reader will be surprised at the numbers of the contending armies. The figures as given by contemporaneous writers are usually much larger. A careful estimate has led us to adopt the statements herein contained. The Jews were not a proselyting race, nor was their country one which tended to exceed the average increase of population. The estimated Jewish population of the world at the present day, after a long period of exemption from persecution, is only from four and a half to six millions.

The Israelites were a peculiar people and justify the interest of the reader. When little more numerous than a family, they had their language, customs, and peculiar observances, treated with princes, and in every respect acted as a nation. Though broken in power, and scattered through all climes, among the
rudest and most civilized nations, they have preserved through thousands of years, common features, habits, and observances, a common religion, literature, and a sacred language. Without any political union, without a common head or center, they are generally regarded, and regard themselves, as a nation. They began as nomads, their law made them agriculturists for fifteen centuries, their exile has transformed them into merchants. They have struggled for their national existence against the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Syrians, and Romans, have been conquered and nearly exterminated by each of those powers, and have survived them all. Their persecutors sang the hymns of their psalmists, revered their books, believed in their prophets, and even persecuted them in the name of their God.

The cause of the downfall of the Jewish kingdom may be ascribed primarily to their disregard of their Law, their neglect to conquer the whole land as they had been commanded; and secondly, to their incorrigible obstinacy. Experience taught them nothing. Perverse unto the last, as the result of their factions, they saw their city drenched with kindred blood, their temple demolished, and their national existence obliterated.

In the temple was centered the hopes and veneration of the people. The Solomonian edifice, partially destroyed by the Assyrians, was restored by the pious care of Zerubbabel. The politic Agrippa seeks to win the favor of his unruly subjects by rebuilding it with increased magnificence, and its final fall marks the fulfillment of the prophecies. On its ruins rises a Christian church, which eventually gives way to a Mahometan mosque; and the Jew consoles himself that the descendants of Abraham, though in the cast-off branch of Ishmael, possess the land of promise.

Of the lost tribes, it is not the province of this work to treat. The speculations as to their migration and settlement in various parts of the world, and the attempts to identify them with the
aborigines of America have elicited much learned discussion. The strongest presumption against their identity is the lack of any trace of the Jewish theology, the characteristic of the race in the eastern hemisphere.

In no country has the Jew found a safer haven than in the United States, and the peace and prosperity which has attended them here was curiously recognized in the attempt by Mordecai M. Noah to found a new Jerusalem at Grand Island, on the Niagara frontier. But the corner-stone, laid with so much solemnity, remains without a superstructure, and Israel is yet without an abiding place.

CINCINNATI, April, 1869.
CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.
THE PATRIARCHAL AGE.
Religious History of the Jews—Abraham—Birth of Ishmael—Birth of Isaac—
Abraham's Faith—Isaac—Jacob—Joseph Sold—Jacob's Death—Moses and
Aaron ................................................................. pp. 11—21

CHAPTER II.
UNDER MOSES.
Journey through the Wilderness—Their Solemn Ratification—Malediction
against the Violation of the Law—Moses’ Death—Character of Moses... 22—28

CHAPTER III.
UNDER JOSHUA.
Joshua Assumes the Command—Passage of the Jordan—Death of Joshua—
Judges—Abimelech—Sampson—Samuel—The Ark of God Taken—Saul—
David—Founding of Jerusalem—Union of the Whole Kingdom under
David—Absalom—Preparation for Building the Temple—Building of the
Temple—Solomon—Reigns of the Kings of Judea and Israel ............. 28—44

CHAPTER IV.
UNDER REHOBOAM.
Accession of Rehoboam—Jeroboam—Separation of the Two Kingdoms—Abi-
jah—Asa—Ahab and Jezebel—The Prophets—Elijah’s Miracle—Death of the
Priests—Naboth Stoned—Jehoshaphat—Jehoram—Elisha—Elisha Cures
Naaman—Hostilities with Syria—Jehu—Death of Jezebel—Apostasy of
Joash—Ahaz—Hezekiah—Manasseh—Josiah—Jeremiah—Assyrian Con-
quests—Capture of Jerusalem—Death of Jeremiah ........................... 44—65

CHAPTER V.
CAPTIVITY.
Captivity under Nebuchadnezzar—Daniel—Under Cyrus—Return to the Holy
Land—Rebuilding of the Temple—Mordecai—Esther—Nehemiah—Jewish
Constitution re-established—Alexandrian Jews—Joseph, Son of Tobias—
Hyrcanus—Persecutions under Antiochus ........................................ 65—83
CONTENTS.

CHAPTER VI.
THE ASMONEANS.

CHAPTER VII.
UNDER HEROD.
His Accession—Death of Mariamne—Cesaria founded—Rebuilding of the Temple—Sons of Mariamne—Their Death—Death of Antipator—Death of Herod.................................................................108—121

CHAPTER VIII.
THE HERODIAN FAMILY.
Archelaus—The Temple Plundered by the Romans—Roman Governors—Pontius Pilate—Philip—Accession of Caligula—Herod Agrippa—Caligula—Death of Agrippa.............................................................122—138

CHAPTER IX.
THE ROMAN GOVERNORS.

CHAPTER X.
PREPARATION FOR THE WAR.

CHAPTER XI.
THE WAR.

CHAPTER XII.
SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.
State of the City—Advance of the Roman Army—Danger of Titus—Capture of the First Wall—Of the Second—Famine—Murders within the City—Crucifixion
CONTENTS.

without—The City Encircled with Trench and Wall—Antonia Taken—Capture—Conflagration of the Temple—Capture and Demolition of the City—Fate of John and Simon—Numbers slain and taken Prisoner—Triumph of Vespasian and Titus..........................................................243—291.

CHAPTER XIII.

TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

Fall of Herodin—Macherus—Masada—Fate of Josephus—Agrippa—Bernice..........................................................291—298.

CHAPTER XIV.

BARCOCHAB.


CHAPTER XV.

THE PATRIARCH OF THE WEST AND THE PRINCE OF THE CAPTIVITY.


CHAPTER XVI.

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

Attempt to Convert the Jews—Laws of Constantine—Julian the Apostate—Attempt to rebuild the Temple—Death of Julian—Decay of the Patriarchate—Violent Ferments—Tumults in Alexandria—Fall of the Patriarchate—332—344

CHAPTER XVII.

THE JEWS UNDER THE BARBARIAN KINGS AND BYZANTINE EMPERORS.


CHAPTER XVIII.

JUDAISM AND MAHOMETANISM.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XIX.
GOLDEN AGE OF JUDAISM.
The Jews under the Caliphs—Kingdom of Khozars—Isaac's Embassy—Agobard, Bishop of Lyons—Jews in Spain—Moses Maimonides..........................365—370

CHAPTER XX.
IRON AGE OF JUDAISM.

CHAPTER XXI.
JEWS IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XXII.
JEWS EXPELLED FROM SPAIN.
Zeal of the Clergy—New Christians—Inquisition—Expulsion of the Jews—Sufferings in Italy, in Morocco, in Portugal—Subsequent miseries in the latter Kingdom.................................................................397—404

CHAPTER XXIII.
PRESENT CONDITION.
Conduct of the Popes—The Reformation—Invention of Printing........404—409

CHAPTER XXIV.
FALSE MESSIAHS.
The Messiah—Rabbins in Hungary—Sabbathai Sevi..........................409—414

CHAPTER XXV.
MODERN JUDAISM.
HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PATRIARCHAL AGE.

The Jews, without reference to their religious belief, are among the most remarkable people in the annals of mankind. Sprung from one stock, they pass the infancy of their nation in a state of servitude in a foreign country, where, nevertheless, they increase so rapidly, as to appear, on a sudden, the fierce and irresistible conquerors of their native valleys in Palestine. There they settle down under a form of government and code of laws totally unlike those of any other rude or civilized community. They sustain a long and doubtful conflict, sometimes enslaved, sometimes victorious, with the neighboring tribes. At length, united under one monarchy, they gradually rise to the rank of a powerful, opulent, and commercial people. Subsequently, weakened by internal discord, they are overwhelmed by the vast monarchies which arose on the banks of the Euphrates, and transplanted into a foreign region. They are partially restored, by the generosity or policy of the Eastern sovereigns, to their native land. They are engaged in wars of the most romantic gallantry, in assertion of their independence, against the Syro-Grecian successors of Alexander. Under Herod, they rise to a second era of splendor, as a dependent kingdom of Rome; finally, they make the last desperate resistance to the universal dominion of the Caesars. Scattered, from that period, over the face of the earth—hated, scorned, and oppressed, they subsist, a numerous and often a thriving people; and in all the changes of manners and opinions retain their ancient institu-
tions, their national character, and their indelible hope of restoration to grandeur and happiness in their native land.

The religious history of this people is no less singular. In the narrow slip of land inhabited by their tribes, the worship of one Almighty Creator of the Universe subsisted, as in its only sanctuary. In every stage of society, under the pastoral tent of Abraham, and in the sumptuous temple of Solomon, the same creed maintains its inviolable simplicity. During their long intercourse with foreign nations in Egypt and Babylon, though the primitive habits and character of the Hebrew nation were greatly modified, and perhaps some theological notions engrafted on their original tenets, this primary distinction still remains; after several periods of almost total apostacy, it revives in all its vigor. Nor is this merely a sublime speculative tenet, it is the basis of their civil constitution, and their national character. As there is but one Almighty God, so there is but one people under His especial protection, the descendants of Abraham. Hence their civil and religious history is inseparable. The God of the chosen people is their temporal as well as spiritual sovereign; He is not merely their legislator, but also the administrator of their laws. Their land is His gift, held from Him, as from a feudal liege-lord, on certain conditions. He is their leader in war, their counsellor in peace. Their happiness or adversity, national as well as individual, depends solely and immediately on their maintenance or neglect of the divine institutions. Such was the common popular religion of the Jews, as it appears in all their records, in their law, their history, their poetry, and their moral philosophy. Hence, to the mere speculative inquirer, the study of the human race presents no phenomenon so singular as the character of this extraordinary people; to the Christian, no chapter in the history of mankind can be more instructive or important, than that which contains the rise, progress, and downfall of his religious ancestors.

Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, holds an eminent place in all oriental tradition, not only among the Jews, but likewise among the Persians, Arabsans, and perhaps the Indians. With him the history of the Jews commences as, likewise, the promises given them by God, and the miracles performed in their
favor. He was the son of Terah, the head of a pastoral family, consisting of three sons, Abram, Nahor, and Haran. Haran, probably the oldest, died early, leaving a son named Lot. Abram was married to Sarah, daughter of Terah by another wife. Their native place was Ur, a district to the north-east of that region which lies above the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, and became afterward the seat of the great Babylonian monarchy. Here Abram stood alone in a tribe and family of idolaters, as the worshiper of the one great Creator. According to the usage of nomadic tribes, the family of Terah broke up from their settlement at Ur, and migrated to Carrhan, a flat barren region lying west of Ur, and celebrated in later history for the defeat of Marius-Crassus, near Carrhan. After a residence of some years in Carrhan, the pastoral horde divided, and Abram set forth to establish an independent tribe in a remote region. Lot, the son of his brother Haran followed his fortunes. This separation of Abram, as the single stock from which a new tribe was to trace its unmingled descent, is ascribed to the express command of God. Already, while in Ur, Abram had received some communication from the Deity; to his departure into Canaan he was incited by a direct promise, the most splendid which could be offered to the ambition of the head of a nomadic tribe, in which numbers constitute power and wealth; his seed was to become hereafter a great nation. A more obscure and mysterious intimation was added, that some part of his future race should exercise a most important influence on the destinies of mankind.

The advanced age of Abram and Sarah seemed to render doubtful the fulfillment of these promises, when three angels, in the shape of travelers, came to visit them. They were sent to punish Sodom and Gomorrah for their wickedness, and announced that, at their return, Sarah would be a mother. Though she was ninety years old she conceived and bare Isaac, at the time designated by the angel.

Fourteen years prior to this occurrence, however, Sarah, despairing of issue from her own body, had resorted to a custom, still known in the East, particularly in China. The chief or lawful wife substitutes a slave in her own place, the children born in this manner have the rank and privilege of legitimacy,
and are considered in every respect the offspring of the mistress of the establishment. In this manner Hagar, an Egyptian slave, bore a son to Abram; he was named Ishmael.

There is something singularly beautiful in the attachment of Abram to the first child, who had awakened the parental feeling in his bosom. He would have fain transferred the blessing to Ishmael, and is reluctant to sacrifice the early object of his pride and joy to the unborn son of Sarah. But the race of Abram is to be beyond every possible impeachment on its legitimacy. Abram is commanded to assume the mysterious name of Abraham (the father of a multitude), as the ancestor of a great and numerous people, who were to descend from Sarah and become lords of all Palestine. The tribe were to be distinguished by the rite of circumcision.

After the birth of Isaac, however, the jealous apprehensions of a mother are directed against Hagar and her child. Usage, stronger than written law, gives the chief wife in the tent of wandering pastoral people unlimited authority over her female slaves. Sarah now insists, and Abraham, receiving a divine intimation as to the destiny of the elder born, complies with her demand, that Hagar and Ishmael should be sent forth to seek their fortune in some of the unoccupied and uncultivated districts which lay around. The supply of provisions which they carried from the tent of Abraham soon failed, and the mother and the youth wandered into a district which was destitute of water.

History or poetry scarcely presents us with any passage which surpasses in simple pathos the description of Hagar, not daring to look upon her child while he is perishing with thirst before her face. "And she went and sat her down over against him a good way off, as it were a bowshot; for she said, Let me not see the death of the child. And she sat over against him, and lifted up her voice and wept." But Ishmael likewise was to become the father of a great people; by divine interposition Hagar discovered a well, the water restored them to life. Ishmael either joined some horde of Arabs or maintained himself in independence by his bow, until his mother obtained him an Egyptian wife. The wandering Arabs to this day, by general traditions adopted into the Koran, trace their descent from the outcast son of
Abraham. "The wild man, whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him," still waylays the traveler by the fountain, or sweeps his rapid troop of horse across the track of the wealthy caravan.

The faith of Abraham was to pass through a more trying ordeal. He was suddenly commanded to cut off that life on which all the splendid promises of the Almighty seemed to depend. He obeys, and sets forth with his unsuspecting child to offer the fatal sacrifice on Mount Moriah.

The offering of Isaac bears no resemblance, either in its nature, or what may be termed its moral purport, to the horrid rites of immolating human victims, common among many early nations, more especially the tribes by which Abraham was surrounded. It was neither piacular nor propitiatory; Abraham had committed no guilt, and apprehended no danger; the immolation of his only son seemed forever to deprive him of that blessing which was nearest to his heart, the parentage of a numerous and powerful tribe. It was a simple act of unhesitating obedience to the divine command, the last proof of perfect reliance on the certain accomplishment of the divine promises. Isaac, so miraculously bestowed, could be as miraculously restored; Abraham—such is the comment of the Christian apostle—believed that God could even raise him up from the dead. After everything is prepared, the wood of the altar laid, even the sacrificial knife uplifted, the arm of the father is arrested—a single ram, entangled by his horns in a thicket, is substituted, and Abraham called the name of the place Jehovah-Jirah, "The Lord will provide."

Near this same spot, eighteen centuries after, Jesus Christ was offered, the victim, as the Christian world has almost universally believed, provided by the Lord—inexplicable, if undesigned, coincidence! This last trial of his faith thus passed, the promise of the divine blessing was renewed to Abraham in still more express and vivid terms.

His seed were to be numerous as the stars of heaven, and as the sands of the sea-shore; their enemies were to fall before them; and the whole world was to receive some remote and mysterious blessing through the channel of this favored race.

With a view to keep up the isolation of the Abrahamitic
family and insure its descent from the original Mesopotamian stock, the wife of Isaac is sought, not from among their Canaanitish neighbors, but among his father's kindred in Carrhan. Abraham sends a servant to Carrhan on this matrimonial mission, having first solemnly sworn him to the faithful discharge of his embassage. The servant sets off with his camels, and arrives in safety near the old encampment of the tribe. At the well, the usual place of meeting, he encounters Rebekah, the beautiful daughter of Bethuel, the son of Abraham's brother Nahor. The courteous maiden assists him in watering his camels—her relations receive him with equal hospitality. The intelligence of Abraham's wealth, confirmed by the presents of gold and jewels which he produced, made them consent with alacrity to the betrothing of the damsel to the son of Abraham. The messenger and Rebekah reached in safety the encampment of Abraham; and Isaac, when he hears the sound of the returning camels, beholds a fair maiden, modestly veiled, whom he conducts and puts in possession of the tent of his mother Sarah, that which belonged to the chief wife of the head of the tribe.

After the death of Sarah, Abraham took another wife, Keturah, by whom he had many children. Isaac, however, continued his sole heir; the rest were sent away into the east country. Their descendants are frequently recognized among the people noticed in the Jewish annals, but always as aliens from the stock of Abraham. At length the patriarch died, and was buried in Machpelah by Ishmael and Isaac, who met in perfect amity to perform the last duty to the head and father of their tribes.

The life of Isaac was far less eventful than that of the great progenitor of the Jewish people. At first the divine promise of a numerous posterity proceeds very slowly toward its accomplishment. After some years of barrenness Rebekah bears twins, already before their birth seeming to struggle for superiority as the heads and representatives of two hostile people. It is curious to observe the superior fitness in the habits and disposition of the younger, Jacob, to become the parent of a united and settled people. Though the Edomites, the descendants of Esau, ranked in civilization far above the marauding
Bedouins, who sprung from Ishmael; though Esau himself possessed, at a later period, considerable wealth in flocks and herds, yet the scattered clans of the Edomites, at perpetual war with each other and with their neighbors, living, according to the expression of the sacred writer, by the sword, retain as it were the stamp of the parental character, and seem less adapted to the severe discipline of the Mosaic institutions, or to become a nation of peaceful husbandmen. The precarious life of the hunter soon laid him at the mercy of his more prudent, or rather, crafty brother. After a day of unsuccessful hunting, Esau sold his right of primogeniture for a mess of herbs. The privilege of the first-born seems to have consisted in the acknowledged headship of the tribe, to which the office of priest and sacrificer was inseparably attached. Esau, therefore, thus carelessly threw away both his civil and religious inheritance, and abandoned all title to the promises made to his tribe.

Jacob is afterward sent to the original birthplace of the tribe, partly to escape the threatened vengeance of the indignant hunter; partly that, avoiding all connection with the Canaanites, he may intermarry only with the descendants of his forefathers. After faithfully performing the stipulated services to Laban, he finally departs with Rachel, his wife, eleven sons, born in Mesopotamia, and an immense herd of cattle, flocks, asses, camels, and male and female slaves. He is commanded to assume the name of Israel—the prevailing—for having prevailed against God in a symbolic vision. He approaches his brother with signs of reverence, perhaps of apprehension; but the hunter, though violent, was nevertheless frank, generous, and forgiving. Finally Jacob encamps at Succoth; then crosses the Jordan, and settles near Shalem. Afterward he departs from this settlement, and established the tribe at Luz, where an altar was raised to God, and the place called Bethel, the house of God. From Luz he removed to Ephrath, or Bethlehem, the birthplace of Jesus Christ, when his favorite wife, Rachael, died in childbirth, having given birth to his youngest son, called by the expiring mother Benoni, the child of her sorrow, by the father Benjamin, the son of his right hand. At length he rejoins his father, Isaac, in the plain
of Mamre, where the old man dies, and is honorably buried by his two sons. But from henceforward the two branches of Isaac's family were entirely separated. The country about Mount Seir became the permanent residence of the Edomites, who were governed first by independent sheikhs, or princes, afterward were united under one monarchy. Jacob continued to dwell in Canaan, with his powerful family and ample possessions, until dissensions among his sons prepared the way for more important changes, which seemed to break forever the connexion between the race of Abraham and the land of Canaan, but ended in establishing them as the sole possessors of the whole territory. The seed of Abraham had now become a family; from the twelve sons of Israel it was to branch out into a nation. Of these twelve sons Joseph and Benjamin were alone the children of the beloved Rachel; the rest were the offspring of Leah, her sister, and their respective handmaids, Bithiah and Zilpah. Joseph was entitled to the rights of primogeniture, and always held the first place in the affections of his father. The envy of his brethren, first excited by distinctive marks of favor from their father, afterward was heightened by two dreams seen by Joseph, which, in the frankness of his disposition, he took no pains to conceal. A favorable opportunity presenting, he was sold by his brethren to a caravan of Arabian traders, who carried him to the King of Egypt. The highly interesting events which followed, both as respects Joseph and his father's family, the circumstances leading to the departure of the latter from the land of Canaan, and their final establishment in Egypt, we shall not here detail. On their arrival in Egypt the high credit of Joseph insures them a friendly reception, and the fertile district of Goshen, the best pasture-land of the country, is assigned by the munificent sovereign for their residence. Among the fertile pastures of Goshen, enjoying undisturbed plenty and prosperity, the sons of Jacob began to increase with great, but by no means incredible rapidity. At the end of seventeen years Jacob died, aged one hundred and forty-seven. In compliance with his injunctions, the remains were carried back into the land of Canaan, the funeral ceremonies being conducted with Egyptian magnificence, and entombed in the sepulchre of his fathers.
The Patriarchal Age.

The protecting presence of their father being withdrawn, the brothers began again to apprehend the hostility of Joseph; but his favor still watched over the growing settlement, and he himself, at length, having seen his great-grandchildren upon his knees, died at the age of one hundred and ten years, leaving directions for the embalming of his body, and that it should be transported to the grave of his forefathers on the return of his kindred to Canaan.

In process of time—such is the lot of the greatest of benefactors—the services of the wise and popular vizier were forgotten. A new king arose, who knew not Joseph, and began to look with jealous apprehension on this race of strangers, thus occupying his most open and accessible frontier, and able to give free passage, or join in a dangerous confederacy with any foreign invaders. With inhuman policy, he commenced a system of oppression, intended at once to check their increase and break the dangerous spirit of revolt. They were seized, and forced to labor at the public works, in building new cities, Pithom and Raamses, called treasure-cities. But tyranny, short-sighted as inhuman, failed in its purpose. Even under these unfavorable circumstances, the strangers still rapidly increased in numbers, and became more alarming to their oppressors, from the very circumstance of being more generally diffused. Tyranny, having thus waunonly made enemies, must resort to more barbarous measures to repress them. A dreadful decree is issued; the midwives were commanded to destroy all the Hebrew children at birth. They disobey, or evade, the command. The king now commands that every male child be cast into the river—the females preserved, probably to fill, in time, the harems of their oppressors.

But divine Providence had determined to raise up that man who was to release this oppressed people, and after having seen and intimately known the civil and religious institutions of this famous country, was deliberately to reject them to found a polity on totally different principles, and establish a religion the most opposite to the mysterious polytheism of Egypt—a polity and a religion which were to survive the dynasty of the Pharaohs and the deities of their vast temples, and exercise an
unbounded influence on the civil and religious history of the most remote ages.

How long a period elapsed between the migration into Egypt under Jacob, and the exodus, or departure, under Moses, has been a question debated from the earliest ages by Jewish, no less than Christian writers. While some assign the whole duration of four hundred and thirty years to the captivity in Egypt, others include the residence of the patriarchs, two hundred and fifteen years, within this period. St. Stephen, in the Acts, seemed to have followed one opinion; St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, the other. Finally, however, roused by his indignation at the wrongs and oppressions inflicted upon his people, and excited to the great undertaking by the command of the Almighty, Moses, at the time an exile from Egypt, at the advanced age of eighty, when the fire of ambition may be supposed to have burnt out, appears again in Egypt, entirely unattended, and boldly undertakes the extraordinary enterprise of delivering the people of Israel from their state of slavery, and establishing them as a regular and independent commonwealth. The credentials which he produced in order to obtain authority over his own people, and the means of success on which he calculated, in his bold design of wresting these miserable Helots from their unwilling masters, were a direct commission from the God of their fathers, and a power of working preternatural wonders. Aaron, his brother, who had gone forth by divine command, as he declared, to meet him, enters boldly into the design. The people are awed by the signs which are displayed, and yield their passive consent. This is all that Moses requires; for, while he promises deliverance, he does not insist on any active co-operation on their part; he enjoins neither courage, discipline, enterprise, nor mutual confidence—nothing which might render insurrection formidable, or indicate an organized plan of resistance. At first the King of Egypt not only rejects the demand of Moses and Aaron for the release of their people, but the labors of the slaves are redoubled. It is only after the most awful manifestations of the divine displeasure with which a nation could be afflicted, that the whole Egyptian people became as anxious to accelerate, as they had formerly been unwilling to
permit, the departure from among them of a people who were so manifestly under the protection of the Almighty. The numbers of the Hebrews amounted to six hundred thousand adults, which, according to the usual calculations, would give the total sum of the people at two million five hundred thousand, or three millions. After their departure, the king, recovered from his panic, and receiving intelligence that the Israelites had no thoughts of return, determined on pursuit. The Hebrews, in the utmost dismay, beheld the plain behind them glittering with the hostile array; before them lay the sea, on the right impracticable passes. In the bitterness of despair, they accused their leader of having involved them in these difficulties: Because there were no graves in Egypt, they exclaimed, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? But their situation only presented another opportunity for a manifestation of the divine protection with which they were guarded. Moses safely conducts them through the Red Sea, while their presumptuous followers, in attempting to pursue them, were completely overwhelmed in the receding waters. This great event was not only preserved in the annals of the Jewish people, but it was likewise, as might be expected, the great subject of their national poetry. But none of their later bards surpassed, or, perhaps, equaled, the hymn which Moses, their bard, as well as their leader and lawgiver, composed on the instant of their deliverance, and which was solemnly chanted to the music of the timbrel.
CHAPTER II.
UNDER MOSES.

As it was not contemplated, in the design of this work, to present the history of the Jews complete in all its periods, but to make it rather a history of their final overthrow and dispersion, we shall pass by not the least interesting portion of it—their wonderful march through the wilderness, the awful scenes of Mount Sinai, the delivery of the law, the ordaining of the tribe of Levi as the ministers of religious ceremonies, the strict rules laid down for the performance of these—all in obedience to the commands of God. One singular fact, however, we can not pass without observing, which is, that we find the great lawgiver of the Jews delivering that admirable constitution to his people which presupposed their possession of a rich and fertile territory, in which, as yet, they had not occupied an acre, but had hitherto been wandering in an opposite direction, and not even approached its borders. The laws of a settled and civilized community were enacted among a wandering and homeless horde, who were traversing the wilderness, and more likely, under existing circumstances, to sink below the pastoral life of their forefathers than advance to the rank of an industrious agricultural community. Yet, at this time, most certainly, was the law enacted. The Mosaic constitution was, in its origin and principles, entirely different from every human polity. It was a federal compact, not between the people at large and Moses himself, or any class of individuals designated as rulers, but between the God of Israel, as the Founder of their State, the Proprietor of the land which they were to inhabit, and the Hebrew nation, selected from all the rest of the world for some great ulterior purpose. The tenure by which the Hebrews held all their future blessings was their faithful discharge of their trust, the preservation of the great religious doctrine, the worship of the one great Creator.
At length, however, after having spent forty years in the wilderness, retreating once from the very shores of Jordan on account of the representations of the companions of Caleb and Joshua, who reproofed their pusillanimity, and after this generation had gradually sunk into the grave, and a new race had sprung up, trained to the bold and hardy habits of the wandering Arab—when the free air of the desert had invigorated their frames, and the canker of slavery had worn out of their minds, the Hebrews appear a second time upon the frontiers of Palestine, at the same point from which they had formerly retreated. Here, too, Moses himself betrayed his trust in the divine assistance, and the final sentence was issued, that he should not lead the nation into the possession of the promised land. On the east side of Jordan, however, the Edomites and Moabites having been vanquished, the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, demanded and received from the lawgiver an assignment of the luxuriant meadows of Bashan, and the sloping pastures of Gilead. The condition was annexed, however, by the lawgiver, that the warriors of these tribes, leaving their women and their flocks behind, should cross the river, and assist their brethren in the conquest of Palestine. But as Moses was only to see from afar, and not to enter the promised land, and as the penalty affixed to his one offense was now about to be exacted, he summoned the assembly of all Israel to receive his final instructions. His last thoughts were the welfare of the commonwealth, and the permanence of their constitution. Already the people had been numbered for the third time; they were found not to have increased or decreased very materially since the departure from Egypt.

Moses recounted their whole eventful history since their deliverance, their toils, their dangers, their triumphs; he recapitulated and consolidated in one brief code, the book of Deuteronomy, the whole law in some degree modified, and adapted to the future circumstances of the republic. Finally, he appointed a solemn ratification of the law, which, although it was not to take place, nor did take place, till after the conquest, yet it is so deeply impressed with the genius, and lofty character of the lawgiver, that it may be better to relate it here than at the time when it was fulfilled under the direction of Joshua.
Never did human imagination conceive a scene so imposing, so solemn, so likely to impress the whole people with deep and enduring awe, as the final ratification of the polity as commanded by the dying lawgiver. In the territory afterward assigned to the tribe of Ephraim, a central region, stand two remarkable mountains, separated by a deep and narrow river in which the ancient Shechem, the modern Naplous stands. Here all Israel was to be assembled, six tribes on one height, six on the other. In the open day, and in a theater, as it were, created by the God of nature for the express purpose, after a sacrifice offered on an altar of stone, the people of Israel testified their free and deliberate acceptance of that constitution, which their God had enacted. They accepted it with its inseparable condition, maledictions the most awful, which they imprecated on their own heads, in case they should apostatize from its statutes—blessings, equally ample and perpetual, if they should adhere to its holy and salutary provision. The type of either destiny lay before them. Mount Ebal was a barren, stony, arid, desolate crag; Gerizim a lovely and fertile height, with luxuriant verdure, streams of running water, and cool and shady groves. As God had blasted Ebal, so He would smite the disobedient with barrenness, hunger, and misery; as He crowned Gerizim with beauty and fruitfulness, so He would bless the faithful Israelites, with abundance, with peace, with happiness. On Mount Ebal—as the Levites read the heads of the prohibitory statutes, and denounced the curse against the idolater, the oppressor, the adulterer, the unnatural son, the incestuous, the murderer—the tribes of Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan, and Naphthali, with one voice, which was echoed back from the opposite height, announced amen, so be it. On Gerizim stood the tribes of Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin; as the blessings of the law were recited, to give the same unreserved assent.

Having thus appointed all the circumstances of this impressive scene, the lawgiver himself enlarged on the blessings of obedience; but with a dark and melancholy foreboding of the final destiny of his people, he laid before them still more at length the consequences of apostasy and wickedness. The sublimity of his denunciations surpasses anything in the oratory
or the poetry of the whole world. Nature is exhausted in furnishing terrific images; nothing, excepting the real horrors of the Jewish history—the miseries of their sieges, the cruelty, the contempt, the oppressions, the persecutions, which for ages this scattered and despised and detested nation have endured—can approach the tremendous malediction which warned them against the violation of their law. "The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish. And the heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee iron. The Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust; from heaven shall it come down upon thee till thou be destroyed. . . . And thou shalt become an astonishment, and a proverb, and a byword among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee. A nation of fierce countenance . . . shall besiege thee in all thy gates, . . . and thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and thy daughters which the Lord thy God hath given thee, in the siege and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee. . . . And among the nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest; for the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind; and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say, would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see." The sequel of our history must furnish a most awful comment on these denunciations.

And now, closing at length his admonitions, his warnings, and his exhortations to repentance, having renewed the covenant with the whole nation, from the highest to the lowest, from the prince to the heaver of wood and the drawer of water—having committed the law to the custody of the Levites, and appointed the valiant Joshua as his successor—finally, having enriched the national poetry with an ode worthy of him who composed the hymn of triumph by the Red Sea, Moses ascended the loft-
iest eminence in the neighborhood, in order that he might once behold, before his eyes closed forever, the land of promise. From the top of Mount Abarim or Nebo, the former of which names may perhaps be traced in Djebel Attarous, the highest point in the district, the lawgiver, whose eyes were not yet dimmed, and who had suffered none of the infirmities of age, might survey a large tract of country. To the right lay the mountain pastures of Gilead, the romantic district of Bashan; the windings of the Jordan might be traced along its broad and level valley, till, almost beneath his feet, it flowed into the Dead Sea. To the north spread the luxuriant plains of Esdraelon, the more hilly yet fruitful country of Lower Galilee. Right opposite stood the city of Jericho, embowered in its groves of palms—beyond it the mountains of Judea, rising above each other till they reached the sea. Gazing on this magnificent prospect, beholding in prophetic anticipation his great and happy commonwealth occupying its numerous towns and blooming fields, Moses breathed his last. The place of his burial was unknown, lest perhaps the impious gratitude of his followers might ascribe divine honors to his name, and assemble to worship at his sepulchre.

Such was the end of the Hebrew lawgiver, a man who, considered merely in an historical light without any reference to his divine inspiration, has exercised a more extensive and permanent influence over the destinies of his own nation and mankind at large, than any other individual recorded in the annals of the world. Christianity and Mahometanism alike, respect, and, in different degrees, derive their origin from the Mosaic institution. Thus, throughout Europe, with all its American descendants—the larger part of Asia and the north of Africa—the opinions, the usages, the civil as well as religious ordinances, retain deep and indelible traces of their descent from the Hebrew polity. To his own nation Moses was chieftain, historian, poet, and lawgiver. He was more than all these—he was the author of their civil existence. Other founders of republics, and distinguished legislators, have been, like Numa, already at the head of a settled and organized community; or have been voluntarily invested with legislatorial authority, like Charondas, Lycurgus, and Solon, by a people suffering the
inconveniences of anarchy. Moses had first to form his people, and bestow on them a country of their own, before he could create his commonwealth. The Hebrews would either have been absorbed in the population of Egypt, or remained a wretched Pariah caste, had Moses never lived, or never received his divine commission. In this condition he took them up, and rescued them from captivity; finding them unfit for his purpose, he kept them for forty years under the severe discipline of the desert; then led them as conquerors to take permanent possession of a most fruitful region. Yet, with singular disregard to his own fame, though with great advantage to his design, Moses uniformly referred to an earlier and more remote personage the dignity of parent of his people. The Jews were children of Abraham, not of Moses; they were a distinguished nation as descendants of the patriarch, not as compatriots of the lawgiver. The virtue of pure and disinterested patriotism never shone forth more unclouded. He nobly declined the offer made to him by the Almighty, to substitute his own family for the offending race of Israel. The permanent happiness of the whole people was the one great object to which the life of Moses was devoted, so that, if we could for an instant suspect that he made use of religion for a political purpose, still, that purpose would entitle him to the highest rank among the benefactors of mankind, as having been the first who attempted to regulate society by an equal written law. If God was not the sovereign of the Jewish State, the law was—the best and only safe viceregent of Almighty Providence, to which the welfare of human communities can be intrusted. If the Hebrew commonwealth was not a theocracy, it was a nomocracy. On the other hand, is as we suppose in the Mosaic polity, the civil was subordinate to the religious end, still the immediate well-being of the community was not sacrificed to the more remote object. Independent of the temporal blessings promised to the maintenance of the law, the Hebrew commonwealth was so constituted, as to produce (all circumstances of the times, the situation and character of the people considered) as much or more real happiness and independence than any existing or imaginary government of ancient times. Let Moses, as contrasted with human legislators, be judged according to his age;
he will appear not merely the first who founded a common-wealth on just principles, but a lawgiver who advanced political society to as high a degree of perfection as the state of civilization which his people had attained, or were capable of attaining, could possibly admit. But if such be the benign, the prematurely wise, and original character of the Mosaic institutions, the faith of the Jew and the Christian in the divine commission of the great legislator is the more strongly established and confirmed.

CHAPTER III.

UNDER JOSHUA.

For thirty days Israel lamented the death of Moses, and then prepared themselves to fulfill his dying instructions. Joshua, the warrior, succeeded to the administration of affairs, and to the directing intercourse with divine Providence. Having sent spies to gain intelligence, and to survey the strength of Jericho, the most powerful city near the place where he proposed to cross the Jordan, by whom he learned that the success of the Hebrew arms had already struck terror into the native princes, he prepared to cross the deep and rapid stream, not in the usual order of march, but by transferring the ark of God from its customary secure central position to the van. The whole army followed the Levites—and no sooner had the priests, bearing the ark, entered the river, than the descending waters were arrested, the channel became dry, and the whole army passed in safety to the western bank. They encamped in a place named Gilgal, there they kept the fortieth passover since its first institution in Egypt. A rude monument, formed of twelve stones from the bed of the river, was set up to commemorate their wonderful passage; all who had not undergone circumcision were initiated by that rite into the commonwealth; and
here the manna, on which they had fed in the desert, entirely failed.

Palestine was at this time governed by a number of petty independent kings, who were appalled at this sudden invasion, not of a hostile tribe in quest of plunder, or of a neighboring monarch with the design of reducing the country to a tributary province; but of a whole people advancing with the obvious and avowed intention of obtaining a permanent settlement. But the common danger did not produce any united effort of defense, each kingdom or city was left to make the best defense in its power. We shall pass by the particular battles that were fought; suffice it to say, that the Hebrew armies eventually prevailed, the native tribes were reduced to a state of temporary subjection, but not completely put down, and eventually the promised Palestine subdivided among the twelve tribes of Israel. Each State was now held on the tenure of military service; all Israel was one standing army. Some curious exemptions were made, which shows the attention of the lawgiver to the agricultural habits and domestic comfort of his people—the being just married, or having newly taken a piece of land into cultivation. Thus, the posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were permanently established in the promised land, each man, according to the picturesque language of the country, dwelt under his own vine or his own fig-tree. No accident disturbed the peace and harmony of the State before the death of Joshua, excepting a dispute between the tribes within and those beyond Jordan. The Transjordanic tribes raised a public altar to God, this was resented as a signal of defection from the national religion and national confederacy. A conference between the parties ensued, the explanations were satisfactory, and harmony restored.

A short time after this event, Joshua, whose military powers and experience had achieved the conquest of the country, died. He appointed no successor to the supreme authority, and the separate republics, under the control of their own chieftains, and other local officers, assumed the administration of affairs. The Utopia of the lawgiver commenced its political existence, the land of milk and honey began to yield its fruits to a simple, free, and pious race of husbandmen—a people worthy of its blessings; but one fatal act of disobedience, the desisting from
the war before their enemies were rooted out, prevented its permanence; and the land which was intended to be a scene of peace and freedom, before long became that of war and servitude.

FROM THE EXODUS TO THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACCORDING TO JOSEPHUS AND ST. PAUL, 591 YRS. 6 M.</th>
<th>ACCORDING TO THE VULGAR BIBLE CHRONOLOGY, 478 YRS. 6 M.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The desert........................................ 40</td>
<td>The desert........................................ 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conquest and partition.......................... 7</td>
<td>Conquest and partition.......................... 6 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To first servitude................................ 20</td>
<td>Mesopotamian servitude and Othniel................ 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamian servitude.......................... 8</td>
<td>Moab and Edud.................................... 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othniel to second servitude...................... 40</td>
<td>Canaanites and Deborah........................... 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moabite servitude................................ 18</td>
<td>Midian and Gideon................................ 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehud and Shamgar.................................. 80</td>
<td>To Abimelech...................................... 9 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canaanitish servitude............................ 20</td>
<td>Abimelech, Tola, Jair............................. 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deborah and Barak................................ 40</td>
<td>Jephthah.......................................... 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midianitish servitude............................. 7</td>
<td>Ibzan, Elon, Abdon............................... 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gideon.............................................. 40</td>
<td>Eli and Samson.................................... 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abimelech.......................................... 3</td>
<td>Samuel........................................... 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tola.................................................. 22</td>
<td>Saul............................................... 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jair.................................................. 22</td>
<td>David............................................. 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ammonitish servitude............................. 18</td>
<td>Solomon.......................................... 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othniel, Jephthah.................................. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibzan................................................ 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elon................................................. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdon............................................... 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philistia servitude—Samson and Eli............... 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anarchy............................................. 20 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel.............................................. 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel and Saul................................... 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David.............................................. 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon............................................ 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the shorter scheme, the Exodus took place about 1490, B.C., according to the longer, about 1600, B.C.

The period of the Judges is the heroic age of Hebrew history. It abounds in wild adventure, and desperate feats of individual valor. Personal activity, daring, and craft, were the qualifications which raised the Judges to their title and eminence. They appear in their history, as gallant insurgents, or guerrilla leaders, rather than as grave administrators of justice, or the regular authorities of a great kingdom. The name by which
they are called, Sophetim, derived from a word signifying "to judge," bears remarkable resemblance to the Suffetes of the Carthageniens. The office of the Hebrew judge was rather that of the military dictator, raised on an emergency to the command of the national forces. What his judicial functions could have been, seems very doubtful, as all ordinary cases would fall under the cognizance of the municipal judicatures. Nor do we find the judges exercising authority, or even engaged in war, beyond the boundaries of their own tribes; unless, perhaps Deborah, who sat under her palm-tree judging the tribes of Israel. Yet, even this convention bears the appearance rather of an organized warlike confederacy, to break the yoke of the Canaanites, than of a peaceful judicial assembly; and some of the tribes took no share in her gallant enterprise, nor, as far as appears, rendered any allegiance to her authority. In fact, the want of union among the tribes arose naturally out of their disobedience to the commands of their lawgiver, and brought with it the punishment of that disobedience, not merely in the abandonment of protecting Providence, but in the ordinary course of events. The neighborhood of the idolatrous tribes led to apostasy, apostasy to weakness and servitude. For, as the national strength depended on the national union, and the only bond of the national union was the national religion, that bond weakened or dissolved, the tribes remained a number of scattered cantons, each entirely dependent on its own internal resources to resist foreign invasion, or the insurrection of the Canaanites.

The generation which had entered the land with Joshua, is said to have passed away before the declension of the people from the national faith led to servitude; but not entirely, for the first deliverer of the people was Othniel, the nephew and son-in-law of Caleb, whose name occurs as a brave warrior during the conquest. A powerful monarchy had now grown up in Mesopotamia; the king, Chushan-rishathaim, extended his conquest at least as far as the Jordan. The federal leagues between the tribes was not yet so far relaxed but that Othniel, of Judah, took up their defense. At the end of eight years the Mesopotamian was entirely defeated, and the whole land remained in peace for forty years more.
At the end of forty years of peace, new enemies appeared—the wild hordes of the desert. Midianites, Amalekites, and other nomadic tribes, swept over almost the whole land, pitched their tents, and fed their camels in the midst of the rich cornfields of Israel. This was the most extensive and destructive servitude the nation had yet suffered. The people fled to mountain fastnesses, and hid themselves in caves. The land lay uncultivated, the cattle were destroyed, and a grievous famine ensued. The miserable Israelites called upon their God for succor, and Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh, received the divine commission as the deliverer of his country.

After the death of Gideon, his bastard son, Abimelech, a daring and bloody man, determined to attain the crown which his father had rejected. He formed a conspiracy with his mother's kindred at Shechem; with a band of adventurers fell unexpectedly on Ophrah, seized his father's seventy sons, slew them all; and, in a great convention of the Shechemites and the inhabitants of the neighboring towns, was elected king by acclamation. Of all Gideon's sons, Jotham alone, the youngest, had escaped. On the summit of Gerizim, which overlooked Shechem, he denounced the usurper, and reproved the people in the well-known parable: "The olive-tree and the vine refused to assume the royal dignity, but the worthless bramble accepted at once the first offer of a tyrannous superiority over the trees of the forest."

The oppressions of the foreign powers which had hitherto overrun or subdued Palestine, had been heavy and debasing while they lasted, but once repelled, the invaders retired within their own frontiers. The Philistines on the southern borders were more dangerous and implacable enemies to the peace of Israel. They had subdued apparently the whole allotment of Simeon; this tribe was annihilated, or scattered for refuge among the rest. Gaza and Ashkelon were in the power of the conquerors, and their frontier extended to that of Dan. At this juncture the most extraordinary of the Jewish heroes appeared; a man of prodigious physical power, which he displayed, not in any vigorous and consistent plan of defense against the enemy, but in the wildest feats of personal daring. It was his amusement to plunge headlong into peril, from
PLAN OF JERUSALEM

During the siege of Titus.

1. Gethsemane.
2. Tomb of Jehosaphat.
3. Tombs of the Prophets.
4. Fountain of Nehemiah.
which he extricated himself by his individual strength. Samson never appears at the head of an army, his campaigns are conducted in his own single person.

While Samson was wasting his prodigal strength, not altogether uselessly—for, without doubt, the terror of his name retarded the progress of the Philistine conquests, and inspired courage into the disheartened Israelites, still, without that permanent advantage to the liberty of his countrymen which might have been expected from such preternatural powers—regulated by prudence and self-restraint—a wiser and more useful head of the State was growing up within the sacred precincts of the tabernacle. Hannah, one of the wives of Elkanah, a Levite, who resided in Rama-Zophim, a city in Mount Ephraim, made a vow that if the curse of barrenness was removed from her, she would devote her first-born to the service of God. Samuel, her son, was thus educated in the services of the high-priest Eli. Already, in his early youth, he had received divine intimations of his future greatness—the voice of God, while he slumbered within the area where the tabernacle stood, had three times called upon his name, and at length aroused him, and commanded him to communicate to the aged Eli the fate which awaited his family.

The war between the Philistines and Israelites broke out anew; whether the Israelites, encouraged by the destruction of so many of the Philistine chieftains, in the fall of the temple at Gaza, had endeavored to throw off the yoke, or whether the Philistines seized the opportunity of Samson's death to extend their dominion, does not appear. A bloody battle took place at Aphek, in the northern part of Judah, in which the Israelites were totally defeated, and in their desperation they determined to resort to those means of conquest which had proved irresistible under the direction of Joshua. They sent to Shiloh for the ark of God, and placed it in the center of their forces. But the days were gone when the rivers dried up, and the walls of cities fell down, and the enemy fled at once before the symbol of the presence of Israel's God. The measure was unauthorized by the divine command. Yet even the victorious Philistines were not free from hereditary apprehension of the mighty God, who had discomfited the
Egyptians, and subjugated the whole land of the Canaanites. They exhorted each other to maintain their character for valor. The Israelites fought with desperate, but unavailing, resolution—the iron chariots of the Philistines triumphed. Thirty thousand Israelites perished, and the ark of God fell into the hands of the uncircumcised—the guilty sons of Eli were slain in its defense. The aged high-priest sat by the wayside in dreadful anxiety for the fate of the ark. A messenger rushed in, bearing the intelligence; a wild cry ran through the whole city; the blind old man, now ninety years of age, fell from his seat, broke his neck, and died. The wife of Phineas was seized with pains of premature labor; the women around her endeavored to console her with the intelligence that she had borne a male child; she paid no attention to their words, and only uttered a passionate exclamation, by which we may judge how strongly the religious reverence for the divine worship was rooted in the heart of the Israelites. The pride and exultation of maternal tenderness, the grief for her father-in-law and her husband, were absorbed in a deeper feeling. She said: The ark of God is taken; and she called her child Ichabod—the glory is departed from Israel.

Nothing now remained to the race of Abraham but the prospect of hopeless and irremediable servitude. Their God had abandoned them—perhaps might appear on the side of their enemies. Not merely the glory and the independence, but even the political existence of Israel seemed departed with the ark, departed forever.

With what amazement and joy must the extraordinary intelligence have been received, that, after seven months, the Philistines were sending back the ark of God—not in contempt of His power, but with signs of reverential terror. They had sent the strange deity from city to city; everywhere their own gods had been rebuked, the statues had fallen prostrate, their harvests had been wasted by mice, their persons afflicted by a loathsome disease. They yoked two milch kine to the car, and loaded it with propitiatory offerings. Instead of lingering near their calves, the kine set off on the direct road to Bethshemesh, within the border of the Israelites. There the Levites received it, and sacrificed the kine to the
Almighty. The profane curiosity of the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh was punished; seventy men were struck dead for presuming to look within the ark, which was soon after solemnly removed to the city of Kiriathjearim.

Yet twenty years longer the Israelites groaned under the yoke of the Philistines; but Samuel was now grown to manhood, and was established not merely with the authority of a judge, but likewise of a prophet. The high priesthood had passed into the next branch of the family of Eli, and sunk into comparative insignificance before the acknowledged weight of the new leader. Samuel, having labored with success to extirpate the idolatrous practices which had grown up among the people, summoned a general assembly at Mizpah. The Philistines took alarm, and put their forces in motion to suppress the insurrection. The Israelites were full of terror, but too far engaged to recede; their confidence in the favor of God toward their righteous judge, induced them to risk their safety on the acceptance of his prayers. The event was a victory so complete, caused partly by a tremendous storm, that the Philistines were forced to evacuate the whole country, and to accept of equitable terms of peace.

The civil administration of Samuel was equally prosperous. He united at least all the southern tribes under his authority; he held three annual sessions of justice at Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah; his residence he fixed in his native city of Ramah. But his sons, who, in his old age, were installed in the judicial office, did not follow the example of their upright father; they were venal and corrupt.

Notwithstanding the many successful efforts to throw off the yoke of servitude, under different leaders, from the time of Othniel to that of Samuel, the Hebrews, finally, having seen the superior efficacy of the monarchical government which prevailed in the neighboring countries, by a formal representation of their elders, demanded that their republican polity should be changed into an hereditary kingdom. It is most remarkable that Moses had anticipated this resolution, and, providing against the contingency of a kingly government, had laid down regulations for the election of a sovereign and the administration of regal power. The avowed objects of the peo-
ple in demanding a king were, the more certain administration of justice, and the organization of a strong and permanent military force, that our king might judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles. The conduct of Samuel on this occasion was prudent and moderate; he fairly laid before the people the danger of an oriental despotism—the only monarchy then known—with all the exactions and oppressions of arbitrary power, and left them to make their choice. The popular feeling was decided in favor of the change. The next object, therefore, was the election of the king. The nomination took place by divine instruction, but may be admired on the plainest principles of human policy. The upright and disinterested Samuel showed no favor to his own family, kindred, or tribe. A youth of singularly tall and striking person—an eminent distinction in the East—arrived at Ramah. He was the son of a Benjaminitish chieftain, and had been wandering in search of some asses, a valuable property, which his father had lost. Him Samuel is directed to nominate and receive with regal honors. Saul, privately anointed by Samuel, was prepared for his high office by a course of religious instruction and poetry, by which his character was so totally changed that his former compatriots exclaimed: Is Saul also among the prophets? Thus qualified for the royal dignity, at a solemn assembly at Mizpah, Saul is designated by lot, and received as king; not, indeed, without murmur or opposition from some few factious spirits, but by the unanimous consent of the great majority.

With Samuel ended the period of the Judges, a period apparently of alternate slavery and bloody struggles for independence. But in fact, out of this period of about four hundred and sixty years, not one-fourth was passed under foreign oppression, and many of the servitudes seem to have been luid, extending on certain tribes, not over the whole nation.

The elevation of Saul to the monarchy began a new era in the history of the people; henceforth their efforts were united, and consequently more successful.

The king's first military operation was directed against the Philistines, who, by the bold adventures of Jonathan, the son of Saul, timely seconded by Saul himself, were completely routed. He afterward continued to wage a successful war with
the enemies on all quarters. The Amalekites were completely vanquished, and even the flocks and herds involved in the general destruction, lest the scattered fugitives should re-assemble and form a new settlement on the Israelitish frontier. But, in his own conduct, Saul repeatedly transgressed the divine commandment, and all hopes were therefore destroyed of finding in him a religious and constitutional king, punctual in his conformity to the law of the land and to the divine commandment. Another fatal objection to his sovereignty, and that of his race, began to display itself—he was seized with the worst malady to which mankind is subject, and, as the paroxysms of his insanity became more frequent and violent, the brave, though intractable warrior sunk into a moody and jealous tyrant. The paroxysms of his rage were frequently wrought to the highest degree of excitement by the popular favor bestowed upon one who had made himself dear, not only to the people, but to the king himself, by an extraordinary achievement of slaying the Philistine giant, as well as by the most fascinating performances in sacred music. This was David, destined to be the successor of Saul, and one of the most distinguished characters in the history of his people.

There is no trait of his character, however, more honorable to his magnanimity and his patriotism than the forbearance and respect which he displayed toward his sovereign when unconsciously in his power, at the very time when he was in pursuit of the fugitive, and threatening him with exemplary punishment. David was finally banished from his country as the enemy of his king, but even then most scrupulously avoided taking any part with its enemies in their repeated incursions upon its borders. In the character of an involuntary exile from his country he receives information of the bloody battle of Gilboa, in which the Israelites were totally defeated, and the king slain at his own command. He expressed the deepest sorrow, not merely for the defeat of Israel and the death of Jonathan, between whom and himself there had existed the most intimate and romantic friendship, but also for that of the gallant monarch, whose early valor demanded unmixed admiration, and whose malady might extenuate much of his later aberrations.
But David did not waste the time in lamentations; he suddenly appeared at Hebron, was welcomed by the tribe of Judah, and immediately raised by common acclamation to the vacant throne. The feeble effort of Abner to oppose Ishboseth, the only surviving son of Saul, to the power of David, was soon put down by the defection of Abner himself from its support. The power and character of David, now thirty years old, triumphed over all the jealousies of the tribes. The whole nation received him as their king; their united forces ranged themselves under his banner; their most valiant captains took pride in obeying his commands. The Philistines, who, from the terror of his name, seem immediately to have withdrawn within their own frontiers, were defeated in all quarters.

After residing seven years and a half at Hebron, David determined to found a capital city, which should thenceforth be the seat of the government and the religion. Jerusalem was destined to be the scene of more extraordinary events, more strange and awful vicissitudes, than any city in the universe, not excepting Rome. There stood, on the borders of Judah and Benjamin, a strong fortress, which had remained in the possession of the native inhabitants, the Jebusites, since the conquest of Canaan. The natural strength and long security of the citadel tempted the Jebusites to treat a summons to surrender with insolent defiance. David, however, took both the town and the citadel, which stood on Mount Zion, and there established his royal residence.

The situation of Jerusalem is remarkably imposing. It stands on several eminences of unequal heights, some part of which slope gradually, on others the sides are abrupt and precipitous. All around, excepting on the north, run deep ravines or valleys, like entrenchments formed by nature, beyond which arise mountains of great height, which encircle and seem to protect the city. It is open only to the north, as if the way had been leveled for the multitudes from the rest of the tribes to arrive at the holy city without difficulty or obstacle. The hill of Zion, on which David's city stood, rose to the south; it was divided by a deep and narrow ravine from the other hills, over which the city gradually spread.
The next great step of David was the re-establishment of the national religion with suitable dignity and magnificence. Had David acted solely from political motives, this measure had been the wisest he could adopt.

The solemn assembly of the tribes would not only cement the political union of the monarchy, but increase the opulence of his capital, and promote the internal commerce of the country; while it brought the heads of the tribes, and, indeed, the whole people, under the cognizance and personal knowledge of the sovereign, it fixed the residence of the most eminent among the priesthood in the metropolis. The ark of God was brought to the city with the greatest state, attended by David, at the head of thirty thousand men. It was placed on a car. Uzziah, who presumed to touch it, was struck dead. That noble ode, the sixty-eighth Psalm, *Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered*, is generally supposed to have been written on this occasion.

David had already built a royal palace, with the assistance of Hiram, King of Tyre, of whom he received cedar timber from Lebanon, and experienced artisans.

The religious king, in pursuance of the wise policy which led him to found a capital, and re-instate the religion in its former splendor, determined to build a permanent temple. The tabernacle might be suitable to the God of the wandering Israelites, but a more solid and durable edifice seemed accordant to the deity of a settled people. *See now*, says the king to the Prophet Nathan, *I dwell in an house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains*. The prophet at first highly approved of this pious design; but shortly after the divine commandment was proclaimed that David was to desist from the national enterprise, and leave the glory of it to his son, who was to inherit his throne. The reason of the prohibition is most remarkable—entirely in unison with the spirit of the Mosaic institutions, which aimed at forming a peaceful, not a warlike or conquering people. *Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars; thou shalt not build a house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight*. From whence could so sublime a precept descend,
amid a people situated as the Jews then were, unless from the
great Father of love and mercy.

The authority of David was invaded by a formidable insur-
rection, at the head of which was his son Absalom, aided by
Ahithophel, a man of the most profound subtlety and acute
political foresight. David was obliged to fly from his capital.
Both himself and the people generally were deeply afflicted at
so hard a fate. Yet the greatness of David did not depend
upon his royal state—it was within his lofty soul, and insepa-
rible from his commanding character. When informed of
the results of the battle between his own party and that of Ab-
salom, and that Joab, the commander of his forces, was victo-
rious, his first inquiries were concerning his son: "Is the
young man Absalom safe?" His conduct, when the fatal
tidings at last arrived, can be described in no other language
than that of the sacred historian: "The king was much
moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate and wept,
and as he wept, thus he said: "O my son, Absalom! my son,
my son, Absalom! would God I had died for thee; O Absalom,
my son, my son." On the death of Absalom the nation re-
turned to its allegiance; the king, with humane policy, pub-
lished a great amnesty, from which not even Shimei, who had
insulted his misfortunes, was exempted. A second rebellion,
of which an adventurer named Sheba was the head, was more
promptly put down.

The remaining years of David were spent in making the
most costly preparations for the building of the temple, and in
securing the succession to his son Solomon, to whom this great
trust was to be bequeathed. To place this beyond all doubt, he
caused him to be anointed and proclaimed king during his own
life-time, and as his death approached, he strictly enjoined upon
him an adherence to the Mosaic law and divine constitution;
and gave useful admonition as to the character of the restless
and aspiring commander of his forces. Thus, having provided
for the security of the succession, the maintenance of the law,
and the lasting dignity of the national religion, David breathed
his last, having reigned forty years over the flourishing and
powerful monarchy of which he may be considered the founder.
If the rapidity with which a kingdom rises to unexampled pros-
Under Solomon.

prosperity, and the permanence, as far as human wisdom can provide of that prosperity, be a fair criterion of the abilities and character of a sovereign, few kings in history can compare with David.

Solomon succeeded to the Hebrew kingdom at the age of twenty. He was environed by designing, bold, and dangerous enemies. But the admonitions of his father were neither forgotten, nor disregarded. Promptly detecting the dangers which threatened him, their authors received exemplary punishment. Thus secured by the policy of his father from internal enemies, by the terror of his victories from foreign invasion, Solomon commenced his peaceful reign, during which Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan to Beershebah.

The building of the temple, was to be the great work of the reign of Solomon. For this purpose, he renewed the important alliance with the King of Tyre, from whose dominions he procured the cedar of Lebanon. The products of agriculture were exchanged for the building materials. He employed the strangers, or descendants of the Canaanitish tribes in hewing and transporting stone. One hundred and fifty thousand of these, and ten thousand of his own people were engaged in these works, which finally, in addition to those of King David being completed, began the work. The eminence of Moriah, the mount of vision, i.e., the height seen afar from the adjacent country, which tradition pointed out as the spot where Abraham had offered his son; where recently the plague had been stayed, by the altar built in the thrashing floor of Ornan, or Aramah, the Jebusite, was the designated spot.

The accounts of the temple of Solomon, are altogether unsatisfactory. Writers have involved the subject in great difficulties, by contradictory statements. But it may be considered rather as a monument of the wealth, than of the architectural skill and science of the people.

It was a wonder of the world, from the splendor of its materials, more than the grace, boldness, or majesty of its height and dimensions.

For seven years and a half the fabric rose in silence. All the timbers, the stones, even of the most enormous size, measur-
ing between seventeen and eighteen feet, were hewn and fitted, so as to be put together without the sound of any tool whatsoever; as it has been expressed, with great poetical beauty:

"Like some tall palm the noiseless fabric grew."

At the end of this period, the temple and its courts being completed, the solemn dedication took place, with the greatest magnificence which the king and the nation could display.

Though the chief magnificence of Solomon was lavished upon the temple of God, yet the sumptuous palaces, which he erected for his own residence, display an opulence and profusion, which may vie with the older monarchs of Egypt and Assyria. The descriptions of the Greek writers of the Persian courts in Susa and Ecbatana; the tales of the early travelers in the East about the kings of Samarcand and Cathay, and even the imagination of the oriental romancers and poets, have scarcely conceived a more splendid pageant than Solomon, seated on his throne of ivory, receiving the homage of distant princes, who came to admire his magnificence, and put to the test his noted wisdom.

The justice of Solomon was proverbial, and he was not less celebrated for his wisdom, than his magnificence. The visits of the neighboring princes, particularly that of the Queen of Sheba (a part of Arabia Felix), were to admire the one, as much as the other. Hebrew tradition, perhaps the superstitious wonders of his own age, ascribed to Solomon the highest skill in magical arts, and even unbounded dominion over all the invisible world. More sober history recognises in Solomon the great poet, naturalist, and moral philosopher of his time. His poetry, consisting of one thousand and five songs, except his Epithalamium, and perhaps some of the Psalms, has entirely vanished. His natural history of plants and animals has suffered the same fate. But the first part of the book of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes (perhaps more properly reckoned as a poem) have preserved the conclusions of his moral wisdom.

But notwithstanding, the fame and magnificence of their king, the people were dissatisfied, either because of his oppressive exactions of their wealth, which was more than absorbed by the vast expenditure of the sovereign, or because of interrup-
KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL.

17

22

3

23

2

12

12

2

12

28

26

11

10

2
HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL—Continued.

KINGS OF JUDAH.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Reigned</th>
<th>Kings of Judah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 B.C. 758</td>
<td>Jotham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 B.C. 742</td>
<td>Ahaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C. 737</td>
<td>Interregnum 2d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C. 728</td>
<td>Hezekiah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B.C. 720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B.C. 719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jerusalem taken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 B.C. 697</td>
<td>Manasseh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 B.C. 642</td>
<td>Amon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 B.C. 640</td>
<td>Josiah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 B.C. 609</td>
<td>Jehoahaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 B.C.</td>
<td>Jehoiachin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 B.C.</td>
<td>Jehoiachin or Coniah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 B.C.</td>
<td>Zedekiah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C. 587</td>
<td>Jerusalem destroyed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KINGS OF ISRAEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Reigned</th>
<th>Kings of Israel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 B.C.</td>
<td>Pekah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 B.C.</td>
<td>Interregnum 2d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 B.C.</td>
<td>Hoshea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER IV.

UNDER REHOBOAM.

Rehoam, the son of Solomon, was received as king by the whole nation. But his title, though recognized at Jerusalem, seemed insecure without the formal adhesion of the other tribes. An assembly therefore was summoned at Shechem; but instead of adopting the wise and conciliatory language recommended by the older counselors of Solomon, Rehoam followed the advice of the young and violent; and when the assembly, headed by the popular Jeroboam, who made his appearance from Egypt, demanded an alleviation of the public burdens, the rash and inconsiderate king not merely refused compliance, but in the true character of Eastern monarchy threatened them with still heavier exactions. My father made your yoke heavy, and I will add to your yoke, my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions. To your tents, O Israel, was the instantaneous cry; the ten tribes unanimously renounced their allegiance, raised Jeroboam to the throne, forced
the son of Solomon to fly to his native kingdom of Judah, and stoned Adoram the collector of his tribute. Thus the national union was forever dissolved, and the Hebrew kingdom never recovered this fatal blow.

After a reign of seventeen years, Rehoboam was succeeded on the throne of Judah by Abijah, his son (B.C. 962), who immediately raised a great force to subdue the kingdom of Israel. The armies of Abija and Jeroboam met in Mount Ephraim. Jeroboam had on his side both numbers (eight hundred thousand men to four hundred thousand) and military skill, which enabled him to surround the forces of Judah. But Abijah had the religious feelings of the people. The presence of the priesthood, and the sound of the sacred trumpets inspired Judah, as much as they disheartened Israel. Jeroboam was totally defeated with the loss of five hundred thousand men; the disaster preyed upon his mind, and he never after recovered his power or enterprise.

After a short reign of three years Abijah died, and was succeeded by his son Asa (B.C. 959), a prudent and religious prince. He pursued the wiser policy of establishing the national religion in all its splendor and influence, encouraging those who came up to the feast from the neighboring kingdom, and checking idolatry, which he punished even in the person of Maachah, the queen-mother, whom he degraded and banished. Asa strengthened his army and fortified his cities, and thus was enabled to repel a most formidable invasion headed by Zerah, the Ethiopean, some suppose an Arabian, or more probably, either Osarchon, the king of Egypt, or his general, at the head of a million of men and three hundred thousand chariots.

The apostasy of the ten tribes and the wickedness of their kings, did not reach their height till the accession of Ahab, the son of Omri (B.C. 919); this prince married Jezebel, the fierce and cruel daughter of the king of Sidon. Under her influence the Sidonian worship of Baal, the sun, was introduced; his temples were openly built and consecrated; and this fierce and persecuting idolatry threatened to exterminate the ancient religion. The prophets were put to death, one hundred escaped by lying concealed in a cave; yet these intrepid defenders of the God of their fathers still arose to remonstrate against these fatal
innovations; till at length Elijah, the greatest of the whole race, took up the contest, and defied and triumphed over the cruelty, both of the king and his blood-thirsty consort.

At this period the prophets act their most prominent and important part in Jewish history, particularly in that of Israel, where the Levites having been expelled and the priesthood degraded, they remained the only defenders of the law and religion of the land.

Of all the prophets, none united such distinguished qualifications, or was so highly gifted as Elijah, who appeared at this disastrous juncture, when the abrogation of the ancient religion, and the formal establishment of the Sidonian worship, were subtly and deliberately attempted. At his first appearance before Ahab, Elijah denounced as imminent and immediate one of those penalties, with which, according to the first principles of the Mosaic law, the land was threatened on the desertion of the national worship, a long and distressing drought of many years. Having delivered his message, he concealed himself near a brook which ran into the Jordan; there he was fed, as some translate the word, by ravens, as others, by traveling merchants or Arabians. At length the brook dried up, and Elijah fled into Sarepta, a town within the dominions of the Sidonian enemies. Here he was entertained by a charitable widow, whose services were rewarded by the miraculous repletion of her cruse of oil, and the restoration of her son to life. Still the drought continued; the fruitful plains and the luxuriant valleys of Ephraim and Zebulun lay parched and crumbling with heat; the fountains, the wells, the rivers, were all dried up, there was not herbage enough to feed the royal horses and cattle. At this juncture, Elijah suddenly appeared before the king, having previously sent him a message by the reluctant Obadiah. He demanded to put the truth of the two religions to the test of a public and splendid miracle. The scene took place on the summit of that lofty mountain, Carmel, which, on one side commands a view of the boundless ocean, on the other, of the richest valleys of the promised land. The priests of Baal, the Sun, assembled to the number of four hundred and fifty—Elijah stood alone. All the people awaited the issue in anxious expectation. Whichever sacrifice was kindled by the
fire from heaven was to decide the cause. The priests of Baal, having selected their victim, placed it on the altar. As their God began to arise above the eastern horizon, they hailed his appearance with the smoke of their incense, and the loud sound of their orisons. They continued their supplications till he reached the height of his noonday splendor; then with frantic cries, wild dances, cutting their flesh with knives and lancets, they summoned their god to reveal his power. All above was mute and still, the altar cold and unkindled, Elijah began to taunt them. *Cry aloud (he said), for he is a god, either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey or peradventure he sleepeth and must be awaked.* Still, as the orb began to descend, they continued to chant their hymns, till at length it sank into the waves of the sea. Elijah then raised an altar of twelve stones, filled the trench around it with water, placed his victim upon it, uttered a brief and simple prayer to the God of his fathers. Instantaneously the fire flashed down, and consumed both the sacrifice and the altar, and licked up the water in the trench. The people at once recognized the hand of God; the law was put in force against the idolatrous priests, who were taken down and put to death on the banks of the Kishon. Immediately the curse was removed from the land; Elijah saw a small cloud, the usual forerunner of rain, arise as from the sea, and the whole country was refreshed by abundant showers.

In the meantime the affairs of Israel, after the restoration of the ancient religion, had prospered. A great confederacy of the Syrian kings, headed by Benhadad, a name common to the kings of Damascus, after an insolent command of unconditional surrender, besieged Samaria. As the Syrian troops were negligently feasting in their camp, certain of the youth of high rank fell upon them, and discomfited them with great slaughter. The Syrians consoled themselves by the notion that the God of Israel was the God of the hills; on the plain their superior numbers and immense force in chariots would regain their superiority. A second total defeat destroyed their confidence, though the Israelites were described as two little flocks of kids in comparison with their vast army. The fugitives took refuge in Aphek, and great numbers were crushed by the
falling of the walls of that city. Benhadad and his leaders had no other course but to surrender.

The providential success of Ahab's arms neither reconciled him to the worship of the true God, nor taught him reverence for the institutions of his country. The law of property was still in full force; but a piece of land, occupied as a vineyard, lying conveniently near that of the king, he desired to purchase it. Naboth, the owner, refused to alienate the inheritance of his family. By the advice of his crafty queen, Ahab caused the unhappy man to be accused of blasphemy. Through the subornation of witnesses, and the corruption of the municipal court of judicature, he procured his condemnation; Naboth was stoned to death. The crime was no sooner committed than the king was startled by the sudden reappearance of Elijah. He denounced divine vengeance, and proclaimed aloud that the dogs should lick the blood of Ahab; that a fate as terrible awaited his queen, Jezebel, near the walls of Jezreel; and that his whole family should perish by a violent death.

All this time the kingdom of Judah had enjoyed an interval of peace and prosperity. After a reign of forty-one years, Asa was succeeded (B. C. 918) by his son Jehoshaphat. The new king pursued the prudent and religious course of his father, fortified his kingdom, maintained a powerful army, established public teachers of the law, and organized the courts of judicature in all the cities of Judah. The kingdom was in a high state of prosperity; the Philistines and the Arab tribes paid tribute to the King of Jerusalem. Jehoshaphat entered into an alliance with the King of Israel, and in an evil hour, he married his son Jehoram to the cruel and ambitious daughter of Ahab, Athalia, who introduced the crimes and calamities of the Israelitish dynasty into the royal house of Judah.

The alliance between the two Hebrew kingdoms lasted during the short and uneventful reign of Ahaziah (B. C. 891); the son and successor of Ahab. This prince, having met with an accident which endangered his life, sent to consult Baalzebub, the god of Ekron, whom, perhaps, the Philistines endowed with some of the powers of healing, attributed by the Greeks to Apollo. Elijah was commanded to rebuke this idolatrous disparagement of the God of Israel; twice, a troop of fifty men
sent to seize him were struck with lightning; the third time he came boldly down from the hill on which he stood, and foretold the king's death, which almost immediately took place. Jehoram, his brother, ascended the throne. His first measure was the organization of a confederacy between the kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom, to chastise the revolted king of Moab, who had refused his accustomed tribute of one hundred thousand sheep and one hundred thousand lambs. Their united forces marched round the foot of the Dead Sea, but found themselves bewildered in an arid desert without water. By the advice of Elisha, who had now assumed the prophetic office, they dug deep trenches along the plain, down which the waters from the mountainous district of Edom flowed rapidly and abundantly. The Moabites, in the morning, mistaking the waters reddened by the rising sun for pools of blood, supposed that the common fate of confederate armies had taken place, that they had quarreled and mutually slaughtered each other. They sallied down to plunder the camp, but, meeting with unexpected resistance, were defeated on all sides; the king in his despair, after having in vain attempted to break through the hostile forces, and having seen his whole country cruelly devastated, offered his eldest son as a sacrifice to his gods. Yet he seems to have been saved from total ruin by some dissension among the allies, which led to the withdrawing of their forces.

On the death of Jehoshaphat, his son Jehoram succeeded, and thus we have a prince of the same name on each of the thrones, increasing the difficulty of relating the parallel history of the two kingdoms with perspicuity. In the first measure of Jehoram, King of Judah, the fatal consequences of the connexion with the sanguinary house of Ahab began to appear; all his brethren were put death without remorse. The reign which began in blood, proceeded in idolatry and defeat, till the fearful doom, denounced in a letter sent by the prophet Elisha, was entirely fulfilled. The kingdom suffered a fatal blow in the revolt of Edom, and the loss of their remaining sea-port on the Red Sea. Jehoshaphat had continued this commerce in conjunction with Ahaziah, King of Israel; he had fitted out a large fleet at Eziongeber, which was wrecked on a ledge of rocks near that incommodious harbor. He then transferred his
marine to Elath, and fitted out another expedition on his own account with better success. But Elath now also fell into the hands of the rebellious Edomites, and all commerce was entirely cut off. Nor was this the end of Jehoram's calamities; the Philistines and Arabians invaded the country, surprised his palace, captured his seraglio, and slew all his sons but one. Jehoram himself died of a painful and loathsome disease, so little honored that he was not buried in the sepulcher of the kings; Ahaziah, his son succeeded.

We now return to the kingdom of Israel, where we find the king, Jehoram, engaged in a new war with his inveterate enemy, the Syrian king of Damascus. The hopes of the country rested on the prophet Elijah, who had been wrapt to heaven in a car of fire, but had bequeathed his mantle, his office, and a double portion of his spirit, to his successor. This took place beyond the Jordan. Elisha, in possession of the miraculous mantle, divided the waters and passed over; he was received and recognized by the prophetic school at Jericho, though originally an uneducated husbandman. The early period of his prophetic office is described as a succession of miracles; he purified the waters of Jericho, to which was attributed the singular property of causing woman to miscarry; he laid his curse on forty-two youths in Bethel, who had mocked his bald head—they were devoured by bears; he multiplied a widow's vessel of oil, and restored to life the child of an opulent woman in the town of Shunam; he destroyed the poisonous qualities of a mess of herbs, and fed one hundred men with twenty loaves. He had contributed to gain the victory over the Moabites. His fame spread into Syria. Naaman, one of the great military leaders of that kingdom, was a leper. Elisha cured him by commanding him to wash in the Jordan; but to avoid the least suspicion of venality, he not merely refused all remuneration, but his servant, Gehazi was punished by the same disease for fraudulently obtaining gifts in his name from the grateful stranger. As the Syrians pressed the war with great vigor, their king, Benhadad, found all his measures anticipated, and attributed his want of success to the presence of Elisha. He sent an army to surprise him in the city of Dothan, at no great distance from Sumaria. The troops were all smitten with blindness, con-
ducted to Samaria, but released by the merciful intervention of the prophet.

But the city of Samaria was now environed on all sides, and endured the first of those dreadful sieges by which the two capitals of the Jewish kingdoms appear, through some awful fatality, to have been distinguished beyond all the other cities of the world. The most loathsome food, an ass's head and the dung of pigeons, was sold at enormous prices. Two women had made an agreement to kill their children for food, and one of them called upon the king to enforce her reluctant copartner to fulfill her share in this horrible compact. The king rent his clothes, and was discovered to have sackcloth next his skin. Jehoram, for some reason which does not appear, determined to wreak vengeance on Elisha, when on a sudden the prophet announces the speedy discomfiture of the Syrian army, and unexampled abundance and cheapness of provision. First, some lepers, desperate from their wretched condition, sally forth; they find the camp totally deserted. Wild noises of arms and chariots had been heard on all sides. The Syrians, supposing that the Egyptians, or some other powerful allies, had marched to the relief of Samaria, had been seized with a sudden panic and dispersed. The greatest plenty, and an immense booty, rewarded the Samaritans for their dreadful sufferings. One of their officers, who had presumed to doubt the truth of Elisha's prophecies, according to his prediction, saw, but did not partake of the abundance—he was trampled to death in the press at the gate.

The prophetic fame of Elisha was now at its height; he entered the metropolis of the Syrians, where the king lay dangerously ill (as Josephus says) of a deep melancholy, occasioned by his defeat. He was met by Hazael, an eminent officer of the court, with a sumptuous present, borne on forty camels. Will the king recover? demands the Syrian. The prophet returns an enigmatical, yet significant answer, that the disease is not mortal, but that the monarch's end is approaching. With these words he burst into tears; for he knew that Hazael entertained designs against his master's life, and that the bold and unprincipled usurper would be a more formidable enemy to his native country than had yet sat upon the throne.
of Syria. The fatal prediction is accomplished in every point. Hazael smothered his master with a wet cloth, seizes the throne, and his first measure is a bloody battle at Ramoth, against the combined forces of both the Jewish kingdoms under Jehoram, King of Israel, and Ahaziah, who had just succeeded his father, Jehoram of Judah. In this calamitous field Jehoram was wounded, and retreated to Jezreel, where Ahaziah came to meet him. But the dynasty of the sanguinary Ahab was drawing to a close. Elisha commanded a young prophet to anoint Jehu, a valiant officer, as King of Israel. The army at Ramoth revolted, and espoused the cause of Jehu; he advanced rapidly in his chariot on Jezreel, for he was noted for his furious driving.

Jehoram and Ahaziah went forth from the city against Jehu; they met in the fatal vineyard of Naboth. Jehoram attempted to parley, but he was reproached with his own crimes, and with the idolatries of his mother, Jezebel. The king shrieked aloud, There is treachery, O Ahaziah, and fled. The bow of Jehu was strung, and the arrow pierced the unfortunate monarch to the heart. His body was taken up and cast into the vineyard of Naboth. Ahaziah fled with no better fortune. He received a mortal wound, and died at Megiddo; his body was carried to Jerusalem. Jehu entered Jezreel in triumph. As he passed through the gate, the haughty Jezebel, who had painted her face and attired her head, looked forth from a window, and reproached him with the murder of the king: Had Zimri peace, who slew his master? Jehu lifted up his head, and exclaimed, Who is on my side, who? Some of the perfidious eunuchs of the queen immediately appeared. Throw her down, was the stern command of Jehu. They obeyed; her blood fell upon the wall, and the horses trampled over her body; and when, at length, the unrelenting conqueror consented to permit her body to be buried, because, though a cursed woman, she was a king's daughter, nothing but the miserable remains of her corpse were found—the skull, the feet, and the palms of the hands—for the dogs (according to the words of Elijah) had eaten the flesh of Jezebel in the portion of Jezreel. Thus, by the death of Jehoram and Ahaziah, both the thrones of Judah and Israel were vacant. Jehu hastened to secure the latter.
There were seventy sons of Ahab in Samaria. Jehu sent to command the elders of the city, which was strongly fortified and well provided with arms, to set the best of Ahab's sons upon the throne. The elders apprehended that they might perform a more acceptable service; they made known their ready subservience to the views of the usurper. An indiscriminate slaughter of the seventy sons, the friends and kindred of Ahab, took place; the heads were sent in the modern Turkish fashion to Jehu, at Jezreel. The subtle usurper ordered them to be placed by the gates, and addressed the assembled people, obliquely exculpating himself from the guilt of the massacre: Behold, I conspired against my master, and slew him; but who slew all these? He proceeded to attribute their death to the inscrutable decrees of the Almighty, who had determined on the extirpation of the whole guilty house of Ahab. The crafty Jehu continued his successful, though bloody career. The house of Ahaziah met with no better fate than that of Ahab; Jehu put to death forty-two of them, whom he encountered on his way to Samaria, obviously with a view to popularity. He entered Samaria with Jonadab, the son of Rechad, the founder of an austere ascetic sect, who abstained from the use of wine, seated by his side in his chariot. He concluded his dreadful work of vengeance by the total extermination of the priests of Baal, which he conducted with his usual subtlety. He avowed himself an ardent worshiper of that idolatry, and summoned a general assembly of the priesthood. The temple was crowded; he commanded all the worshipers to put on splendid and distinguished apparel, and ordered strict search to be made whether any of the worshipers of Jehovah were present. He then, having encircled the building with his guard, gave the signal for an unsparing massacre. No one escaped; the idols were destroyed, the temples razed. Jonadab, the ascetic, countenanced and assisted this dreadful extirpation of idolatry. Yet, even Jehu adhered to the symbolic worship established by Jeroboam.

Thus Israel was finally delivered from the fatal house of Ahab; but Athaliah, the queen-mother of Judah, showed herself a worthy descendent of that wicked stock, and scenes as
bloody, and even more guilty, defiled the royal palace of Jerusalem.

As Athaliah entered the courts of the temple, she beheld the young and rightful heir of the kingdom crowned, and encircled by a great military force, who, with the assembled priesthood and the whole people joined in the acclamation, "God save the king!" She shrieked aloud, "Treason! treason!" but her voice was drowned by the trumpets and the cries of the multitude. Incapable of resistance, she was seized, dragged beyond the precincts of the temple, and put to death (B.C. 878). Jehoida, the high-priest, who assumed the control of public affairs—the king being only seven years old, commanded Mattan, the priest of Baal, to be slain in his temple, and totally suppressed the religion.

The reign of Joash being under favorable auspices, the influence of the high-priest, and the education of the king himself in the temple, promised the restoration of the national worship. Large contributions were made for the repair of the sacred edifice, which at first, it appears, were diverted by the priests to their own purposes.

Hazael, having taken Gath, now advanced toward Jerusalem. The unwarlike Joash purchased his retreat at the price of all the sacred treasures of the temple, and in every respect the latter part of the reign of Joash belied the promise of the former. After the death of the high-priest Jehoida, idolatry, which before, excepting the worship on high places, had been entirely suppressed, began to spread again among the higher ranks. Zachariah, the son of Jehoida, both as priest and prophet, resisted with the strongest denunciations the prevailing apostasy. The king, forgetful of his father's services, and the people weary of his remonstrances, conspired together to stone him.

Defeat and death followed hard on the ingratitude and apostasy of Joash. The Syrians again appeared with a small force, but totally discomfited the Jewish army, and his own officers revenged the disgrace of the nation on the person of the king, by murdering him in his bed; nor was he thought worthy of a place in the sepulchres of the great kings of Judah.

The first act of Amaziah, the son and successor of Joash, was to do justice to the murderers of his father; but with mer-
ciful conformity to the law, unusual in such times, he did not involve the children in the treason of their fathers.

Fifteen years after the death of his rival, Amaziah, like his father, fell a victim to a conspiracy within the walls of his palace; he fled to Lachish, but was slain there. In neither case was the succession altered; his son Azariah, or Uzziah, assumed the royal power (B.C. 809), and commenced a long, religious, and therefore prosperous, reign of fifty-two years. But this good and prudent king was guilty of one great violation of the law—he began to usurp the office of the priests and offer incense. While he was offering, he was suddenly struck with leprosy; and, in rigid conformity to the law of Moses, he was set aside, and the administration of public affairs intrusted to his son Jotham.

Jotham strengthened the kingdom of Judah, made the Ammonites tributary, and after an able, but not very eventful reign, left the throne to his son Ahaz, the worst and most unfortunate monarch who had ruled in Judah.

As the storm darkened over the Hebrew kingdom, the voices of the prophets became louder and more wild; they whose writings have been preserved in our sacred volume now come upon the scene. In their magnificent lyric odes we have a poetical history of these momentous times, not merely describing the fall of the two Hebrew nations, but that of the adjacent kingdoms likewise. As each independent tribe or monarchy was swallowed up in the great universal empire of Assyria, the seers of Judah watched the progress of the invader, and uttered their sublime funeral anthems over the greatness, the prosperity and independence of Moab, and Ammon, Damascus, and Tyre. They were like the great tragic chorus to the awful drama which was unfolding itself in the Eastern world. Nor did they confine their views to their own internal affairs, or to their own immediate neighborhood. Jonah appeared as a man under divine influence at Nineveh; and Nahum described the subsequent fate of that spacious city in images which human imagination or human language have never surpassed.

Still, in general, the poets of Judea were pre-eminently national. It is on the existing state, the impending dangers, and
future prospects of Ephraim and Judah, that they usually dwell. As moral teachers they struggled with the noblest energy against the corruptions which prevailed in all ranks and classes. Each kingdom had its prophets; in that of Israel, the obscure and sententious Hosea reproved the total depravation. The rustic and honest Amos inveighed against the oppressions of the wealthy, and the corruptions of the judges. In Judah, Joel described the successive calamities which desolated the country. But Isaiah not only took a great share in all the affairs of the successive reigns, from Azariah to Hezekiah, described or anticipated all the wars, conquests, and convulsions, which attended the rise and fall of the Assyrian and Babylonian dynasties, but penetrated still farther into futurity. To Isaiah may be traced the first clear and distinct intimations of the important influence to be exercised by the Jews on the destiny of mankind—the promise of the Messiah, and the remote prospects of future grandeur, which tended so strongly to form their national character, and are still the indissoluble bond which has held together this extraordinary people through centuries of dispersion, persecution, and contempt. Still blind to the fulfillment of all these predictions in the person and spiritual kingdom of Christ, the Jew, in every age and every quarter of the world, dwells on the pages of his great national prophet, and with undying hope looks forward to the long-delayed coming of the Deliverer, and to his own restoration to the promised land in splendor and prosperity, far surpassing that of his most favored ancestors.

The dissensions between the two kingdoms led to their more immediate ruin. Ahaz succeeded to the throne of Judah in the seventeenth year of Pekah (B.C. 742), the last able or powerful monarch of Israel. Pekah entered into a confederacy with Rezin, King of Damascus, to invade Judea. Their first expedition did not meet with much success; a second descent was more fatal. On the retreat of the Syrians Ahaz ventured on a battle. In this bloody field Judah lost one hundred and twenty thousand men; Zichri, a valiant chieftain of the Israelites, slew with his own hand Maasseiah, the king's son, and some of his household. Two hundred thousand men, women, and children were led away into captivity.
While the kingdom of Israel was rarely blessed by a permanent, vigorous, and prudent administration, and frequently endured all the evils of a contested and irregular succession, which placed adventurer after adventurer, or short and precarious dynasties upon the throne; while the best of their kings only so far returned to the national faith as to extirpate foreign idolatry, but remained true to the separate, symbolic, and forbidden worship of Jeroboam—the hereditary succession of Judah remained unbroken in the line of David, and a period of misrule and irreligion was almost invariably succeeded by a return to the national faith. Accordingly, six years before the final destruction of Samaria, one of the best and wisest of her kings, Hezekiah, replaced his father Ahaz on the throne of Judah (B.C. 726). Hezekiah carried the reformation much farther than his most religious predecessors. The temple was cleansed—the rites restored with more than usual solemnity; the priesthood and Levites reinstated in their privileges; every vestige of idolatrous superstition eradicated; the shrines of false gods demolished; the groves leveled; the high places desecrated; even the brazen serpent made by Moses in the wilderness, having been abused to superstitious purposes, was destroyed. Having thus prepared the way, Hezekiah began still further to develop his plans, which tended to the consolidation of the whole Hebrew race under their old religious constitution. He determined to celebrate the passover (that which was called the second passover) with all its original splendor and concourse of people. He sent messengers into the neighboring kingdom of Israel, to summon the ten tribes, then under the feeble rule of Hoshea. The proud Ephraimites treated his message with contempt; but from the smaller tribes multitudes flocked to Jerusalem, where the sacrifices were offered with something like the ancient state and magnificence. On their return, the religious zeal of those who had visited Jerusalem, had great effect on their kindred; idolatry was put down by force, the temples and altars destroyed:

In the fourteenth year of his reign, Hezekiah fell dangerously ill. His earnest prayer for the prolongation of his life was accepted at the throne of mercy. Isaiah foretold his recovery, and the grant of fifteen years of life, and likewise of
children; for the good king was leaving the kingdom without a legitimate heir. The prophet directed the means of his cure, by laying a plaster of figs on the boil from which he suffered; and proved his divine mission by the sign of the shadow retrograding ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz.

Immediately after this event, Hezekiah received an embassy from Merodach Baladan, the independent King of Babylon, for the ostensible purpose of congratulating him on his recovery; some suppose for that of inquiring into the extraordinary astronomical phenomenon, the intelligence of which had reached that seat of oriental science; but more probably with the view of concerting measures for an extensive revolt from the Assyrian yoke. Hezekiah made a pompous display of his treasures, very likely much enriched by the plunder of Sennacherib's broken army. For this indiscreet ostentation, so calculated to excite the cupidity of a foreign invader, the king was reproved by the more prudent Isaiah. Internal convulsions in the kingdom of Assyria permitted Hezekiah to pass the rest of his reign in peace and opulence. His public treasury was full; the husbandry and pasturage of the country returned to their former productiveness. He strengthened the cities, ornamented Jerusalem with a new aqueduct, and at length went down to the grave, honored and regretted by the whole people. He was succeeded by Manasseh, a king to whose crimes and irreligion the Jews mainly attribute the dreadful evils which shortly after consigned them to ruin and slavery.

Manasseh ascended the throne at the age of twelve. The administration fell into the hands of unworthy ministers, of whom Shebna is represented, by Isaiah, as the most haughty and violent. But with his years the evil dispositions of the king came to maturity. Idolatry was restored; every kind of superstition, witchcraft, and divination practised; altars to idols were raised even within the sacred precincts; the temple itself was defiled by a graven image. The irreligion of Manasseh was only equalled by his tyranny. The city ran with innocent blood; the sacred persons of the prophets were violated. Tradition describes the horrid martyrdom of Isaiah, who was sawn asunder, to this relentless tyrant. His vices brought their own punishment in the contemptible weakness to which
the State was reduced. When the army of Esarhaddon, the new sovereign of Assyria, made its appearance under the walls, Jerusalem made no resistance, and the unworthy heir of David and Solomon was led away to learn wisdom and piety in the dungeons of Babylon.

The lessons of adversity were not lost on Manasseh; he was restored to his throne, and the end of his long reign of fifty-five years, passed in the observance of law and religion, in some degree compensated for the vices of his youth. His son Amon, who succeeded, following the early career of his father, fell a victim to a conspiracy among his own officers.

At the age of eight years (B.C. 640) Josiah came to the throne. The memory of this prince is as deservedly dear to the Jews as that of Manasseh is hateful. Josiah surpassed even his most religious predecessors, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Azariah, or Hezekiah, in zeal for the reformation of the national religion. His first care was to repair the temple. While the work was proceeding, the king and the whole nation heard, with the highest exultation, that Hilkiah, the high-priest, had discovered the original copy of the Law. But so little were its real contents known, that, on its first reading, the king was struck with terror at its awful denunciations. The book was read in public; Josiah and all the nation renewed the solemn covenant with their God. The king proceeded to carry into execution the divine precepts of the Law. He began by the total extirpation of idolatry, not merely in Judea, but throughout all the holy land. Josiah completed his reform by the celebration of the great national festival, the passover, on a scale of grandeur and magnificence unknown to the later ages of the Jewish kingdom. Yet the virtues of Josiah delayed only for a time the fate of Jerusalem. The hopes of uniting the dominions of David and Solomon into one powerful kingdom, animated with lofty religious zeal, and flourishing under the wise and beneficent constitution of Moses, 'were cut short, so divine Providence ordained, by the unfavorable circumstances of the times, and the death of the wise and virtuous king.

At this period of the approaching dissolution of the Jewish State, appeared the prophet Jeremiah, a poet; from his exquisitely pathetic powers, admirably calculated to perform the
funeral obsequies over the last of her kings, over the captive people, the desolate city, the ruined temple. The prophet himself, in the eventful course of his melancholy and persecuted life, learned that personal familiarity with affliction which added new energy to his lamentations over his country and his religion. To our great loss his elegy on the death of Josiah, in which the nation joined with heartfelt anguish, is not now extant among his prophecies. Necho, after his victory over the Assyrians and the capture of Carchemish, took possession of Jerusalem, where, by a hasty choice, Jehoahaz, a younger son of Josiah, had been raised to the throne. The capture of the city under the name of Kadutis (the holy city) is related by Herodotus. In the celebrated royal tomb, discovered by Belzoni, in the valley of Beban el Molook, near Thebes, the name of Necho was thought to be distinctly deciphered. A painting, on the same walls, exhibited a procession of captives, some of whom, from their physiognomy and complexion, were clearly distinguished as Jews. The conqueror deposed and imprisoned Jehoahaz, after a reign of three months; exacted a heavy fine from the kingdom, and placed Eliakim (Jehoiakim) on the throne. From this period the kingdom of Judea fell into a state of alternate vassalage to the two conflicting powers of Egypt and Assyria. The shadows of kings who were raised to the throne, were dismissed at the breath of their liege lord. It is a deplorable period of misrule and imbecility. Without ability to defend them, these unhappy kings had only the power of entailing all the miseries of siege and conquest on their people, by rebellions which had none of the dignity, while they had all the melancholy consequences of a desperate struggle for independence.

In the fourth year of Jehoiakim (B. C. 604), the mightiest monarch who had wielded the Assyrian power, Nebuchadnezzar, was associated in the empire with his father, and assumed the command of the armies of Nineveh. The prophetic eye of Jeremiah foresaw the approaching tempest, and endeavored to avert it by the only means which remained in the impoverished and enfeebled state of the kingdom, timely submission. Long had he struggled, but in vain, to restore the strength of the State by the reformation and religious union of the king
and people. In the royal palace and in the temple he had uttered his solemn warnings. His honest zeal had offended the priesthood. He had been arraigned as a false prophet before the royal council, where, by the intervention of powerful friends, he had been acquitted. Uriah, another prophet, who had boldly exercised that unwelcome office, after having fled in vain to Egypt, had been seized and put to death. At this juncture, Jeremiah again came forward. In opposition to a strong Egyptian faction, he urged the impracticability of resistance to the Assyrian forces, already on their march. But he spoke to deaf and heedless ears. He then denounced an impending servitude of the whole people, which was to last for seventy years; and to give further publicity to his awful remonstrances, he commanded Baruch, a scribe, to write on a roll the whole of his predictions. The roll was read, during a general fast, in the most public place, before the gate of the temple. The chief nobility of the city were strongly affected, but the headstrong king cut the roll to pieces, cast it into the fire, and Jeremiah and Baruch were obliged to conceal themselves from his vengeance. The event soon justified the wisdom of the prophet. Nebuchadnezzar having retaken Carchemish (B.C. 601), passed the Euphrates, and rapidly overran the whole of Syria and Palestine. Jerusalem made little resistance. The king was put in chains to be carried as a prisoner to Babylon. On his submission he was reinstated on the throne, but the temple was plundered of many of its treasures, and a number of well-born youths, among whom were Daniel, and three others, best known by their Persian names, Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego. From this date commence the seventy years of the captivity. Jehoiakim had learned neither wisdom nor moderation from his misfortunes. Three years after, he attempted to throw off the yoke of Assyria. Nebuchadnezzar, occupied with more important affairs, left the subjugation of Palestine to the neighboring tribes, who for three years longer ravaged the whole country, shut up Jehoiakim in Jerusalem; and at length this weak and cruel king was slain (B.C. 598), perhaps in some sally. His unhonored remains were buried "with the burial of an ass."

Jehoiachim (Jeconias or Coniah), his son, had scarcely mounted
the throne, when Nebuchadnezzar himself appeared at the gates of Jerusalem. The city surrendered at discretion. The king and all the royal family, the remaining treasures of the temple, the strength of the army and the nobility, and all the more useful artisans, were carried away to Babylon. Over this wreck of a kingdom, Zedekiah (Mattaniah), the younger son of Josiah, was permitted to enjoy an inglorious reign and precarious sovereignty of eleven years, during which he abused his powers, even worse than his imbecile predecessors. In his ninth year, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the wise Jeremiah, he endeavored to assert his independence; and Jerusalem, though besieged by Nebuchadnezzar in person, now made some resistance. The Egyptian faction in the city were encouraged by the advance of Hophra (Apries), the reigning Pharaoh, into Palestine. The march suspended for a time the operations of the Assyrians. The Jews, released from the pressing danger, recanted all the vows of reformation which they had begun to make. But Hophra, and the Egyptian army were defeated; and the toils closed again around the devoted city. Jeremiah, undaunted by his ill success, still boldly remonstrated against the madness of resistance. He was thrown into a foul and noisome dungeon, on an accusation of treasonable correspondence with the enemy. At length famine reduced the fatal obstinacy of despair. Jerusalem opened its gates to the irresistible conqueror. The king, in an attempt to break through the besieging forces, was seized, his children slain before his face, his eyes put out, and thus the last king of the royal house of David, blind and childless, was led away into a foreign prison. The capture of Jerusalem took place on the ninth day of the fourth month; on the seventh day of the fifth month (two days on which Hebrew devotion still commemorates the desolation of the city by solemn fast and humiliation), the relentless Nabuzaradan executed the orders of his master, by leveling the city, the palaces, and the temple, in one common ruin. The few remaining treasures, particularly the two brazen pillars which stood before the temple, were sent to Babylon; the chief priests were put to death; the rest carried into captivity.

Jeremiah survived to behold the sad accomplishment of all
his darkest predictions. He witnessed all the horrors of the famine, and when that had done its work, the triumph of the enemy. He saw the strongholds of the city cast down, the palace of Solomon, the temple of God, with all its courts, its roofs of cedar and of gold, leveled to the earth, or committed to the flames; the sacred vessels, the ark of the covenant itself, with the cherubim, pillaged by profane hands. What were the feelings of a patriotic and religious Jew at this tremendous crisis, he has left on record in his unrivalled elegies. Never did city suffer a more miserable fate, never was ruined city lamented in language so exquisitely pathetic. Jerusalem is, as it were, personified, and bewailed with the passionate sorrow of private and domestic attachment; while the more general pictures of the famine, the common misery of every rank, age, and sex, all the desolation, the carnage, the violation, the dragging away into captivity, the remembrance of former glories of the gorgeous ceremonies, and the glad festivals, the awful sense of the divine wrath heightening the present calamities, are successively drawn with all the life and reality of an eye-witness. They combine the truth with the deepest pathos of poetry:

How solitary doth she sit, the many-peopled city!  
She is become a widow, the great among the nations;  
The queen among the provinces, how is she tributary!

Weeping—weep all the night; the tears are on her cheeks,  
From among all her lovers, she hath no comforter;  
Her friends have all dealt treacherously; they are become her foes.—i. 1, 2.

The ways of Sion mourn; none come up to her feasts,  
All her gates are desolate; and her priests do sigh;  
Her virgins wail herself; she is in bitterness.—i. 4.

He hath plucked up His garden-hedge, He hath destroyed His temple;  
Jehovah hath forgotten He made the solemn feast and Sabbath;  
And in the heat of ire He hath rejected king and priest.

The Lord His altar has disdained, abhorréd His holy place,  
And to the adversary's hand given up His palace walls;  
Our foes shout in Jehovah's house, as on a festal day.—ii. 7, 8.

Her gates are sunk into the earth, He hath broken through her bars;  
Her monarch and her princes are now among the heathen;  
The law hath ceased; the prophets find no vision from Jehovah.—ii. 10.
My eyes do fail with tears; and troubled are my bowels;  
My heart's blood gushes on the earth, for the daughter of my people;  
Children and suckling babes lie swooning in the squares:

They say unto their mothers, where is corn and wine?  
They swoon as they were wounded, in the city squares;  
While glides the soul away into their mother's bosom.—ii. 11, 12.

Even dragons, with their breasts drawn out, give suck unto their young;  
But cruel is my people's daughter, as the ostrich in the desert;  
The tongues of sucking infants to their palates cleave with thirst.

Young children ask for bread, and no man breaks it for them;  
Those that fed on dainties are desolate in the streets;  
Those brought up in scarlet, even those embrace the dunghill.—iv. 3, 4, 5

Behold, Jehovah, think to whom Thou e'er hast dealt thus!  
Have women ever eat their young, babes fondled in their hands?  
Have priest and prophet e'er been slain in the Lord's holy place?

In the streets, upon the ground, lie slain the young and old;  
My virgins and my youth have fallen by the sword;  
In thy wrath thou'st slain them, thou hast had no mercy.

Thou hast summoned all my terrors, as to a solemn feast;  
None'scaped, and none were left in Jehovah's day of wrath;  
All that mine arms have borne and nursed, the enemy hath slain.—ii. 20; 1, 2.

Remember, Lord, what hath befallen,  
Look down on our reproach.  
Our heritage is given to strangers,  
Our home to foreigners.  
Our water have we drunk for money,  
Our fuel'hath its price.—v. 1, 2, 3.

We stretch our hands to Egypt,  
To Assyria for our bread.  
At our life's risk we gain our food,  
From the sword of desert robbers.  
Our skins are like an oven, parched,  
By the fierce heat of famine.  
Matrons in Sion have they ravished,  
Virgins in Judah's cities,  
Princes were hung up by the hand,  
And age had no respect.  
Young men are grinding at the mill,  
Boys faint 'neath loads of wood.  
The elders from the gate have ceased,  
The young men from their music.  
The crown is fallen from our head,  
Woe! woe! that we have sinned.
The miserable remnant of the people were placed under the command of Gedaliah, as a pasha of the great Assyrian monarch; the seat of government was fixed at Mizpeh. Yet ambition could look with envy even on this eminence. Gedaliah was assassinated by Ishmael, a man of royal blood. Johanan attempted to revenge his death. Ishmael, discomfited, took refuge with the Ammonites, but Johanan, and the rest of the Jews, apprehensive lest they should be called in question for the murder of Gedaliah, fled to Egypt, and carried Jeremiah with them. There the prophet died; either, according to conflicting traditions, put to death by the Jews, or by King Hophra. Thus closes the first period of the Jewish history; and in the ordinary course of human events, we might expect, the national existence of the Israelitish race.

CHAPTER V.

CAPTIVITY.

Nothing could present a more striking contrast to their native country than the region into which the Hebrews were transplanted. Babylon, occupying both sides of the broad Euphrates; while all around spread immense plains, which were intersected by long straight canals, bordered by rows of willows. How unlike their national temple—a small but highly finished and richly adorned fabric, standing in the midst of its courts on the brow of a lofty precipice—the colossal temple of the Chaldean Bel, rising from the plain with its eight stupendous stories or towers, one above the other, to the perpendicular height of a furlong! The palace of the Babylonian kings was more than twice the
size of their whole city; it covered eight miles, with its hanging gardens built on arched terraces, each rising above the other, and rich in all the luxuriance of artificial cultivation. How different from the sunny cliffs of their own land, where the olive and the vine grew spontaneously, and the cool, shady and secluded valleys, where they could always find shelter from the heat of the burning noon. Of their general treatment as captives we know little. In general, it seems that the Jewish exiles were allowed to dwell together in considerable bodies, not sold as household or personal slaves, at least not those of the better order, of whom the captivity chiefly consisted. They were colonists rather than captives, and became by degrees possessed of considerable prosperity. To the bold and rapid creations of the earlier Hebrew poets, Ezekiel adds not merely a vehemence and tragical force, peculiar to his own mind, but a vastness and magnificence of imagery, drawn from the scenery and circumstances by which he was surrounded. The world of Ezekiel, and that of his contemporary, Daniel, seems enlarged; the future teems with imperial dynasties and wide and universal monarchies. It is curious that the earliest monuments of Persian antiquity, in Persepolis and its neighborhood, abound with sculptures representing those symbolic and composite animals, which occur so frequently in the vision of these two prophets, especially Daniel. Daniel had been among those noble youths transported to Babylon at the first invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, most likely as hostages for the good conduct and submission of the vassal king. These young men were treated with great kindness, educated with the utmost care, both in the manners and duties of the great officers of the Assyrian court; and in all the half-scientific, half-superstitious knowledge, the astronomy, the divination, and skill in the interpretation of dreams, for which the priesthood of the Chaldeans long maintained unrivalled celebrity. Daniel received the name of Belteshazzar; his chief companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, those of Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego.

These youthful hostages were to be sumptuously maintained at the public charge; but Daniel and his companions, apprehensive of legal defilement, insisted on being supported on the meanest and simplest food, common pulse. When Nebuchad-
nezzar raised his golden image on the plain of Dura, which all men were to worship, the companions of Daniel, resisting the act of idolatry, were thrown into the fiery furnace, from whence they were miraculously delivered. Under a later monarch, who forbade any prayer to be offered for thirty days, but to himself, Daniel, with the same boldness, refusing to suspend his petitions to the Almighty, was cast into the den of lions, whose mouths were closed against the man of God. But it was chiefly like his predecessor Joseph—as interpreter of dreams—that Daniel acquired his high distinction. Twice he was summoned to this important office by Nebuchadnezzar; once when the unconscionable demand was made of the national interpreters, that they should expound a vision of which they did not know the substance; once when the haughty monarch was warned of a dreadful malady—some kind of madness—by which his pride was to be humbled, when he should be expelled from human society, and eat grass like a beast of the field. On both occasions the Hebrew interpreter was equally successful. In the same manner he was called upon to expound the fatal handwriting on the wall of Belshazzar, on that memorable night when the human hand, during the sumptuous banquet, wrote upon the wall the mysterious words, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN, interpreted by Daniel that the kingdom was numbered and finished—Belshazzar weighed in the balance, and found wanting—his kingdom taken away, and given to the Medes and Persians.

Like Joseph, Daniel became one of the viziers, or satraps, of the mighty empire, when it passed into the hands of the Medes and Persians.

It is not necessary, in relating this part of the Jewish history, to plunge into the intricate and inextricable labyrinth of Assyrian history and chronology. It is unimportant whether we suppose that the fatal night which terminated the life of Belshazzar witnessed the fall of Babylon, and that Darius the Mede was Cyaxares, the uncle of Cyrus; or that Belshazzar was overthrown, and put to death by a conspiracy within the city, headed by Darius, a man of Median extraction, and that from this Darius opens a new dynasty of Babylonian kings, which ended in the Persian conquest by Cyrus.
At all events, the close of the seventy years' captivity found Cyrus the undisputed monarch of all the territories, or rather, of a more extensive and powerful empire than that of Assyria, and Daniel appears as high in the confidence of this wise and powerful monarch as he had been in that of his predecessor, Darius. His providential deliverance had invested Daniel in new dignity, and he re-assumed his station among the pashas, or rather as the supreme head of the pashas, to whom the provinces of the vast Persian empire were committed.

The national spirit was not extinguished in the heart of Daniel by all these honors; no doubt through his influence Cyrus issued out the welcome edict commanding the restoration of the exiled Hebrews to their native land; perhaps the framing of the edict in which the unity of the Godhead was recognized may be referred to the Jewish minister, though it is by no means improbable that, at this period, the Persians were pure Theists.

The numbers which assembled under Zerubbabel (Suesh-bazzar), the descendant of their kings, the grandson of Jeconiah, and Jeshua, the hereditary high-priest, were forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty; four out of twenty-four courses of priests joined the returning exiles. The joyful caravan set forth, bearing the remaining sacred vessels of the temple which Cyrus had restored. The rest of their equipage is characteristically described as comprising servants and maids, singing men and singing women, horses, mules, camels, and asses. On their arrival in their native land, the first object was to restore the worship of God; the altar was set up, feasts re-established, and the first stone of the new temple laid among the joyful acclamations of the multitude; but the tears of the ancient men that had seen the first house, who, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice. The sixty-one thousand drachms of gold, contributed by the heads of the captivity, are supposed to be darics, which Prideaux calculates at something more than an English guinea; these, with five thousand pounds of silver, though a liberal sum in their present state, might raise a melancholy remembrance of the incalculable treasures which sheeted the former temple with gold. Nor would the
royal order for assistance, contained in the edict of Cyrus, in any degree replace the unbounded treasures accumulated by David and his son. The religious Jews deplored the still more important deficiencies of the new temple. The ark, the prophetic Urim, and Thummim, the Shechinah, or divine presence, the celestial fire on the altar, and the spirit of prophecy, though the last gift, still lingered on the lips of Haggai and Zechariah, till it expired at a later period on those of Malachi. The temple was built, probably, on the old foundations, but unexpected difficulties impeded its progress. The people called the Samaritans made overtures to assist in the great national work; their proposal was peremptorily and contemptuously rejected.

Their proposition of uniting in common worship with the Jews—which there seems no reason to suspect of insincerity, as at the same time, according to the account in Ezra, they seem to have acknowledged their impure descent—clearly evinces the prevalence of Israelitish feelings and opinions over those of strangers and aliens from the blood of Abraham and the Mosaic constitution. No two nations ever hated each other with more unmitigated bitterness. With a Jew, every Samaritan was a Cuthæan; and a Cuthæan was a term expressive of the utmost scorn and detestation. Every thing a Samaritan ate or drank, or even touched, was as swine's flesh; no Samaritan might be made a proselyte; no Samaritan could possibly attain to everlasting life. The law, which of old was perpetually violated, or almost forgotten, was now enforced by general consent to its extreme point, or even beyond it. The observance of the Sabbath, and even of the sabbatical year, was enforced with rigor, of which we have no precedent in the earlier annals; even to the neglect of defense in time of war. In short, from this period commences that unsocial spirit, that hatred toward mankind, and want of humanity to all but their own kindred, with which, notwithstanding the extent to which they carried proselytism, the Jews are branded by all the Roman writers. Their opinions underwent a change no less important; the hope of a Messiah, which had before prevailed but vaguely and indistinctly, had been enlarged and arrayed in the most splendid images by Isaiah, previous to the fall of the
city; it was propagated, and even the time of His appearance declared, by the prophets of the exiles, Ezekiel and Daniel; it sank deep into the popular mind, and contributed, no doubt, to knit the indissoluble tie of brotherhood, by which the Hebrew people were held together more closely.

The Samaritan influence at the court of Persia prevented the advancement of the building during the rest of the reign of Cyrus, as well as that of Cambyses and Smerdis the Magian, up to the second year of Darius Hystaspes.

On the accession of Darius Hystaspes, the prophets Haggai and Zechariah strongly urged on Zerubbabel, the chieftain of the people, to renew the work. The Persian pashas of the province, Tatnai, and Shetha-boznaï, sent to the sovereign for instructions. Darius commanded the archives to be searched, in which the original edict of Cyrus was found. Darius, who, in all respects pursued the policy of the great founder of the monarchy, re-issued and confirmed the decree. Under the protection of the Persian governors, the Jews pressed forward the work, and in the sixth year of Darius, the second temple, built on the old foundations, but of far less costly and splendid materials, was finally completed.

To the Jews the rest of the long reign of Darius Hystaspes passed away in uneventful prosperity; to that of his successor Xerxes, we assign, with some of the most learned German writers, the remarkable history of Esther. In his third year, Xerxes, at a great assembly, deliberates and takes measures for the subjugation of Greece. In his seventh year (B.C. 479), Ahasuerus marries Esther. In his seventh year Xerxes returns, discomfited, to Susa, and abandons himself to the pleasures of his harem. Hadassah, or Esther, the cousin-german of Mordecai, a distinguished Jew, who had brought her up from her childhood, had the fortune to please the king. She was put in possession of the royal apartments, and at a great festival proclaimed Queen of Persia, her birth still remaining a secret. Among the rival candidates for the royal favor were Mordecai and Haman, said to be descended from the ancient Amalekiteish kings. Mordecai had the good fortune to detect a conspiracy against the life of the king, but Haman soon outstripped all competitors in the race of advancement. Mordecai
alone, his rival (for this supposition renders the whole history more probable), refused to pay the accustomed honors to the new favorite. Haman, most likely secretly informed of his connexion with the queen, and fearing, therefore, to attack Mordecai openly, determined to take his revenge on the whole Jewish people. He represented them to the king as a dangerous and turbulent race; and promised to obtain immense wealth, ten thousand talents of silver, no doubt from the confiscation of their property, to the royal treasury, which was exhausted by the king's pleasures, and by the Grecian war. On these representations he obtained an edict for the general massacre of the Hebrew people throughout all the provinces of the empire, of which Judea was one. The Jews were in the deepest dismay; those in Susa looked to Mordecai as their only hope, and he to Esther. The influence of the queen might prevail, if she could once obtain an opportunity of softening the heart of Ahasuerus. But it was death, even for the queen, to intrude upon the royal presence unsummoned, unless the king should extend his golden scepter in sign of pardon. Esther trembled to undertake the cause of her kindred; but, as of Jewish blood, she herself was involved in the general condemnation. Having propitiated her God by a fast of three days, she appeared, radiant in her beauty, before the royal presence. The golden scepter was extended toward her; not merely her life, but whatever gift she should demand, was conceded by the captivated monarch. The cautious Esther merely invited the king, and Haman his minister, to a royal banquet. Haman fell into the snare, and, delighted with this supposed mark of favor from the queen, supposed all impediments to the gratification of his vengeance entirely removed, and gave orders that a lofty gallows should be erected for the execution of Mordecai. The king in the meantime, during a sleepless night, had commanded the chroniclers of the kingdom to be read before him. The book happened to open at the relation of the valuable, but unrequited service of Mordecai, in saving the king's life from a conspiracy within his own palace. The next morning Ahasuerus demanded from the obsequious minister "in what manner he might most exalt the man he delighted to honor?" The vizier, appropriating to himself this signal mark
of favor, advised that this highly distinguished individual should be arrayed in royal robes, set on the king's horse, with the royal crown on his head, and thus led by one of the greatest men through the whole-city, and proclaimed to the people as the man whom the king delighteth to honor. To his astonishment and dismay, Haman is himself commanded to conduct, in this triumphant array, his hated rival, Mordecai. In terror he consults his wife and the wise men as to his future course; he is interrupted by a summons to the banquet of Esther. Here, as usual, the king enraptured with his entertainment, offers his queen whatever boon she may desire, even to half of his kingdom. Her request is the deliverance of her people from the fatal sentence. The detection and the condemnation of the minister was the inevitable consequence. Haman, endeavoring to entreat mercy, throws himself upon her couch. The jealous monarch either supposing, or pretending to suppose, that he is making an attempt on the person of the queen, commands his instant execution; and Haman, by this summary sentence, is hanged on the gallows which had been raised for Mordecai, while the Jew is raised to the vacant vizieralty. Still, however, the dreadful edict was abroad; messengers were despatched on all sides throughout the realm, which extended from India to Ethiopia, on horseback, on mules, on camels, and on dromedaries, permitting the Jews to stand in the defensive. In Susa they slew eight hundred of their adversaries; seventy-five thousand in the provinces. The act of vengeance was completed by the execution of Haman's ten sons, who, at the petition of Esther, suffered the fate of their father. So great was the confusion and the terror caused by the degree of royal favor which Mordecai enjoyed, that the whole nation became objects of respect, and many of other extraction embraced their religion. The memory of this signal deliverance has been and still is, celebrated by the Jews. The festival is called that of Purim, because on that day Haman cast (Pur) the lot to destroy them. It is preceded by a strict fast on the 13th of the month Adar (February and March); the 14th and 15th are given up to the most universal and unbounded rejoicing. The book of Esther is read in the synagogue, where all ages and sexes are bound to be present; and whenever the name of Haman occurs,
the whole congregation clap their hands, and stamp with their feet, and answer, "Let his memory perish."

The reign of Artaxerxes, the successor of Xerxes on the Persian throne, was favorable to the Jews. In the seventh year a new migration took place from Babylon, headed by Ezra, a man of priestly descent. He was invested with full powers to make a collection among the Jews of Babylonia for the adornment of the national temple, and to establish magistrates and judges in every part of Judea. Many of the priesthood of the higher, and of the inferior orders, joined themselves to his party—singers, porters, and Nethinims. The national spirit of Ezra was deeply grieved to find that, by contracting marriages with the adjacent tribes, not merely the commonalty, but the chieftains and the priests themselves had contaminated the pure descent of the Israelitish race. By his influence these marriages were generally cancelled and the foreign wives repudiated. Still the city of Jerusalem was open and defenseless; the jealous policy of the Persian kings would not permit the Jews to fortify a military post of such importance as their capital.

On a sudden, however, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, Nehemiah, a man of Jewish descent, cup-bearer to the king, received a commission to rebuild the city with all possible expedition. The Persian court saw the wisdom of intrusting the command of the city, and the government of the people, always obstinately national, to an officer of their own race, yet on whose fidelity they might have full reliance. The shock which the Persian authority had suffered, is still further shown by the stealth and secrecy with which Nehemiah, though armed with the imperial edict, was obliged to proceed. For the heads of the neighboring tribes, Samaritans, Ammonites, and Arabians openly opposed the work. By night, and with their arms in their hands, the whole people of every rank and order labored with such assiduity—one-half working while the other watched, and stood on the defense—that in incredibly short time, fifty-two days, the enemy, Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem the Arabian, who had at first treated the attempt with scorn, saw the strong city of Jerusalem, as if by enchantment, girt with impregnable walls and towers, defying their assault,
and threatening to bridle their independence. Nehemiah had to contend not only with foreign opposition, but domestic treachery.

Having thus provided for the outward security and inward peace of the people, and having solemnly dedicated the wall, Nehemiah left Hanani his brother, and Hananiah, as governors of Jerusalem, strictly enjoining them to keep the gates closed, except during the day, and returned to Persia for a short time, to report his proceedings and renew his commission. On his return, which speedily followed, he took new measures to secure the purity of descent, now held of such high importance among the Jews. All their stock amounted (only) to seven hundred and thirty-six horses, their mules, two hundred and forty-five; camels, four hundred and thirty-five; asses, one thousand seven hundred and twenty. Such was the fallen state of this once mighty and opulent nation. Yet still the contributions to the temple were on a scale comparatively munificent. Nehemiah himself, the leaders, and the body of the people, voluntarily offered a considerable sum in gold, silver, utensils for the service, and costly garments for the priests. There seems to have been much unwillingness in the body of the people to inhabit the city, where probably the police was more strict, the military duties more laborious, and in general, more restraint, with less freedom and less profit, than in the cultivation of the soil. But the general security of the country, and most likely direct orders from the court of Persia, required that the capital should be well manned; and accordingly every tenth man, by lot, was constrained to enroll himself among the citizens of Jerusalem.

In the meantime, Ezra, who had been superseded in the civil administration by Nehemiah, had applied himself to his more momentous task—the compilation of the sacred books of the Jews. Much of the Hebrew literature was lost at the time of the captivity; the ancient book of Jasher, that of the wars of the Lord, the writings of Gad and Iddo the prophets, and those of Solomon on natural history. The rest, particularly the Law, of which, after the discovery of the original, by Hilkiah, many copies were taken; the historical books, the poetry, including all the prophetic writings except those of
Malachi, were collected, revised, and either at that time, or subsequently, arranged in three great divisions. The Law, containing the five books of Moses; the prophets, the historical and prophetical books; the hagiographa, called also the psalms, containing psalms, proverbs, ecclesiastes, and the song of Solomon. At a later period probably in the time of Simon the Just, the books of Malachi, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther were added, and what is called the canon of Jewish scripture finally closed. The Law, thus revised and corrected, was publicly read by Ezra, the people listening with the most devout attention; the feast of tabernacles was celebrated with considerable splendor. After this festival, a solemn feast was proclaimed; the whole people, having confessed and bewailed their offenses, deliberately renewed the covenant with the God of their fathers. An oath was administered that they would keep the Law; avoid intermarriages with strangers; neither buy nor sell on the Sabbath; observe the sabbatical year, and remit all debts according to the Law; pay a tax of a third of a shekel for the service of the temple; and offer all first fruits, and all tithes to the Levites. Thus the Jewish constitution was finally re-established. In the twelfth year of his administration, Nehemiah returned to the Persian court. But the weak and unsettled polity required a prudent and popular government. In his absence, affairs soon fell into disorder. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Malachi, the last of the prophets, the solemn covenant was forgotten; and on his return, after a residence of some time in Persia, Nehemiah found the high-priest, Eliashib himself, in close alliance with the deadly enemy of the Jews, Tobiah the Ammonite, and a chamber in the temple assigned for the use of this stranger. A grandson of the high-priest had taken as his wife a daughter of the other adversary, Sanballat. Others of the people had married in the adjacent tribes, had forgotten their tongue, and spoke a mixed and barbarous jargon; the Sabbath was violated both by the native Jews and by the Tyrian traders, who sold their fish and their merchandise at the gates of Jerusalem. Armed with the authority of a Persian satrap, and that of his own munificent and conciliatory character—for as governor he had lived on a magnificent scale, and continually entertained one hundred and fifty of the
chief leaders at his own table—Nehemiah reformed all these disorders. Among the rest he expelled from Jerusalem Manasseh, the son of Joiada (who succeeded Eliashib in the high-priesthood), on account of his unlawful marriage with the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite. Sanballat meditated signal revenge. He built a rival temple on the mountain of Gerizim, and appointed Manasseh high-priest; and thus the schism between the two nations, the Jews and the Samaritans, were perpetuated forever. The Jews ascribe all the knowledge of the Law among the Samaritans, even their possession of the sacred books, to the apostasy of Manasseh. The rival temple, they assert, became the place of refuge to all the refractory and licentious Jews, who could not endure the strict administration of the law in Judea.

During the great period of Grecian splendor in arms, enterprise, and letters, the Jews, in quiet, and perhaps enviable obscurity, lay hid within their native valleys. The tide of war rolled at a distance; wasting Asia Minor, and occasionally breaking on the shores of Cyprus and Egypt.

From the administration of Nehemiah to the time of Alexander the Great, one atrocious crime, committed in the family of the high-priest, appears the only memorable transaction in the eventful annals of Judea. Eliashib was succeeded in the high-priesthood by Judas—Judas by John. The latter, jealous of the influence of his brother Jesus with Bagos, the Persian governor, and suspecting him of designs on the high-priesthood, murdered him within the precincts of the sanctuary. The Persian came in great indignation to Jerusalem, and when the Jews would have prevented his entrance into the temple, he exclaimed, "am not I purer than the dead body of him whom ye have slain in the temple?" Bagos laid a heavy mulct on the whole people—fifty drachmas for every lamb offered in sacrifice. At length the peace of this favored district was interrupted by the invasion of Alexander. While Alexander was at the siege of Tyre, he sent to demand the surrender of Jerusalem. The high-priest answered that he had sworn fealty to Darius, and was bound to maintain his allegiance to that monarch. After the taking of Gaza, the conqueror advanced against Jerusalem. Juddua, the high-priest, and the people were in the
greatest consternation. But, in a vision, God commanded Jud- 
dua to take comfort—to hang the city with garlands—throw 
open the gates—and go forth to meet the enemy, clad in his 
pontifical robes, the priests in their ceremonial attire, the people 
in white garments—Juddua obeyed. The solemn procession 
marched forth to Sapha, an eminence, from whence the whole 
city and the temple might be seen. No sooner had Alexander 
beheld the high-priest in his hyacinthine robes, embroidered 
with gold, and with the turban and its golden frontal, than he 
fell prostrate and adored the holy name, which was there in-
scribed in golden characters. His attendants were lost in aston-
ishment. The Phoenicians and Chaldeans had been eagerly 
watching the signal to disperse the suppliants, and pillage the 
city. The Syrian kings, who stood around, began to doubt if 
he were in his senses. Parmenio at length demanded why he, 
whom all the world worshiped, should worship the high-priest. 
"I worship," replied the monarch, "not the high-priest, but 
his God. In a vision at Dios in Macedonia, that figure in that 
very dress appeared to me. He exhorted me to pass over into 
Asia, and achieve the conquest of Persia." Alexander then 
took the priest by the hand and entered the city. He offered 
sacrifice; and the high-priest communicated to him the prophe-
cies of Daniel, predicting that a Greek was to overthrow the 
Persian Empire. Alexander, delighted with his reception, 
offered to the Jews whatever gift they should desire. They 
requested the freedom of their brethren in Media and Babyl-
onia. They likewise obtained an exemption from tribute in the 
sabbatical year.

On the death of Alexander, Judea came into the possession 
of Laomedon, one of his generals. On his defeat, Ptolemy, the 
king of Egypt, attempted to seize the whole of Syria. He ad-
vanced against Jerusalem, assaulted it on the Sabbath, and met 
with no resistance; the superstitious Jews scrupling to violate 
the holy day, even in self-defense. The conqueror carried away 
one hundred thousand captives, whom he settled chiefly in 
Alexandria and Cyrene. Judea did not escape the dreadful 
anarchy which ensued during the destructive warfare waged by 
the generals and successors of Alexander. Twice these pro-
vinces fell into the power of Antigonus, and twice were re-
gained by Ptolemy, to whose share they were finally adjudged after the decisive defeat of Antigonus at Ipsus. During this dangerous period, Onias, the high-priest, administered the public affairs for twenty-one years. He was succeeded, the year after the battle of Ipsus, by Simon the Just, a pontiff on whom Jewish tradition dwells with peculiar attachment. His death was the commencement of peril and disaster, announced, say the Rabbins, by the most alarming prodigies.

The founding of the Syro-Grecian Kingdom by Seleucus, and the establishment of Antioch as the capital, brought Judea into the unfortunate situation of a weak province, placed between two great conflicting monarchies. Still, under the mild government of the three Ptolemies, Soter, Philadelphus, and Euergetes, both the native and Alexandrian Jews enjoyed many marks of the royal favor; and while almost all the rest of the world was ravaged by war, the country flourished in profound peace. The payment of the customary tribute having been neglected, the Egyptian king threatened to invade the country, and share it among the soldiers. The high-priest being unable, or unwilling, to go to Egypt to answer for his conduct, his nephew Joseph was dispatched on this delicate mission. Joseph with difficulty obtained money for his journey, of some Samaritans. He traveled to Egypt in a caravan with some rich Clesyrians and Phoenicians, who were going to Alexandria to obtain the farming of the royal tribute. He caught from their conversation the sum they proposed to offer, and the vast profit they intended to make of their bargain. On his arrival at the court, he made rapid progress in the royal favor. When the farmers of the revenue came to make their offers, they bid eight thousand talents; Joseph instantly offered double that sum. His sureties were demanded; he boldly named the king and queen. Struck with the character of the man, the royal bondsmen testified their assent; and Joseph became farmer of the revenues of Judea, Samaria, Phœnecia, and Clesyria, with a formidable body of tax-gatherers, two thousand soldiers. By making one or two terrible examples—putting to death twenty men at Ascalon, and confiscating one thousand talents of their property, and by the same severity at Scythopolis, Joseph succeeded in raising the royal revenue
with great profit to himself. His administration lasted till the invasion of Antiochus the Great. This enterprising monarch, not contented with wresting his own territory of Cœlesyria from the power of Ptolemy, seized Judea, but was totally defeated in a great battle at Raphia, near Gaza. After his victory, Ptolemy (Philopator) entered Jerusalem. He made sumptuous presents to the temple, but pressing forward to enter the sanctuary, he was repelled by the high-priest, Simon, son of Onias. He is reported to have been seized with a supernatural awe and horror; but from that time he entertained implacable animosity against the Jews, whom, it is said, he cruelly persecuted, as will hereafter be related, in Alexandria. During the monarchy of the next Ptolemy (Epiphanes), Antiochus again seized Cœlesyria and Judea. Scopas, general of the Egyptian forces, recovered, garrisoned, and strengthened Jerusalem, which he ruled with an iron and oppressive hand. But being defeated near the sources of the Jordan, he was constrained to leave Antiochus undisputed master of the territory. The Syrian king was received as a deliverer in Jerusalem, and desirous to attach these valuable allies to the cause, he issued a decree highly favorable to the whole nation.

It was not, however, the tyranny of foreign sovereigns, but the unprincipled ambition of their own native rulers, that led to calamities little less dreadful than the Babylonian captivity, the plunder and ruin of the holy city, the persecution, and almost the extermination of the people. By the elevation of Joseph, the son of Tobias, to the office of collector, or farmer of the royal revenue, as above related, arose a family powerful enough to compete with that of the high-priest. Joseph had eight sons—the youngest, Hyrcanus, by his own niece, who was substituted by her father in the place of a dancer, of whom Joseph had become violently enamored in Egypt. This niece he afterward married. Hyrcanus, being sent on a mission to congratulate Ptolemy Philopator on the birth of his son, got possession of all his father's treasures. On his return to Judea he was attacked by his brothers, on account of his appropriation of his father's Egyptian wealth; two of them were slain in the affray. Hyrcanus then retreated beyond the Jordan, and became collector of the revenue of that district. On his
father's death a great contest arose about the partition of his wealth; the high-priest, Onias III, took part with the elder brothers against Hyrcanus. He fled again beyond Jordan, built a strong tower, and committed depredations on the Arabians, probably the Nabatheans, who carried on a considerable commerce. Dreading, however, the vengeance of the King of Syria, he fell on his sword and slew himself. A feud, in the meantime, had arisen between Onias and Simon, according to conjecture, the elder son of Joseph, who held the office of governor of the temple. Simon fled to Apollonius, who governed Celesyria, under the King Seleucus, and gave an account of incalculable treasures laid up in the Jewish temple. Heliodorus, the royal treasurer, was immediately dispatched to take possession of this unexpected fund, so opportunely discovered. The whole city was in an agony of apprehension; the high-priest seemed in the deepest distress; while the royal officer advanced to profane and pilage the temple of God. Suddenly a horse, with a terrible rider, clad in golden armor, rushed into the courts, and smote at Heliodorus with his fore feet. Two young men, of great strength and beauty, and splendidly attired, stood by the rider, and scourged the intruder with great violence. At this awful apparition the treasurer fell half dead upon the pavement, was carried senseless out of the precincts of the sanctuary, and only revived after the promise of the high-priest to intercede with his offended Deity. Although the Jews were too much delighted, and the Syrians too much terrified, to doubt the reality of this miracle, yet Simon, the adversary of the high-priest, was not only incredulous, but openly accused him of imposture. The factions grew more turbulent, and murders having been committed by the party of Simon, Onias went up to Antioch to request the interposition of the sovereign. Soon after his arrival, Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes the illustrious, or Epimanes the Madman, succeeded his brother Seleucus on the throne of Syria. The savage and tyrannical violence of Antiochus was, in fact, and surely, we may say, providentially, the safeguard of the Jewish nation from the greatest danger to which it had ever been exposed, the slow and secret encroachment of Grecian manners, Grecian arts, Grecian vices, and Grecian idolatry. It
roused the dormant energy of the whole people, and united again in indissoluble bonds the generous desire of national independence, with zealous attachment to the national religion. Joshua proceeded to strengthen his own interests, by undermining the national character. He assumed a Grecian name, Jason; obtained permission to build a gymnasion, to which he attracted all the youth of the city; weaned them by degrees from all the habits and opinions of their fathers, and trained them in a complete system of Grecian education. The authority of Jason was short-lived. He sent, to pay the tribute at Antioch, another Onias (his own brother, according to Josephus; or the brother of Simon, the son of Joseph, according to the book of Maccabees), but who, in conformity to the Grecian fashion, had assumed the name of Menelaus. This man seized the opportunity of outbidding his employer for the high-priesthood, and was accordingly substituted in his place. Menelaus, however, found the treasury exhausted by the profusion of Jason, and, in order to make good his payments at Antioch, secretly purloined the golden vessels of the temple, which he sold at Tyre. The zeal of the deposed Onias was kindled at this sacrilege; he publicly denounced the plunderer before the tribunal of Antioch. But the gold of Menelaus was all-powerful among the officers of the Syrian court. Onias fled to an asylum in the Daphne, near Antioch, but being persuaded to come forth, was put to death by Andronicus, whom Menelaus had bribed. In the meantime a formidable insurrection had taken place at Jerusalem. The people, indignant at the plunder of the temple, attacked Lysimachus, brother of Menelaus, who had been left in command, and although he had rallied a force of three thousand men, overpowered and slew him.

Antiochus advanced the next year into Egypt; his career was victorious; the whole country submitted. But a false rumor of his death having reached Palestine, Jason, the dispossessed high-priest, seized the opportunity of revolt against his brother, took the city, shut up Menelaus in the castle of Acra, and began to exercise the most horrible revenge against the opposite party. The intelligence of the insurrection, magnified into a deliberate revolt of the whole nation, reached
Antiochus. He marched without delay against Jerusalem, took it without much resistance, put to death in three days' time forty thousand of the inhabitants, and seized as many more to be sold as slaves. Bad as this was, it was the common fate of rebellious cities; but Antiochus proceeded to more cruel and wanton outrages against the religion of the people. He entered every part of the temple, pillaged the treasury, seized all the sacred utensils, the golden candlestick, the table of shew bread, the altar of incense, and thus collected a booty to the amount of one thousand eight hundred talents. He then commanded a great sow to be sacrificed on the altar of burnt offerings, part of the flesh to be boiled, and the liquor from the unclean animal to be sprinkled over every part of the temple; and thus desecrated with the most odious defilement the sacred place which the Jews had considered for centuries the one holy spot in all the universe. Two years afterward, Antiochus, being expelled from Egypt by the Romans, determined to suppress every pretension to independence within his own territories. He apprehended, perhaps, the usual policy of the Romans, who never scrupled at any measures to weaken the powerful monarchies which stood in the way of their schemes of conquest, whether by inciting foreign enemies, or fomenting civil disturbances in their States. The execution of the sanguinary edict for the extermination of the whole Hebrew race was intrusted to Apollonius, and executed with as cruel dispatch as the most sanguinary tyrant could desire. Apollonius waited till the Sabbath, when the whole people were occupied in their peaceful religious duties. He then let loose his soldiers against the unresisting multitude, slew all the men, till the streets ran with blood, and seized all the women as captives. He proceeded to pillage, and then to dismantle the city, which he set on fire in many places; he threw down the walls, and built a strong fortress on the highest part of Mount Zion, which commanded the temple and all the rest of the city. From this garrison he harassed all the people of the country, who stole in with fond attachment to visit the ruins, or offer a hasty and interrupted worship in the place of the sanctuary; for all the public services had ceased, and no voice of adoration was heard in the holy city, unless of the profane heathen call-
ing on their idols. The temple was dedicated to Jupiter Olympus; the statue of that deity erected on part of the altar of burnt-offerings, and sacrifice duly performed. Two women who circumcised their children, were hanged in a conspicuous part of the city, with their children around their necks; and many more of those barbarities committed, which, as it were, escape the reprobation of posterity, from their excessive atrocity. Cruelties, too horrible to be related, sometimes for that very reason, do not meet with the detestation they deserve. Among other martyrdoms, Jewish tradition dwells with honest pride on that of Eleazar, an aged scribe, ninety years old, who determined to leave a notable example to such as be young to die willingly and courageously for the honorable and holy laws; and that of the seven brothers, who, encouraged by their mother, rejected the most splendid offers, and confronted the most excruciating torments, rather than infringe the law. From Jerusalem the persecution spread throughout the country; in every city, the same barbarities were executed, the same profanations introduced; and, as a last insult, the feasts of the Bacchanalia, the license of which, as they were celebrated in the latter ages of Greece, shocked the severe virtue of the older Romans, were substituted for the national festival of Tabernacles. The reluctant Jews were forced to join in these riotous orgies, and carry the ivy, the insignia of the god. So near was the Jewish nation, and the worship of Jehovah, to total extermination.
CHAPTER VI.

THE ASMONEANS.

At this crisis divine Providence interposed, not as formerly, with miraculous assistance, but by the instrumentality of human virtues; the lofty patriotism, adventurous valor, daring and sagacious soldiership, generous self-devotion, and inextinguishable zeal of heroic men in the cause of their country and their God. In Modin, a town on an eminence, commanding a view of the sea, the exact site of which is unknown, lived Mattathias, a man of the priestly line of Joarib, himself advanced in years, but with five sons in the prime of life, Johanan, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. When Apelles, the officer of Antiochus, arrived at Modin to enforce the execution of the edict against the Jewish religion, he made splendid offers to Mattathias, as a man of great influence, to induce him to submit to the royal will. The old man not merely rejected his advances, but publicly proclaimed his resolution to live and die in the faith of his fathers; and when an apostate Jew was about to offer sacrifice to the heathen deity, in a transport of indignant zeal, Mattathias struck him dead upon the altar. He then fell upon the king's commissioner, put him to death, and summoned all the citizens who were zealous for the law, to follow him to the mountains. Their numbers rapidly increased; but the Syrian troops having surprised one thousand in a cave, attacked them on the Sabbath day, and meeting with no resistance, slew them without mercy. From thenceforth Mattathias and his followers determined to break through this over-scrupulous observance of the Sabbath, and to assert the legality of defensive warfare on that day.

The insurgents conducted their revolt with equal enterprise and discretion. For a time they lay hid in the mountain fastnesses, and, as opportunity occurred, poured down upon the towns, destroyed the heathen altars, enforced circumcision,
punished all apostates who fell into their hands, recovered many copies of the Law, which their enemies had wantonly defaced, and re-established the synagogues for public worship; the temple being defiled, and in the possession of the enemy. Their ranks were swelled with the zealots for the Law, who were then called the Chasidim. But the age of Mattathias was ill suited to this laborious and enterprising warfare. Having bequeathed the command to Judas, the most valiant of his sons, he sank under the weight of years and toil. So great already was the terror of his name, that he was buried, without disturbance on the part of the enemy, in his native city of Modin.

The circumstances of the times favored the noble struggle of Judas and his followers for independence. By his prodigal magnificence, both in his pleasures and in his splendid donatives and offerings, Antiochus had exhausted his finances. His eastern provinces, Armenia and Persia, refused their tribute. He therefore was constrained to divide his forces, marching himself into the east, and leaving Lysias, with a great army to crush the insurrection in Judea. The rapid progress of Judas demanded immediate resistance. Philip, the Syrian governor in Jerusalem, sent urgent solicitations for relief. The vanguard of the Syrian army, amounting to twenty thousand, under the command of Nicanor and Georgias, advanced rapidly into the province; it was followed by the general-in-chief, Ptolemy Mac- ron; their united forces forming an army of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse. In their train came a multitude of slave merchants; for Nicanor had suggested the policy of selling as many of the insurgents as they could take, to discharge the arrears of tribute due to the Romans. Judas assembled six thousand men at Mizpeh; there they fasted and prayed; and the religious ceremony, performed in that unusual place, sadly reminded them of the desolate state of the holy city, the profanation of the sanctuary, the discontinuance of the sacrifices. But if sorrow subdued the tamer spirits, it infused loftier indignation and nobler self-devotion in the valiant. Judas knew that his only hope, save in his God, was in the enthusiastic zeal of his followers for the Law of Moses. In strict conformity to its injunctions, he issued out through his
little army the appointed proclamation, that all who had married wives, built houses, or planted vineyards, or were fearful, should return to their homes. His force dwindled to three thousand men. Yet, with this small band he advanced toward Emmaus, where the enemy lay encamped. Intelligence reached him that Georgias had been detached with five thousand chosen foot and one thousand horse to surprise him by night. He, instantly formed the daring resolution of eluding the attack, by falling on the camp of the enemy. It was morning before he arrived; but animating his men to the attack, he rushed down upon the Syrians, who, after a feeble resistance, fled on all sides. Judas was as wary as bold; his troops as well disciplined as enterprising. He restrained them from the plunder of the camp, till the return of Georgias with the flower of the army, who came back weary with seeking the Jewish insurgents among the mountains, where they had hoped to surprise them. To their astonishment they beheld their own camp in a blaze of fire. The contest was short, but decisive; the Syrians were defeated with immense loss. The rich booty of the camp fell into the hands of the Jews, who, with just retribution, sold for slaves as many of the slave merchants as they could find. The next day was the Sabbath, a day indeed of rest and rejoicing. But success only excited the honorable ambition of the Maccabee. Hearing that a great force was assembling beyond the Jordan under Timotheus and Bacchides, he crossed the river, and gained a great victory and a considerable supply of arms. Here two of the chief oppressors of the Jews, Philarches and Callisthenes, perished; one in battle—the other burnt to death in a house, where he had taken refuge. Nicanor fled, in the disguise of a slave to Antioch. The next year Lysias appeared in person, at the head of sixty thousand foot and five thousand horse, on the southern frontier of Judea; having perhaps levied part of his men among the Idumeans. This tribe now inhabited a district to the west of their ancestors, the Edomites, having been dispossessed of their former territory by the Nabathean Arabs. Judas met this formidable host with ten thousand men; gained a decisive victory, and slew five thousand of the enemy. Thus on all sides triumphant, Judas entered, with his valiant confederates, the ruined and desolate Jerusalem. They found
shrubs grown to some height, like the underwood of a forest, in the courts of the temple; every part of the sacred edifice had been profaned; the chambers of the priests were thrown down. With wild lamentations and the sound of martial trumpets they mingled their prayers and praises to the God of their fathers. Judas took the precaution to keep a body of armed men on the watch against the Syrian garrison in the citadel; and then proceeded to install the most blameless of the priests in their office, to repair the sacred edifice, purify every part from the profanation of the heathen, to construct a new altar, replace out of the booty all the sacred vessels, and at length to celebrate the feast of dedication—a period of eight days—which ever after was held sacred in the Jewish calendar. It was the festival of the regeneration of the people, which, but for the valor of the Maccabees had almost lost its political existence.

The re-establishment of a powerful State in Judea was not beheld without jealousy by the neighboring tribes. At length, having subdued the whole country, Judas found it prudent not to extend his kingdom to the bounds of that of David, and with that view removed all the Jews beyond the Jordan to the more defensive province of Judea. Simon was equally successful in Galilee; he drove the enemy before him to the gates of Toluma. But the commanders who were left at home, in direct violation of orders, undertook an ill-concerted enterprise against Jamnia, a sea-port; were opposed by Bacchides, the most skillful of the Syrian generals, and met with a signal defeat. In the meantime, the great oppressor of the Jews, Antiochus, had died in Persia.

Lysias, who commanded in Syria, immediately set up a son of the deceased king, Antiochus Eupator, upon the throne; Demetrius, the rightful heir as son of Seleucus, being a hostage in Rome. The first measure of Lysias was to attempt the subjugation of Judea, where a strong party of the apostate Jews anxiously awaited his approach. The royal army formed the siege of Bethsura, a town on the Idumean frontier, which Judas had strongly fortified. Their force consisted of eighty or one hundred thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, and thirty-two elephants. Bethsura made a valiant defense, and Judas marched from Jerusalem to its relief. The elephants seem to have excited
great terror and astonishment. According to the Jewish annalist, each beast was escorted by a thousand foot, splendidly armed, and five hundred horse; each bore a tower containing thirty-two men; and to provoke them to fight, they showed them the blood of grapes and mulberries. The whole army, in radiant armor, spread over the mountains and valleys, so that the mountains glistened therewith, and seemed like lamps of fire. Yet where Judas fought, the Hebrews were successful; and his heroic brother, Eleazar, excited the admiration of his countrymen by rushing under an elephant, which he stabbed in the belly, and was crushed to death by its fall. Still Judas found himself obliged to retreat upon Jerusalem. A treaty was concluded, and Antiochus admitted into the city; but in direct violation of the terms, he threw down the walls and dismantled the fortifications.

Demetrius, in the meantime, the lineal heir to the throne of Antioch, had escaped from Rome. After some struggle, he overpowered Lysias and Antiochus, put them to death, and became undisputed master of the kingdom. Menelaus, the renegade high-priest, had accompanied the army of Lysias, and endeavored to form a faction in his favor; but on some dissatisfaction, Lysias sent him to Berea, where he was thrown into a tower of ashes, and suffocated. By reviving the title of the high-priest to the supreme authority, Demetrius hoped, if not to secure a dependent vassal on the government of Judea, at least to sow discord among the insurgents. He sent Alcimus, supported by Bacchides, his most able general, to claim his dignity. The zealots for the law could not resist the title of the high-priest. Jerusalem submitted. But no sooner had Alcimus got the leaders into his power than he basely murdered sixty of them. Bacchides followed up the blow with great severity in other parts. Still, no sooner had Bacchides withdrawn his troops, than Judas again took arms, and Alcimus was compelled to fly to Antioch. Demetrius dispatched Nicanor, with a great army, to re-instate Alcimus. Jerusalem was still in the possession of the Syrians; and Nicanor attempted to get Judas into his power by stratagem, but the wary soldier was on his guard. A battle took place at Eapharsalama; Nicanor retreated, with the loss of five thou-
sand men, to Jerusalem, where he revenged himself by the
greatest barbarities; one of the elders, named Raziz, rather
than fall into his hands, stabbed himself with his own sword,
but the wound not proving mortal, he ran forth and destroyed
himself by other means, too horrible to describe. A second
battle took place, in which the superior forces of Nicanor were
totally routed, and he himself slain. After this final victory,
Judas took a more decided step to secure the independence of
his country; he entered into a formal treaty of alliance with
Rome. Before, however, the treaty was made known, the
glorious career of the Maccabee had terminated. Demetrius
sent Alcimus and Bacchides, with the whole force of his king-
dom, into Palestine. Judas was abandoned by all his troops
but eight hundred men, yet could not be prevailed on to
retreat. Having discomfited one wing of the enemy's army,
he fell nobly, as he had lived, the martyr, as well as the cham-
pion, of his country.

Bacchides, to secure military possession of the country,
fortified and garrisoned all the strong towns. In the mean-
time, the unworthy high-priest, Alcimus, having begun to
throw down one of the partition walls in the temple, was
seized with a mortal disorder and died. On his death, Bac-
chides retired to Antioch, and Jonathan immediately broke
out of his hiding-place; but on the re-appearance of Bac-
chides at the head of a considerable army, he again took
refuge in the wilderness, where he kept up a desultory guerrilla
warfare, he himself hovering about the camp of Bacchides,
while his brother Simon defended the strong post of Bethhasi.
At length Bacchides, either wearied of this inglorious and ha-
rassing campaign, perhaps by orders from his court, who began
to tremble at the danger of oppressing an ally of Rome, entered
into honorable terms of peace. Jonathan thus became master
of Judea. A revolution in the kingdom of Syria gave him new
strength and importance. An adventurer, Alexander Balas, an-
nouncing himself as the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, laid claim
to the crown of the Seleucide. The Romans admitted his title,
and Jonathan found himself courted by the two competitors for
the kingdom of Antioch. Demetrius gave him power to levy
forces, and yielded up all the hostages which remained in his
hands. Jonathan immediately assumed the pontifical robe, and
in his person commenced the reign of the Asmonean princes.
The imposter, Alexander, met with the greatest success—
defeated and slew Demetrius, mounted the throne of Syria,
and received the daughter of the King of Egypt in marriage.
Jonathan, who appeared at the wedding, was received with the
highest honors that the court could bestow. These distinc-
tions were not thrown away on a useless or ungrateful ally.
Apollonius, the general of young Demetrius, who laid claim to
his father's crown, was defeated by Jonathan; the victorious
high-priest stormed Joppa, took Azotus, and there destroyed
the famous temple of Dagon. The reign of Alexander Balas
was short; he was overthrown by his father-in-law, Ptolemy,
against whose life he had espied, and Demetrius, surnamed
Nicator, obtained the throne of Syria. Jonathan seized the
opportunity of laying siege to the citadel of Jerusalem; the
opposite faction endeavored to obtain the interference of De-
metrius, but Jonathan, leaving his troops to press the siege, went
in person to the court in Antioch. He was received with
great honor, and a treaty was concluded still more advantage-
ous to his power than that with Alexander Balas. But the
good understanding between Demetrius and Jonathan did not
last long, and no sooner was the support of his powerful vassal
withdrawn, than the Syrian king was constrained to fly and
yield the throne to his rival, young Antiochus. Jonathan was
treated with great distinction by the new sovereign, Antiochus
Theos; he was confirmed in his dignity as high-priest. Simon,
his brother, was appointed captain-general of all the country,
from the ladder of Tyre to the river of Egypt. The activity
of Jonathan mainly contributed to the security of Antiochus.
Tryphon, the officer, who had raised the young Antiochus to
the throne, began to entertain ambitious views of supplanting
him. The great obstacles to his scheme were the power and
integrity of Jonathan. With insidious offers of peace, he per-
suaded Jonathan to dismiss a large army which he had assem-
bled to assist Antiochus, and allured him within the walls of
Ptolemais, with a few followers, under pretense of surrendering
to him the town. He then suddenly closed the gates, took
Jonathan prisoner, and poured his troops over the great plain
of Galilee. The Jews were struck, but not paralyzed, with consternation. Another of the noble race of Mattathias remained, and Simon was immediately invested with the command. The crafty Tryphon began to negotiate; he offered to yield up Jonathan at the price of one hundred talents of silver, and two of his children hostages for his peaceable conduct. The money and the hostages were sent, but the perfidious Tryphon refused to surrender Jonathan. The two armies watched each other for some time. The Syrians, being prevented by a heavy fall of snow from relieving their garrison in the fortress of Jerusalem, Tryphon, having first put to death the brave Jonathan, hasted into Syria, where he treated the unhappy Antiochus with the same treachery and atrocity. Simon openly espoused the party of Demetrius against Tryphon, and received from that monarch a full recognition of the independence of his country. He sent an embassage, which was honorably received at Rome, fortified Bethsura, on the Idumean frontier, and Joppa, the great fort of Judea; reduced Gazara; and at length, having made himself master of the fortress in Jerusalem, not merely dismantled it, but, with incredible labor, leveled the hill on which it stood, so that it no longer commanded the hill of the temple. Simon executed the law with great impartiality and vigor; repaired the temple, restored the sacred vessels; and the wasted country began, under his prudent administration, to enjoy its ancient fertility.

In the meantime Demetrius, the rightful sovereign of Syria, had been taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians, and Antiochus Sidetes, his brother, levied an army to dispossess the usurper and murderer, Tryphon. Simon openly espoused his party, but Antiochus considered his assistance dearly purchased at the price of the independence of Palestine, and above all, the possession of the important ports of Gazara and Joppa. Athenobius, his ambassador, sent to demand tribute and indemnification, was struck with astonishment at the riches and splendor of Simon's palace; and on the Jewish sovereign refusing all submission, and only offering a price for the possession of Joppa, Antiochus sent his general, Cendebus, to invade the country. Simon, now grown old, intrusted the command of his forces to his sons, Judas and John Hyrcanus. They,
having defeated Cendebus, and taken Azotus, returned crowned with victory. But the Maccabean race seemed destined to perish by violence. Ptolemy, son of Abubus, the son-in-law of Simon, under a secret understanding with Antiochus, king of Syria, formed a conspiracy to usurp the sovereignty of Judea. At a banquet in Jericho, he contrived basely to assassinate Simon and his elder son, and at the same time endeavored to surprise the younger, John, in Gazar. But John inherited the vigor and ability of his family; he eluded the danger, appeared in Jerusalem, and was unanimously proclaimed the high-priest and ruler of the country. His first measure was to march against Jericho to revenge the base murder of his father, but Ptolemy had in his power the mother and brethren of Hyrcanus. He shut himself up in a fortress, and exposed his captives on the walls, scourging them, and threatening to put them to death. The noble-minded woman exhorted her son, notwithstanding her own danger, to revenge his father's murder, but Hyrcanus hesitated, the siege was protracted, and at length, according to the improbable reason assigned by Josephus, the year being a sabbatic year, entirely raised the siege. Ptolemy fled to Philadelphia; of his subsequent fate we know nothing. The rapid movements of Hyrcanus had disconcerted the confederacy between the assassin and Antiochus. Still, however, the Syrian army overran the whole country; Hyrcanus was besieged in Jerusalem, where he was reduced to the last extremity by famine. But Antiochus proved a moderate and generous enemy. On the feast of tabernacles, he conceded a week's truce, furnished the besieged with victims for sacrifice, and finally concluded a peace, of which the terms, though hard, were better than Hyrcanus, in the low condition to which he was reduced, could fairly expect. The country was to submit to vassalage under the kings of Syria, tribute was to be paid for Joppa and other towns held by grants from the predecessors of Antiochus, and Jerusalem was dismantled. Four years after, John Hyrcanus was summoned to attend his liege lord on an expedition into Parthia, under the pretense of delivering Demetrius Nicator, brother of the king, formerly possessor of the crown, and long a captive in Parthia. Hyrcanus returned before the defeat, which
lost Antiochus his throne and life. Demetrius escaped and recovered the throne of Antioch. But Hyrcanus seized the opportunity of throwing off the yoke of Syria, and the Jewish kingdom re-assumed its independence, which it maintained until it fell under the Roman dominion. Hyrcanus lost no opportunity of extending his territory and increasing his power. He took Samega and Medaba, in the Transjordanic region; but his greatest triumph, that which raised him the highest in the opinion of his zealous countrymen, was the capture of Sichem, and the total destruction of the rival temple on Gerizim. It was leveled to the earth, not a vestige remained. For two hundred years this hated edifice had shocked the sight of the pious pilgrim to Jerusalem; now the temple resumed its dignity as the only sanctuary where the God of their forefathers was worshiped, at least within the region of Palestine.

While Egypt and Syria were desolated by the crimes and contentions of successive pretenders to their thrones, the State of Judea enjoyed profound peace under the vigorous administration of Hyrcanus. Having destroyed Sichem, he next turned his forces against Idumea, subjugated the country, compelled the ancient rivals of his subjects to submit to circumcision, and to adopt the Jewish religion; and so completely incorporated the two nations, that the name of Idumea appears no more in history. Hyrcanus maintained a strict alliance with the Romans, and renewed a treaty, offensive and defensive, against their common enemies. In the twenty-sixth year of his reign, he determined to reduce the province and city of Samaria to his authority. He entrusted the command of his army to his sons, Aristobulus and Antiochus. The Samaritans implored the protection of Antiochus Cyzicenus, then king of Damascus, who marched to their relief, but suffered a total defeat by the brothers. In conjunction with six thousand Egyptian allies, Antiochus made a second attempt to rescue this province from the power of the Jews, but with no better success. Samaria fell after an obstinate resistance of a whole year. One of the Syrian generals betrayed Scythopolis and other towns to the Jews, and thus Hyrcanus became master of all Samaria and Galilee. The city of Samaria was razed, trenches dug (the hill on which it stood being full of
springs) and the whole site of the detested city flooded and made a pool of water. But though thus triumphant abroad, Hyrcanus at the end of his reign was troubled by serious dissensions at home. Two great religious and political factions divided the State—those of the Pharisees and Sadducees. No part of the Jewish history is more obscure than the origin and growth of these two parties. The Maccabees had greatly owed their success to the Chasidim, or righteous.

In this great conflict the hero and the religious enthusiast were one and the same. But those qualities and principles which made them such valiant and active soldiers in war, when the pride of success and conscious possession of power were added, tended to make them turbulent and domineering subjects in peace. Their zeal turned into another channel—the maintenance and propagation of their religious opinions—and flowed as fiercely and wildly as before. Themselves austere, they despised all who did not practise the same austerities; earnest in their belief, not only in the Law, but every traditional observance, they branded as freethinkers all whose creed was of greater latitude than their own. Thus the generous and self-devoted Assideans, or Chasidim, degenerated into the haughty, tyrannical, and censorious Pharisees, the Separatists of the Jewish religion, from Pharez, the Hebrew word for to separate or stand aloof. The better order among the opponents of the Pharisees were the Karaites, strict adherents to the letter of the Law, but decidedly rejecting all traditions; the great strength of the party consisted, however, of the Sadducees. The religious doctrines of the Sadducees, it is well known, were directly opposite to those of the Pharisees. The Pharisees were moderate predestinarians; the Sadducees asserted free-will. The Pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul and the existence of angels, though their creed on both these subjects was strongly tinged with orientalism. The Pharisees received not merely the prophets, but the traditional law likewise, as of equal authority with the books of Moses. The Sadducees, if they did not reject, considered the prophets greatly inferior to the Law. The Sadducees are said to have derived their doctrine from Sadoc, the successor of Antiogonus Socho, in the presidency of the great Sanhedrin. Antiogonus
taught the lofty doctrine of pure and disinterested love and obedience to God, without regard to punishment or reward. Sadoc is said to have denied the latter, without maintaining the higher doctrine on which it was founded. Still the Sadducees were far from what they are sometimes represented, the teachers of a loose and indulgent epicurianism; they inculcated the belief in divine Providence, and the just and certain administration of temporal rewards and punishments. The Pharisees had the multitude, ever led away by extravagant religious pretensions, entirely at their disposal; Sadduceeism spread chiefly among the higher orders. It would be unjust to the Sadducees to confound them with that unpatriotic and Hellenized party, which, during the whole of the noble struggles of the Maccabees, sided with the Syrian oppressors, for these are denounced as avowed apostates from Judaism; yet probably, after the establishment of the independent government, the latter might make common cause, and become gradually mingled up with the Sadducean party, as exposed alike to the severities of the Pharisaic administration. During the rest of the Jewish history we shall find these parties as violently opposed to each other, and sometimes causing as fierce and dangerous dissensions as those which rent the Commonwealths of Greece and Rome, or the Republican States of modern Europe. It was at the close of his reign that Hyrcanus broke with the Pharisaic party, and openly joined the opposite faction; a measure, of which the disastrous consequences were not entirely felt till the reign of his son Alexander.

Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus, succeeded. His reign, though brief, was long enough for much crime, and much misery. His mother, by the will of Hyrcanus, claimed the sovereignty; she threw her into a dungeon and starved her to death. The fate of his brother, Antigonus, will immediately appear. The other three of his brethren were kept in close imprisonment. Soon after assuming the diadem, the new king made a successful expedition, and subdued Iturea, a district at the foot of Anti-Labanus, afterwards called Auranitis. He returned, suffering under a dangerous malady. His brother, Antigonus, as he entered Jerusalem, having completed the conquest, hastened, all armed as he was, with his soldiers, to
pay his devotions in the temple. This innocent act was mis-
represented by the queen and the haram of Aristobulus, as
covering a treacherous design. Aristobulus sent to command
his brother to attend him unarmed. His treacherous enemies,
instead of this message, delivered one commanding him to
come with some very splendid armor which his brother wished
to see. The guards were posted; and Antiochus, appearing
in arms, was assassinated in the subterranean gallery which
led from the temple to the palace of Baria. A cry of horror
ran through the palace. The king, having extorted from the
reluctant attendants the dreadful cause, was seized with such
an agony of remorse and horror, that he expired.

Alexander Janus, the next in succession, assumed the throne;
a feeble attempt was made by his younger brother to usurp his
place, but he was seized and put to death. Alexander was an
enterprising rather than a successful prince; and it was per-
haps fortunate for the kingdom of Judea that the adjacent
States were weakened by dissension and mutual hostility. The
Jews possessed the whole region of Palestine, except the noble
port of Ptolemais; Dora and the tower of Straton were in the
hands of Zoilus, who owed a sort of allegiance to Syria. The
kingdom of Judea was lost, but for a great army of Egyptians
under the command of Chelcius and Annanias, two Alexandrian
Jews. Lathyrus retreated into Cæle-Syria; part of Cleopatra’s
army pursued him, part formed the siege of Ptolemais. Lathy-
rus determined on the bold measure of marching into Egypt;
he was repelled and retreated to Gaza. Alexander resumed his
sovereignty; but his restless disposition involved him in new
wars, with no better success. He invaded the country east of
the Jordan, took Gadara, but was totally defeated before Arma-
thus, which he had plundered of the treasures of Theodorus,
prince of Philadelphia. The indefatigable monarch next fell
upon the territory of Gaza, took Raphai, and Anthedon, and,
although constrained to raise the siege of Gaza by a descent of
Lathyrus, he formed it again the next year. Gaza made an
obstinate resistance. At one time the besieger had nearly lost
his whole army by a desperate sally, but at length the com-
mmander of the garrison, Apollodotus, having been slain by
treachery, it surrendered. Alexander at first seemed inclined
to mercy, but before long, let loose his troops to revenge themselves on the town. The inhabitants took up arms; but, after a considerable loss, the conqueror succeeded in totally dismantling and destroying this ancient city, and left it a heap of ruins. But the most dangerous enemies of Alexander were at home. The Pharisaic faction had the populace at their command; and at the feast of tabernacles, while he was officiating as king and high-priest, a mutiny arose; the mob pelted him with citrons, reproached him with the baseness of his descent, and denied his right to the priesthood. Alexander commanded his troops to fall on the unarmed multitude, and slew six thousand. To prevent these insults in future, Alexander raised a wooden partition between the courts of the priests and that of the people; and to awe the insurgents, raised a body-guard of foreign mercenaries, chiefly Pisidiants and Cilicians. He then, a second time invaded the country east of Jordan, reduced it to pay tribute, took Amathus, but again suffered a total defeat by Orodes, king of Arabia. The Jews seized the opportunity to rise in rebellion, and for six years the country suffered all the horrors of civil war. Alexander at first met with great success; but when he endeavored to bring the mutineers to terms, they cried out with one voice, that they would yield only on one condition, that he would put himself to death. At length pressed on all sides, the insurgents demanded the assistance of Demetrius Eucherus, one of the kings of Syria. Alexander, always unfortunate in battle, was routed, with the loss of all his six thousand mercenaries, and many other of his troops. He fled to the mountains; but a sudden revulsion of popular feeling took place in his favor, and he found himself at the head of sixty thousand men. Demetrius retreated, and Alexander, master of the whole country, besieged his enemies in Bethome, took the city, and marched to Jerusalem in triumph. His vengeance was signal and terrible. He publicly crucified eight hundred, and slew their wives and children before their faces. From this atrocity he was named the Thracian. Of the disaffected, eight thousand abandoned the city; but under his iron sway, the whole country remained in peace during the rest of his reign. His foreign policy, at this period was equally vigorous, and the kingdom of the Jews, at his death, comprehended
the coast from the tower of Straton to Rhinocorura, Idumea, Samaria, and considerable provinces to the east of the Jordan. On the fourth year, after his triumph over the insurgents, Alexander Jannaeus, was seized with a mortal malady; a turbulent and rebellious kingdom, and newly conquered provinces, were not likely to submit to the feeble authority of women and children. The dying king summoned his wife, Alexandra, and strongly urged, as the only means of preserving the kingdom, that on his death she should throw herself into the arms of the Pharisaic party, powerful on account of their numbers and turbulence, and still more from having the people entirely under their direction. Thus, after an unquiet and eventful reign of twenty-seven years, Alexander Jannaeus died. His widow, Alexandra, immediately adopted the policy which he had suggested, and threw the administration into the hands of the Pharisees. The change was immediate; the greatest honors were paid to the remains of the unpopular Jannaeus; and the high-priesthood conferred on his eldest son, Hyrcanus II.

During the whole reign of Alexandra, the wisdom, or rather the imperious necessity of her husband’s dying admonition, became more manifest; the throne stood secure, the whole land, says Josephus, was at rest, except the Pharisees, who began to execute dreadful reprisals upon their former adversaries. Having strengthened their party by a general release of prisoners, and recall of exiles, they began their attack on Diogenes, a favorite of the late king. They next demanded public justice on all who had been accessory to the execution of the eight hundred who were crucified. Alexandra, unable to resist, was compelled to submit; but her second son, Aristobulus, a man of daring ambition and intrigue, seized the opportunity of placing himself at the head of the party, which, though now oppressed, was still powerful. They appealed to the justice, as well as to the mercy of the queen, and remonstrated on the ingratitude of abandoning the faithful adherents of her husband to the vengeance of their enemies. She adopted a measure, intended to secure them, without offending the Pharisees; they were allowed to leave Jerusalem, and were enrolled as the garrisons of the frontier cities. To employ the restless mind of her son, Aristobulus, she sent him with a considerable army,
under the pretense of checking the depredations of Ptolemy, who ruled a small independent kingdom at Chalcis, but with the secret design of seizing Damascus. Aristobulus succeeded both in the object contemplated by his mother and in his own; he got possession of Damascus, and strongly attached the army to his person. After a prosperous reign of nine years, Alexandra fell sick and died; a woman of a masculine understanding and energy of character. Before her decease, Aristobulus secretly fled from Jerusalem, put himself at the head of the army, summoned all the frontier garrisons, which were composed of his own party, to his assistance, and immediately, upon the death of his mother, advanced rapidly toward Jerusalem. The Pharisaic party, with Hyrcanus at their head, seized as hostages the wife and children of Aristobulus, and hastily raising their forces, met the invader at Jericho. But the affections of the army were centred in the bold and enterprising Aristobulus; a great part deserted, the rest were discomfited, the younger brother entered Jerusalem, the elder was besieged in the palace of Baris; till at length the mild and indolent Hyrcanus consented to yield up the sovereignty, and retire, perhaps to the happier station of a private man. The blow was fatal to the Pharisaic party. But an enemy remained, whose descendants were to be more dangerous opponents to the Asmonean house even than the Pharisees. Antipater, the father of Herod, an Idumean of noble birth, was the son of Antipas, who had been governor of that province under Alexander Janneus. Antipater had acquired great influence over the feeble mind of Hyrcanus, as his chief minister. He had every prospect of enjoying all but the name of a sovereign. He ill brooked the annihilation of his ambitious hopes by the conquest of Aristobulus. At length, after long working on the fears of Hyrcanus, as if his life were in danger, he persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the King of Arabia. This kingdom had silently grown up to a considerable power; Petra, its capital, had become the great emporium of the commerce through the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Aretas marched a host of fifty thousand men against Aristobulus; the capricious army of the Jews wavered; Aristobulus suffered a defeat and fled to Jerusalem. There, abandoned likewise by the people, he shut himself up in the temple,
where the priests prepared for defense. He was vigorously pressed by Aretas, Antipar, and Hyrcanus. During this siege two characteristic circumstances took place. An old man, named Onias, had the fame of having prayed for rain during a drought, and rain had immediately fallen. The party of Hyrcanus brought him out to employ his powerful prayers against Aristobulus. The patriotic old man knelt down, and uttered these words: "O God, the King of the Universe, since on one side are thy people, on the other thy priests, I beseech Thee hear not the prayers of either to the detriment of the other." The cruel and infatuated populace stoned him to death. The second occurrence was as follows: The passover drew near, and there were no victims in the temple for sacrifice. The besieged entered into an agreement, that, on payment of a certain price, lambs should be furnished for the great national offering. They let baskets down the walls, but the perfidious besiegers took the money, and sent up the baskets empty, or, as the Rabbins relate with the deepest horror, loaded with swine.

An unexpected deliverer at length appeared; a military officer of that haughty republic which had been steadily pursuing its way to universal dominion; and now, having trampled under foot the pride and strength of the great Asiatic monarchies, assumed a right of interfering in the affairs of every independent kingdom. Sceaurus, the lieutenant of Pompey, had seized Damascus; the competitors for the Jewish throne endeavored to outbid each other for his protection. Aristobulus offered four hundred talents—Hyrcanus the same. The rapacious Roman hesitated; but Aristobulus was in possession of the public treasures of the temple, and therefore most likely to make good his terms. Sceaurus sent an order to Aretas to break up the siege; the Arabian complied. The enterprising Aristobulus, hastily collecting troops, fell unexpectedly on his rear, and gave him a signal defeat.

In a short time Pompey himself arrived at Damascus. Kings crowded from all sides to pay homage, and to conciliate, with splendid presents, the greatest subject of the republic. The present of the king of Egypt was a gold crown, worth four thousand pieces of gold; that of Aristobulus a golden vine, worth four hundred talents. After a short absence in Pontus,
Pompey returned, and the ambassadors of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus appeared before the tribunal of their master; the wily Antipater on the part of Hyrcanus—on that of Aristobulus, a certain Nicodemus, who had so little address, as to complain of the extortions of the Roman commanders, Scaurus and Gabinius. Pompey appointed a solemn hearing of the cause for the next spring, and accordingly, at that time, the ambassadors of Hyrcanus, of Aristobulus, and of the Jewish people stood before his tribunal. The latter began the charge against both the brothers; they had usurped (it was urged) an authority which belonged solely to the high-priest, introduced a kingly despotism, and reduced a free people to servitude. The ambassador of Hyrcanus pleaded his superior title as the elder born; accused Aristobulus of not merely usurping the throne of his brother, and degrading him to a private station, but of committing wanton depredations by land, and piracies by sea, on all the neighboring States. On the part of Aristobulus, the total incapacity of Hyrcanus was strongly pressed; his own pretentions to power were limited to that enjoyed by his father, Alexander. But Pompey had a greater object in view than the settlement of Judea—the subjugation of Arabia, with the seizure of Petra and its trade. He dismissed both parties with great civility, particularly Aristobulus, who had the power of impeding his designs. Aristobulus suspecting the goodness of his own cause, endeavored to put the country in a state of defense; but Pompey, on his return from Arabia, began to assume a higher tone. He collected his forces and marched directly into Judea. He found Aristobulus shut up in a strong citadel, on a rock called Alexandrion. Aristobulus attempted to negociate; twice he descended from his place of security to hold a conference with Pompey; the third time Pompey forced him to sign written orders for the surrender of all his fortresses.

The bold and enterprising spirit of Aristobulus could not brook the disgrace of submission; too high-minded to yield, too weak to resist, his conduct shows a degree of irresolution and vacillation which it is more just to attribute to the difficulty of his situation, than to want of vigor in his character. He fled to Jerusalem, and prepared for resistance. Pompey advanced to Jericho, where the Romans were struck with ad-
miration at the beautiful palm groves and gardens, and balsam shrubs, which, originally the growth of Arabia, flourished in that district with great luxuriance; their produce had become an important article of trade. As he approached Jerusalem, Aristobulus, who found the city too much divided to make effectual resistance, met him, and offered a large sum of money, and the surrender of the capital. Gabinius was sent forward to take possession of the city, but the bolder party, meantime, had gained the ascendency, and he found the gates closed and the walls manned. Indignant at this apparent treachery, Pompey threw the king into chains, and advanced in person on Jerusalem. The party of Hyrcanus were superior in the city, and immediately received the invader with open arms. The soldiery of Aristobulus took possession of the temple, and, with the priesthood, cut off all the bridges and causeways which communicated with the town, and prepared for an obstinate defense. The hill of the temple, precipitous on three sides, was impregnable, except from the north. On that side Pompey made his approaches, where, nevertheless, there was a rapid descent, flanked by lofty towers. Notwithstanding the arrival of military engines from Tyre, this holy citadel held out for three months, and was only lost through the superstitious observance of the Sabbath. The Maccabean relaxation of this law only provided for actual self-defense; the Romans soon perceived that they might carry on their works without disturbance on that day. They regularly, therefore, suspended their assault, but employed the time in drawing the engines near the walls, filling up the trenches, and in other labors, which they carried on without the least impediment. At the end of three months, one of the battering engines threw down the largest of the towers; Cornelius Faustus, a son of Sylla, mounted the breach, and after an obstinate resistance and great loss of life, the Romans remained masters of the temple. During the assault the priests had been engaged in the daily sacrifice; unmoved by the terror, and confusion, and carnage around, they calmly continued their office; many of them were slain; many of the more zealous defenders of the temple threw themselves headlong down the precipices. The conduct of the Roman general excited at once the horror and admira-
tion of the Jews. He entered the temple, surveyed every part, and even penetrated and profaned with his heathen presence the holy of holies, into which the high-priest entered only once a year. Great was his astonishment to find this mysterious sanctuary entirely empty, with no statue, or form, or symbol of the Deity to whom it was consecrated. In the other parts he found immense riches—the golden table and candlesticks, a great store of precious frankincense, and two thousand talents in the treasury. All these, with generosity not less noble because it was politic, he left untouched—commanded the temple to be purified from the carnage of his soldiers, and nominated Hyrcanus to the priesthood, though without the royal diadem; then, having appointed the stipulated tribute which the country was to pay, demolished the walls of the city, and limited the dominions of Hyrcanus to Judea, he departed, carrying with him Aristobulus, his two sons and two daughters, as prisoners to Rome. Alexander, the elder son, on the journey made his escape; but the Jewish king and his other son adorned the splendid triumph of the conqueror. The magnanimity of Pompey, in respecting the treasures of the temple, could not obliterate the deeper impressions of hatred excited by his profanation of the sacred precincts. The Jews beheld with satisfaction the decline of Pompey's fortune, which commenced from this period, and attributed it entirely to his sacrilegious impiety. Throughout the world they embraced the party of Caesar, fortunate, inasmuch as the course they followed from blind passion, conducted eventually to their real interests, and obtained them important privileges and protection from the imperial house.

Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, inherited the daring and active courage of his father. He soon gathered a considerable force, and garrisoned Macherna, Hyrcania, and the strong fort of Alexandrion. Hyrcanus hastily summoned the Romans to his assistance. Gabinius entered Judea, and having defeated Alexander, for the Jews could make no great stand in the open field, he besieged him in Alexandrion. While the siege lasted, to secure the affections of the provinces, he commanded many of the cities which the Asmoneans had destroyed, to be rebuilt—Samaria, Dora, Seythopolis, Gaza, and other towns. In
the meantime, the mother of Alexander, who had always espoused the Roman party, in which Alexander had received an amnesty for his insurrection, on condition of surrendering his fortresses, died. No sooner was he subdued than Aristobulus himself, and his younger son, having escaped from Rome, raised again the standard of revolt, but with worse fortune; for, though many of the Jews deserted to his banner, and he had time to re-fortify Alexandrion, he was taken, after being severely wounded, and sent back in chains to Rome. The interest of the mother procured the intercession of Gabinius for the release of her son Antigonus, which was granted by the senate. Aristobulus remained a prisoner. Gabinius, in the interval between these insurrections, re-organized the whole government of the country. He deprived the high-priests of their royal authority, and established five independent senates, or sanhedrins, according to the form of the great sanhedrin of seventy-one, which perhaps had existed from the captivity. The places where the sanhedrins sat, were Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, Amathus, and Sepphoris. This form of government lasted till Julius Cæsar re-invested Hyrcanus with the supreme dignity. Gabinius, with Mark Antony as his master of the horse, who had signalized his valor during three campaigns, now determined on the conquest of Egypt; but scarcely had he drawn off his troops from Syria, when the restless Alexander appeared again in arms, and drove the few remaining Romans into a strong position on Mount Gerizim, where he besieged them. On the return of Gabinius he had the courage to meet him, at the head of eighty thousand men, in the open field, near Mount Tabor; but the irresistible Roman discipline bore all before it, and the Jewish prince was obliged to take flight.

During the great civil war the fate of Judea, like that of the world, hung in trembling suspense. Cæsar, master of Rome, sent Aristobulus an order to create a division in the province of Palestine. The partisans of Pompey contrived to poison the ill-fated monarch, and Scipio publicly executed his gallant son Alexander, at Antioch. Thus Hyrcanus, or rather Antipater under his name, retained the sovereignty. After the death of Pompey, in that romantic war which Cæsar, delaying to assume the empire of the universe, waged in Egypt in favor
of Cleopatra, the prudent Antipater rendered him essential service. He facilitated the march of Mithridates, his ally, to his relief, and contributed to the reduction of Pelusium; conciliated the Egyptian Jews, who had espoused the opposite party, and greatly distinguished himself in an important battle. His reward was the full re-establishment of Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood; for himself, the rights of Roman citizenship, and the appointment of procurator over the whole of Judea. The first care of the new government was to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem; but before long, Antipater, still further presuming on the incapacity of Hyrcanus, and the protection of the Romans, appointed his elder son, Phasael, to the government of Jerusalem, and the younger, Herod, to that of Galilee. Herod began immediately to develop his natural decision and severity of character. He seized a notorious captain of banditti, Hezekiah, who had been the terror of the whole country, and put him to death, with almost the whole of his band. The leading Jews, jealous of the Idumean influence, persuaded the feeble Hyrcanus, that the execution of these robbers without trial was an infringement of the law. Herod was summoned to Jerusalem, to answer for his offense. He appeared in arms before the affrighted sanhedrin; not a voice was raised against him, till at last Sameas, a man of high integrity, rose and rebuked him for appearing, not in the garb of a criminal, but thus clad in purple and armor. To the honor of Herod, when subsequently he slew the whole sanhedrin, he spared the life of Sameas. The timid Hyrcanus adjourned the trial, and sent secret intimation to Herod to escape. The dexterous Herod contrived to insinuate himself into the favor of Cassius; but Malichus, head of the Jewish faction, seized the opportunity to undermine the Idumean influence in Jerusalem. He contrived to poison Antipater, but at the same time to exculpate himself from all participation in the crime. By the advice of his cautious brother, Phasael, Herod dissembled his vengeance, till at length, after much subtle intrigue on both sides, he got Malichus into his power, and caused him to be murdered. A new enemy arose in the person of Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, who, with his brother-in-law, the king of Chalcis, advanced into Galilee. They were
repulsed and defeated by Herod. In the meantime, the fate of the world was decided at Philippi. Herod, ever a dexterous worshiper of the rising sun, hastened to render his allegiance, and knowing the character of the man, made acceptable offerings in the shape of large sums of money to the victorious Mark Antony.

An unexpected enemy arose to trouble again the peace of Judea. At this juncture the Parthians, under Pacorus, the king's son, entered Syria and Asia Minor, and overran the whole region. A part of their army, under Barzapharnes, took possession of Cele-Syria. Antigonus, the last remaining branch of the Asmonean race, determined to risk his fortune on the desperate hazard of Parthian protection. He offered one thousand talents and five hundred Jewish women—a strange compact—as the price of his restoration to the Jewish kingdom. Antigonus himself, raised a considerable native power, and entered Judea, followed by Pacorus, the cup-bearer of the king, who had the same name with the king's son. Antigonus fought his way to Jerusalem, and by means of his party, entered the city. Jerusalem was torn asunder by the contending factions, and the multitudes who came up at the feast of pentecost adopting different parties, added to the fierce hostility and mutual slaughter. The Antonians held the temple, the Hyrcanians the palace, and daily contests taking place, the streets ran with blood. Antigonus at length invidiously proposed to submit their mutual differences to the arbitration of Pacorus, the Parthian general. Phasael weakly consented, and Pacorus, admitted within the town, prevailed on the infatuated Phasael to undertake a journey with Hyrcanus, and submit the cause to Barzapharnes, the commander-in-chief. He set forth on this ill-fated expedition, and was at first received with courtesy; the plan of the Parthians being to abstain from violence till they had seized Herod, who, having vainly remonstrated with his brother on his imprudence, remained in the city. But the crafty Herod, receiving warning from his brother, whose suspicions had been too late awakened, fled, with the female part of the family, toward Masada. The journey was extremely dangerous, and at one time Herod, in despair, had almost attempted his own life. At Masada, a
strong fortress on the western shore of the Dead Sea, he received succors brought by his brother Joseph from Idumea; him he left in command at Masada, and retired himself into Arabia, from thence to Egypt and at length to Rome. In the meantime Hircanus and Phasael had been made prisoners; the former, Antigonus not wishing to put him to death, was incapacitated forever from the office of high-priest, by the mutilation of his ears. Phasael anticipated the executioner by beating his brains out against the wall of his prison.

But Augustus and Antony united in conferring the crown of Judea on Herod himself. Herod was not a man to decline, or not to make the most of the favors of fortune; he wasted no time in the courtly circle, or in the luxuries of Rome. In seven days he dispatched all his business, returned to his ships at Brundusium, and after an absence of scarcely three months, landed at Ptolemais. The city of Masada, in which his brother and his beautiful bride were shut up, was his first object; the Parthians had broken up on the advance of the Roman general Ventidius, and left Antigonus to defend himself as well as he could. Antigonus had almost reduced Masada, which, for a timely rain, had filled the water tanks, was reduced to the greatest extremity from drought. Herod speedily raised a force, united with some Roman auxiliaries under Silo, overran Galilee, relieved Masada, and sat down before Jerusalem. Silo was a man equally perfidious and rapacious; by assisting both parties he enriched himself. Hitherto he had befriended Herod, now under pretext of a mutiny among his soldiers for want of provisions, he broke up the siege of Jerusalem, pillaged Jericho, and retired into winter-quarters. Herod, unable with his own forces to undertake the invasion of Judea, fixed his head-quarters at Samaria, and employed his time in reducing Galilee, then infested by bands of daring robbers, who dwelt in caves among the wild and craggy mountainous districts of Upper Galilee.

The next year the campaign against Antigonus was renewed; the Roman auxiliaries, two legions and one thousand horse, were under the command of Macheras. Macheras being repulsed from the walls of Jerusalem, revenged the affront on the Jewish followers of Herod, who retreated to Samaria, and from thence departed to Samosata, to pay his homage and lodge his com-
plaints before Antony, who was engaged in the siege of that city. Joseph, his brother, was left in command in Judea, with strict injunction not to risk a battle; he disobeyed, was routed and slain. Herod, on his return, revenged his death by the total discomfiture of Pappus, the general of Antigonus. In the spring of the next year he formed the regular siege of Jerusalem; during the siege he returned to Samaria to consummate his marriage with Mariamne, and having thus formed an intimate connexion with the line of the Asmonean princes, he hastened to secure his throne by the conquest of the capital. Jerusalem held out for above half a year; the Romans under Sosius, furious at the obstinate resistance, after the capture, gave loose to all their revengeful cruelty and rapaciousness. It was only through the interference of Herod, who bitterly expostulated on the indignity of leaving him king not of a noble city, but of a desert, that the whole town escaped destruction.

CHAPTER VII.

HEROD.

Thus, Herod the Great, the last independent sovereign of Palestine, became master of his dominions. So far his career had been marked with uncommon ability, nor had it been disgraced by unusual atrocity. Still his situation was difficult and precarious; it demanded his utmost dexterity and vigor, and unhappily gave him the tyrant's plea of necessity for the most relentless cruelties. The mass of the people were still ardently attached to the great Asmonean family; the faction of Antigonus was still strong in Jerusalem. Against the latter he proceeded without scruple, put to death forty-five of the chiefs, and confiscated all their property. The appointment to the office of high-priest caused the greatest embarrassment. The nation would never have endured the usurpation of that office by an Edumean stranger. Hyrcanus, the old patron of the
Herodian family, returned from his honorable captivity in Parthia; he was received with every mark of outward respect by Herod, but the mutilation of his ears by Antigonus disqualified him for re-instatement in his office. Herod invited an obscure individual of the lineage of the high-priest, Anan
d, from Babylon. Alexandra, the widow of that gallant Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who was executed by Scipio, beheld this choice with secret indignation. She was a high-minded and ambitious woman; the marriage of her daughter Mariamne to Herod, aggravated rather than palliated the indignity of excluding her son, the rightful heir of both the Asmonean families, from the priesthood. Unscrupulous as to her means of vengeance, she sent the pictures of her two children, a son and daughter, both of exquisite beauty, to Antony, in order, by this unnatural and odious measure, to work on the passions of the voluptuous Triumvir. Herod was seized with apprehension, changed at once his policy, displaced Anan
d, and installed the young Aristobulus in the pontificate. But mistrust and hatred had taken too deep root. Alexandra was detected in a secret correspondence with Cleopatra; and a plan which she had formed to fly with her son to the court of Egypt, was only disconcerted by the excessive vigilance of Herod. Worse than all this, when the lovely boy of seventeen, the heir of their rightful princess, appeared before the assembled nation at the feast of tabernacles, in the splendid costume of the high-priest, and performing his solemn office with the most perfect grace, the popular feeling was too evident to be mistaken. Herod saw that his own suspicions were sadly verified, he had raised up a dangerous rival to his power in the young Asmonean. He dissembled his jealousy, and joined in the general admiration; but, contriving shortly after to remove the youth to Jericho, he caused him to be drowned by his companions while bathing in a pool. Alexandra sent intelligence of the murder to Cleopatra, who espoused her cause with the warmest interest of a woman and mother; not without some secret suggestion from her ambition, which had already begun to look toward Judea as a valuable province of Egypt. Antony was at the height of his devotion to the luxurious queen; the ruin of Herod seemed inevitable. With his characteristic boldness, he determined to try the effect
of his personal presence, which might awaken early friendship, and give weight to those more powerful arguments, the immense bribes, with which he hoped to secure his cause. He left Jerusalem under the charge of his uncle Joseph. He left a secret charge with Joseph, that if he should fail in his mission, Mariamne was to be immediately put to death. During his absence, the incautious Joseph betrayed this secret order to Mariamne. On the return of Herod, his sister Salome, wounded at the haughtiness with which she had ever been treated by the proud Asmonean princess, endeavored to poison his mind with suspicions of his wife, whom she accused of too intimate correspondence with Joseph, the governor. Yet, the beauty of Mariamne, once seen, overpowered every emotion but that of unbounded love. Unhappily, in the transport of tender reconciliation, Mariamne asked whether if he had really loved her, he would have given that fatal order for her death. Herod sprang from her arms in fury. The betrayal of this secret warranted his worst suspicions; it could not have been yielded up but at the price of her honor. He would have slain her on the spot, but her beauty, even then, disarmed him; his whole vengeance fell on Joseph and Alexandra. The first he executed, the second he imprisoned with every mark of insult. A short time after, he found himself engaged in a war, which he entered into with the ostensible design of enforcing Cleopatra's right of tribute over Malchus, King of Arabia. By complying with the wishes of Antony on this point, the dexterous politician escaped taking any prominent part in the great war between the eastern and western world, which was to award the empire to Antony or Octavius. In his first invasion of Arabia he was unsuccessful, and met with so signal a defeat, that he was constrained to change the war into one of sudden irruptions into the border of the enemy, without risking a battle. A more tremendous blow fell on Judea—an earthquake, which threw down many cities and destroyed thirty thousand lives. The Arabs seized the opportunity of this disaster, and put the Jewish ambassadors to death; but this conduct enabled Herod to rouse the national spirit, and the Arabians, defeated with the loss of five thousand men, were besieged in their camp. Many
surrendered from want of water; the rest made a desperate but fatal sally, in which seven thousand more perished.

Still, though not personally engaged in the battle of Actium, Herod had reason to apprehend the triumph of Octavius Caesar. Having secured everything at home, he determined to meet the youthful conqueror at Rhodes. While one remnant of the Asmonean race survived, his throne was less secure; and the old Hyrcanus, now eighty years of age, at length paid the last penalty for having unhappily been born to a lofty station, for which he was unfit. The documents in the royal archives of Herod, accused the poor old man of having been persuaded, by his intriguing daughter, Alexandra, into a reasonable correspondence with the Arabian king; other accounts ascribe the invention of the plot to Herod. He then set sail for Rhodes. He appeared before the conqueror, without the diadem, but with all the dignity of an independent sovereign. He addressed him in a speech, which, disdaining apology, enlarged on his obligations, and avowed his attachment to Antony. He declared that, as a friend, he had given him the best advice; such advice as would have made him formidable to Caesar; he had begged him to put Cleopatra to death, and vigorously resume the war. "Antony," he pursued, "adopted a counsel more fatal to himself, more advantageous to you. If, then attachment to Antony be a crime, I plead guilty; but if, having thus seen how steady and faithful I am in my friendships, you determine to bind me to your fortunes by gratitude, depend on the same firmness and fidelity." This lofty tone and generous sentiment won the kindred heart of the arbiter of the world's destinies. Caesar commanded the dignified supplicant to resume the diadem, treated him with great distinction, and Herod returned to Judea. After the conquest of Egypt, Octavius restored to him the part of his own territory, formerly bestowed on Cleopatra, with Gadara, Hippo, Samaria, and the maritime towns of Joppa, Anthedon, Gaza, and the tower of Strato.

The magnificence of Herod's public life is strangely contrasted with the dark tragedy of his domestic history. Mariamne had again extorted the fatal charge intrusted to Soemus; and indignant at the jealous determination of her husband, that she should not survive him, she met him...
with repulsive indifference, and even with undissembled dislike. Herod struggled between his love and his indignation, till one day, instead of submitting to his caresses, in the height of her passion she reproached him, in terms of the utmost bitterness, with his barbarous conduct to her relations. The envious Salome watched every opportunity of inflaming the resentment of her brother, and suborned his cup-bearer to accuse Mariamne of having bribed him to administer a poisonous philter, or love-potion, to his master. Herod commanded her favorite eunuch, to whom all her secrets were intrusted, to be put to the rack. The tortured man denied all knowledge of the poison, but exclaimed that the conduct of his mistress was entirely owing to the information she had received from Soenus. Furious at this new proof of her infidelity, he ordered Soenus to be dispatched at once, and summoned Mariamne before a tribunal of judges, who were too much in dread of his power not to pass the sentence of death. Still Herod hesitated; he had no immediate intention of proceeding further than imprisonment; but his mother and sister so worked on his moody and violent temper that he at length issued out the fatal orders for her execution. She met her death with the calm intrepidity of innocence, and died worthy of the noble house of which the last blood flowed in her veins.

All the passions which filled the stormy mind of Herod were alike without bound; from violent love and violent resentment, he sank into as violent remorse and despair. Everywhere, by day and by night, he was haunted by the image of the murdered Mariamne; he called upon her name; he perpetually burst into passionate tears. In vain he tried every diversion—banquets, revels, the excitement of society. On pretense of hunting, he sought out the most melancholy solitude, till the disorder of his mind brought on disorder of body, and he was seized with violent inflammation and pains in the back of his head, which led to temporary derangement.

Herod slowly recovered from his malady, but it left an indelible gloom upon his mind; and his stern temper, instead of being softened by calamity, seemed to have acquired a fierce and insatiable propensity to cruelty and bloodshed. His next victim was Costabaras, an Idumean, the husband of his sister
Salome, whom she, in defiance of the law, had divorced; and through her machinations the unfortunate man was involved in the guilt of a pretended conspiracy, and convicted of the concealment of some of the Asmonean partisans. He was put to death with many other men of rank and distinction. He built a theater within the walls of Jerusalem, an amphitheater of immense size without. He celebrated quinquennial games on a scale of unrivaled splendor; invited the most distinguished proficient in every kind of gymnastic exercise, chariot racing, boxing, and every kind of musical and poetic art; offered the most costly prizes; and even introduced the barbarous spectacles of the Roman fights of wild beasts, and combats of wild beasts with gladiators. The jealous Jews looked on in amazement, and with praiseworthy, though silent abhorrence, at these sanguinary exhibitions, so contrary to the mild genius of their great lawgiver's institutions. Ten men bound themselves by a solemn vow to assassinate the innovator in the scene of his delinquency; one of them was blind, yet, though he could not assist in the execution, he was determined to share in the peril of the enterprise. They entered the theater with daggers under their cloaks, but the vigilant police of Herod were on their guard; he received intimation, and returned into the palace. The men were apprehended, and, instead of denying, boldly avowed and justified their design. They endured the most ignominious torture, but died firm and undaunted to the last. Having married a second Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, an obscure individual of priestly lineage, whom he appointed high-priest, he chose the spot on which he had defeated Antigonus, about seven miles from Jerusalem, as the site of a new fortified palace, in his usual style of architecture.

Herod steadily pursued his policy of counter-balancing, by a strong Grecian party, the turbulent and exclusive spirit of his Jewish subjects. More completely to secure this object he determined to found a powerful city, chiefly colonized with Grecians, and dedicated to the name of his great Roman protector. Samaria he had already called Sabaste (the August); the new city was to take the name of Cesarea. He chose a maritime situation, for the advantage of commerce, and may
have thought of uniting in his new city the wealth of ancient Tyre with the greatness of Jerusalem. Thus Judea was fast sinking into a province of the Roman empire, and Herod, instead of head of the Hebrew religious republic, became more and more on a level with the other vassal kings of Rome. His elder sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, were not brought up in Jewish tenets or customs, but sent to Rome for their education, where they were received into the palace of Augustus, and treated with great care and distinction.

But the higher Herod advanced in the good graces of the Romans, by these costly and enduring marks of his adulation, the lower he sank in the good will of his jealous Jewish subjects. He exercised a stern and vigilant police, interdicted all fraternities and assemblies, occasionally surprised the most disaffected, and buried them to the hyrcania (his bastile), whence they never returned. He was even said to walk the streets in disguise, to detect secret conspiracies, and form a judgment of the popular feeling.

At length he determined on a measure, which he hoped would at the same time employ the people, and ingratiate himself with all classes, the rebuilding the temple in its former pride and magnificence. The lapse of five hundred years, and the sieges which it had undergone, as it was the great military post of the nation, had much dilapidated the structure of Zorobabel. But the suspicious Jews beheld the work of demolition commence with the greatest jealousy and apprehension, lest, under pretense of repairing, the king should destroy entirely their sanctuary of their God. The prudence of Herod calmed their fears; he made immense preparations before he threw down the old building; the work proceeded with the greatest regularity, and the nation saw with the utmost pride a new fabric of more regular and stately architecture crowning the brow of Moriah with its glittering masses of white marble and pinnacles of gold.

But the declining days of Herod were to be darkened with a domestic tragedy, as melancholy and awful as those of his earlier life. On the return of Alexander and Aristobulus, the two sons of Mariamne, to Jerusalem, they were received, notwithstanding their Roman education, with general enthusiasm.
The grace and beauty of their persons, their affable manners, above all the blood of the ancient Asmonean princes which flowed in their veins, rendered them objects of the deepest interest to the whole Hebrew nation. Herod married them—Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Capadocia; Aristobulus to Mariamne, the daughter of Salome. Notwithstanding this, the envious mind of Salome, the sister of Herod, sickened at their praises. Both her conscience, and that of her brother Pheroras, reproached them with their share in the murder of Mariamne; they apprehended direct vengeance, on the accession of the young princes. The youths themselves, perhaps, spoke without much discretion or reserve about their mother’s fate; and rumors, aggravated by Salome and her party, began to spread abroad that they announced themselves as her future avengers. For three years these insinuations made no deep impression on the mind of Herod, who was justly proud of the popularity of his sons; but while he was absent with Agrippa, in his war near the Bosphorus, during which period he obtained for the Jews of Asia Minor a ratification of all their privileges, which the Greeks had endeavored to wrest from them, these sinister reports began to gain much strength and consistency, and consequently more credit with the suspicious father. Herod resorted to a most dangerous measure, in order to subdue the pride of his sons, and make them more entirely subservient to his will. He sent for his elder son, Antipater, whom he formerly had by Doras, the wife whom he divorced to marry Mariamne, and set him up as a sort of counterpoise to the popularity and hopes of Alexander and Aristobulus. The dark, designing, and unscrupulously ambitious Antipater entered into all the plots of Salome and Pheroras; and as Herod had permission from Rome to bequeath his crown to whichever of his sons he chose, he lost no opportunity of alienating his father’s affections from the sons of Mariamne. Herod, to place him more on a level with his rivals, introduced him to Agrippa, and sent him in the suite of his powerful friend to Rome. From Rome the artful youth steadfastly pursued, by means of letters, his insidious designs, till the mind of Herod was so inflamed that he determined to accuse his sons before the tribunal of Augustus. The king of
Judea and the two royal youths appeared before the emperor at Aquileia. Herod opened the charge by accusing them of unnatural obstinacy and disobedience, and of entering into criminal practices against his life. Shocked at this dreadful charge, the youths stood silent, unable to exculpate themselves without criminating their jealous and cruel father. Their situation, and still more their silence, and the modest defense into which they at length entered, excited the deepest interest in their favor; and Augustus, with that temperance and moderation which distinguished all his actions after he became emperor, succeeded in reconciling the father to his children. Herod returned with them to Jerusalem. Still, however, infatuated in favor of Antipater, he declared him his heir; in default of his issue, the succession was to pass to the sons of Mariamne. Before long the domestic dissensions broke out anew with greater violence. Antipater sometimes insidiously exculpating, sometimes artfully accusing his brothers, kept the mind of Herod in a continued fever of suspicious excitement. The king's own favorite brother, Pheroras, increased his wretchedness. He had become so infatuated with the love of a female slave as to refuse the hand of one of Herod's daughters. Not long after, on the offer of another daughter, Pheroras consented to break off his connexion with the slave. But before the espousals he again changed his mind, and refused to conclude the marriage. Pheroras was still an enemy to the peace of Herod. He instilled into the mind of Alexander that his father secretly cherished a guilty passion for his wife Glaphyra. Alexander boldly questioned Herod about this scandalous imputation. Pheroras, to avoid the fury of his justly offended brother, laid the plot to the instigation of Salome, who vindicated herself with great energy. Yet these two dangerous inmates for some time lost their influence in the court. But the wily Antipater still remained; the sons of Mariamne were every day accused of new plots; sometimes with perverting the eunuchs who held the chief offices about the royal person, from whom they were said to have discovered the secret and feminine artifices which Herod used to disguise the advance of old age; sometimes with designing the death of their father, or with a design of flying to Rome, or with entering into
treasonable correspondence with the Parthians. Night and daytime these charges were repeated; the whole court became a scene of gloom, suspicion, and distrust. Those who frequented the presence of the sovereign, were suspected of sinister designs; those who stood aloof were self-convicted of disloyalty. Whoever had at any time shown marks of favor or attachment to the suspected sons of Mariamne, though his own most firm and steadfast friends, fell into disgrace. At length, all the confidential slaves of Alexander having been put to the rack, some kind of evidence was wrung from their extorted confessions, and the unhappy youth committed to prison and loaded with chains.

At length Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, the father-in-law of Alexander, arrived at the court of Jerusalem. By first dexterously humoring the frenzy of Herod, and pretending to enter into his suspicions; afterward by arguing dispassionately the improbability of the accusations, he succeeded in reconciling the father and son, and Alexander was reinstated in freedom and favor. At this period Herod was not without anxiety, arising from foreign disturbances. With all his vigor and severity, he had never entirely suppressed the banditti of the Trachonitis. Encouraged by the secret protection of the Arabs, this lawless race commenced new depredations. The troops of Herod pursued the banditti into the dominions of Obedes, destroyed Repta, their stronghold, and discomfited an Arabian force which espoused their party. This was represented by Sylleus, at Rome, as a wanton and unprovoked aggression upon the kingdom of Arabia. The credit of Herod began to waver; but he immediately dispatched the eloquent Nicolaus, of Damascus (an historian whose contemporary life of Herod is unfortunately lost), to the Roman court, and through his address the cause assumed a better aspect, and was finally settled not only to his exculpation, but to his honor. Augustus had even determined to confer on Herod the kingdom of the Nabatean Arabians; but the dreadful dissensions of his family, which had again broken out with greater fury than ever, induced the cautious emperor at least to delay his munificent intention. Antipater, Salome, and Pheroras, had again obtained the ear of Herod. He wrote to Rome the most
dreadful charges against the sons of Mariamne; and Augustus, after endeavoring to soothe the maddened spirit of the father, consented that the sons should be brought to trial at Berytus. Saturnius and Volumnius, the governors of Syria, presided in the court. The only fact which was proved against them was a design of flying beyond the power of their suspicious father; but so strong were the charges, and so vehement the exertions of Herod, who acted as his own advocate, examining witnesses, and reading documents with the strongest and most violent emphasis, that a verdict of condemnation was at length extorted from a majority of the council. The unhappy youths, who had not been permitted to make their defense, awaited their doom in silence. Yet, still Herod wanted courage to execute his own barbarous design. The whole people, particularly the army, looked on in deep but suppressed interest, till one Teron, a gallant soldier, openly expressed the general feeling in the presence of the monarch. His interference turned out, eventually, fatal to himself and to the sons of Mariamne. He was accused of having tampered with the barber of Herod against his life; and Alexander was implicated as privy to the crime. The son of the barber, to save his father's life, confirmed the accusation. Teron was put to death on the spot, and the final order issued that Alexander and his brother should be strangled at Sebaste. Either on this, or on some similar occasion, his imperial protector, Augustus, uttered this bitter sarcasm—that he had rather be one of Herod's swine than one of his sons.

The crime did not remain long unavenged; it recoiled with dreadful force against almost all who were implicated. The low-born wife of Pheroras had connected herself with the Pharisaic party; and when, on the refusal of seven thousand of this faction to take an oath of allegiance to Augustus and to Herod, they were heavily fined, she discharged the whole of the mulct.

Rumors began to spread abroad of prophecies, which declared that God intended to transfer the government of his people from the line of Herod to that of Pheroras. Pheroras was commanded to separate himself from his wife, to whom all these intrigues were attributed. He refused, and lost all the
favor with which he had once been regarded by his brother and benefactor. Yet, when a short time after, he fell ill, and lay on his death-bed, the kindly feelings of Herod revived, and he visited him with fraternal tenderness. On the death of Pheroras suspicions began to arise that his malady was not in the course of nature; two of his freedmen openly charged his wife with having poisoned him. Herod ordered a strict investigation of the transaction; in the process a darker and more horrible secret came to light. Antipater, the heir of his kingdom, was clearly proved to have conspired with Pheroras to poison his old and doting father, and thus to secure and accelerate his own succession. The wife of Pheroras acknowledged the whole plot, and declared that the affectionate conduct of Herod to Pheroras, on his death-bed, had melted the heart of the fratricide, who had commanded her to throw into the fire the subtle poison which had already been prepared. His wife, Mariamne, daughter of Simon, the high-priest, was implicated in the conspiracy. He repudiated her immediately, deposed her father, and appointed Mattathias to the high-priesthood. Antipater was at Rome, and the horror-stricken Herod dissembled his detection of the conspiracy; yet, still obscure intimations spread abroad, which, however, did not reach the ears of Antipater.

Triumphing in the success of his intrigues and the unbounded promises of support which he had purchased at Rome—confident of his speedy if not immediate inheritance of the throne—in all the pride of successful guilt, and the malignant assurance that his rivals were entirely removed by death, Antipater landed at Cesarea. The once crowded port seemed a solitude; no acclamations rose around him, no deputations waited upon him at his landing; the few people he met turned aloof, or looked on as if they now dared to hate him undisguisedly; every one seemed in possession of some fearful secret, of which he alone was ignorant. It was too late to fly; he was constrained to dissemble his terrors, and proceed to Jerusalem. There he was immediately summoned before the tribunal of Herod, who sat with Varus, the Roman Governor of Syria, for his accuser. The proofs of his guilt were full and conclusive; he was condemned without the least hesitation. Herod, already afflicted
by his last mortal malady, delayed the execution, but in the meantime made the final alterations in his will. He bequeathed the kingdom to Antipas, passing over Archelaus and Philip, who were supposed to be implicated in the conspiracy of Antipater. Thus the great and magnificent Herod lay; afflicted in body by the most painful and loathsome malady, tormented in mind by the ingratitude of his favorite son—perhaps with remorse for the murder of those of Mariamne. His last hours were still further embittered by the turbulence and disaffection of his subjects.

Among the innovations of Herod nothing offended the eyes of the zealous Jews more than a large golden eagle, which he had placed over the great gate of the temple. Some daring and enthusiastic youths, instigated by two celebrated teachers, named Judas and Matthias, conspired to tear down the offensive emblem. On a rumor of Herod's death, they put their design in execution. Being apprehended, they boldly justified their conduct. Herod at first assumed something like moderation; he assembled the chiefs of the people, reproached them with the ungrateful return which they had made for his munificence in rebuilding the temple, which the Asmoniac princes had left in decay; and only displaced Mattathias, the high-priest, who was suspected to have encouraged the enterprise. The most criminal of the actual assailants and their teachers were burnt alive. But now the disorder of the king made sensible progress; a slow fire seemed creeping through all his vital parts; he had a rapid appetite which he dared not gratify on account of internal ulcers, and dreadful pains, particularly in the colon. Dropsical symptoms appeared in his feet, which were swollen, and exuded. Ulcers, which bred worms, preyed on the lower region of his belly and the adjacent parts. His breathing was difficult; and violent spasms, which seemed to give him unnatural strength, convulsed his frame. He sought relief from the warm bituminous baths of Callirhoe, but returned to Jericho without improvement. There the frenzy of his malady working on the natural sternness of his disposition, he is said to have imagined a kind of testamentary cruelty, almost to horrible to be believed; he determined to extort a universal mourning for his death from the reluctant people.
Death of Herod.

He commanded some of all the chief families in Judea to be seized, shut up in the Hippodrome, and strictly enjoined his sister Salome, that immediately he expired, the guards should be let loose, and an unsparing massacre commence. Thus, a wide, and general, and heartfelt wailing would spread throughout all the land with the news of his death. But the dying requests of kings proverbially fail of their accomplishment, and happily for human nature this sanguinary injunction was disregarded.

Among these atrocities of the latter days of Herod, what is called the Massacre of the Innocents (which took place late in the year before, or early in the same year with the death of Herod, four years before the vulgar era of Christ), passed away unnoticed. The murder of a few children, in a small village near Jerusalem would excite little sensation among such a succession of dreadful events, except among the immediate sufferers. The jealousy of Herod against any one who should be born as a King in Judea—the dread that the high religious spirit of the people, might be re-excited by the hope of a real Messiah—as well as the summary manner in which he endeavored to rid himself of the object of his fears, are strictly in accordance with the relentlessness and decision of his character.

At length, just before his death, the ratification of the sentence against Antipater arrived from Rome. It found Herod in a paroxysm of torment so great that he attempted to lay violent hands on himself. The rumor of his death induced Antipater to make a desperate attempt to bribe the keeper of his prison. This last offense was fatal. Herod just raised himself up in his bed to give the mandate for his execution, and then fell back—had only time once more to remodel his will; and thus, dispensing death on one hand and kingdoms on the other, expired.
CHAPTER VIII.

THE HERODIAN FAMILY.

The executioner had made frightful ravages in the family of Herod; but still a powerful, if united, race survived. Ten wives of Herod are mentioned in history. The first, Doras, the mother of Antipater, the last and the only unpitied victim of his vengeance. The second, Mariamne, the Asmonean princess, the mother of the unfortunate Aristobulus and Alexander, and of two daughters, Salampsio and Cypros. Aristobulus, by Bernice, his cousin, left four children: 1. Herod Agrippa, who became distinguished at a later period; 2. Herodias, infamous for her divorce of her first husband, her uncle Philip, and her incestuous marriage with Herod Antipas; 3. Aristobulus; 4. Herod. The third wife of Herod the Great was Mariamne, daughter of Simon, the high-priest, the mother of Herod Philip. The name of Herod Philip was effaced from the will of his father, on account of his mother's supposed connection with the conspiracy against his life. The fourth, a niece by the brother side; the fifth, a niece by the sister's side, whose names do not appear, and who had no issue. The sixth, Malthace, a Samaritan, the mother of: 1. Archelaus; 2. Herod Antipas; 3. Olympia. It was among this family that his dominions were chiefly divided. The seventh, Cleopatra, of Jerusalem, the mother of: 1. Herod; 2. Philip, Tetrarch of Trachonitis. The eighth, Pellus, the mother of Phasaelis. The ninth, Phedra, the mother of Roxana. The tenth, Elpis, the mother of Salome.

The will of Herod had designated the sons of Malthace as his successors. To Herod Antipas were assigned Galilee and Perea; to Archelaus, Idumea, Samaria, and Judea. Archelaus at once assumed the direction of affairs in Jerusalem. The funeral of his father was the first object of his care.

Archelaus, according to Jewish usage, mourned for seven
days. At the end of this time, he gave a splendid funeral banquet to the whole people, and then entered the temple in great pomp, amid general acclamations, and taking his seat on a golden throne, delivered an address to the multitude. His speech was conciliatory and temperate. He alluded to his father's oppressions; thanked the people for their loyal reception; promised to reward their good conduct; but declined assuming the royal diadem till his father's testament should be ratified at Rome. The people vied with each other in the vehemence of their applause, but their acclamations were mingled with demands by no means so acceptable to the royal ear. Some called for a diminution of the public burden, others for the release of the prisoners with whom Herod had crowded the dungeons; some more specifically for the entire abandonment of the taxes on the sale of commodities in the markets, which had been levied with the utmost rigor. Archelaus listened with great affability, promised largely, and having performed sacrifice, retired.

While he was preparing for his voyage, the zealous party which had been concerned in the demolition of the eagle, collected their strength. They bewailed with frantic outcries the death of Matthias, the teacher, and his seditious pupils, who had even been deprived of the rights of burial by the unrelenting vigor of Herod—and no unintelligible execrations against the deceased monarch were mingled with their lamentations. They demanded the summary punishment of all who had been employed in the recent executions, the expulsion of the high-priest, and the substitution of one more legally appointed. Archelaus attempted to allay the tumult by conciliatory measures. He sent officer after officer to soothe, to expostulate, to admonish, to threaten. Argument and menace were alike unsuivailing. The clamorous multitude would listen to neither, and the sedition grew every day more alarming. The danger was more urgent on account of the approaching passover, which assembled the Jews from all quarters of the country, and even strangers from the most remote parts of the world. If it was difficult at any time to keep the fanatical multitude of Jerusalem in check, it was still more so when this formidable addition was made to their numbers. The leaders of the
faction held their meetings in the temple itself, where they were abundantly supplied with provisions by their friends, who did not scruple to beg in their behalf. It was high time to interfere, and Archelaus sent a centurion with a band of soldiers to disperse the multitude, to apprehend the ring-leaders, and bring them before his tribunal. They arrived while the sacrifice was offering. The zealots inflamed the multitude, who attacked the soldiers, many of whom were stoned; the rest, with the centurion, made their escape, but with great difficulty, and dreadfully maimed. This done, the sacrifice quietly proceeded. Archelaus found it necessary, if he would not at once throw up all his authority, to act with greater vigor. He gave orders for a large body of troops to advance. The cavalry cut off the strangers from the provinces, who were encamped without the city, from the zealots who occupied the temple. The multitude fled on all sides; those of Jerusalem dispersed; the strangers retreated to the mountains; three thousand were slain. Archelaus issued a proclamation commanding all the strangers to return to their homes. They obeyed with reluctance, and, to the universal horror, the great national festival, thus interrupted, was not concluded.

Archelaus set out for Rome, accompanied by Nicolaus, of Damascus, and many of his relatives. At Cesarea he met Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, who was hastening to Judea in order to make himself master of the treasures left by Herod, and to obtain military possession of the country. Through the interference of Varus, the prefect of Syria, Sabinus agreed to suspend his march, to leave Archelaus in possession of the treasures, and to undertake no measure till the arrival of an edict from Rome. But no sooner had Archelaus set sail, and Varus returned to Antioch, than Sabinus marched to Jerusalem, seized the palace, summoned the keepers of the treasures to render up their accounts, and the military officers to cede the fortresses. All, however, remained faithful to their charge, and refused to comply without direct orders from Rome.

Archelaus had to encounter a formidable opposition to his attainment of the royal dignity, not merely from the caprice or pride of the emperor, but from intrigues set on foot in his own family. His younger brother, Herod Antipas, arrived in Rome
to maintain his own pretensions to the crown, grounded on a former will of Herod, made, as his party asserted, when his father was in a saner state of mind than at his decease; and in which he was named first. His mother, Malthace, Salome, his aunt, Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus of Damascus, a great favorite with his father, and Ireneus, a man of great eloquence and ability, espoused the party of Antipas. Augustus appointed a solemn hearing of the cause, and in that haughty spirit which delighted in displaying kings publicly pleading for their thrones before the footstool of Roman subjects, appointed Caius, the son of Agrippa, and his own daughter, Julia, afterward noted for her profigacy, to preside on the occasion. Antipater, the son of Salome, conducted the cause of Herod Antipas. He insisted on the former will of Herod—accused Archelaus of assuming the crown without the sanction of the emperor; of unseemly rejoicings at the death of his father, and of wanton acts of tyranny against the people; urging and aggravating the dreadful slaughter during the tumult of the passover. The eloquent Nicolaus, of Damascus, maintained the cause of Archelaus with his accustomed ability.

While these affairs were pending at Rome, intelligence arrived that Judea was in a state of insurrection. The rapacity and insolence of Sabinus had exasperated the people, already in a state of tumultuary excitement. Varus advanced to Jerusalem, seized the ringleaders, and re-established order; but unfortunately left Sabinus behind him to maintain the peace. The sole object of this unscrupulous commander was to find an opportunity and excuse for seizing the tempting treasures of this opulent city, as well those left by Herod, as the more inestimable riches contained in the temple. All his acts tended to goad the people to insurrection.

The pentecost drew on, and the Jews gathered together from all quarters, with the deliberate intention of wreaking their vengeance on Sabinus. From both the Galilees, from Idumea, from Jericho, and from the provinces beyond Jordan, vast multitudes came crowding into the city. Sabinus sent pressing messages to Varus for relief. In the meantime he himself, ascending the lofty tower of Phasaelis, gave orders to his troops to make a desperate sally, and force their way to the
The Jews, though repelled by the disciplined valor of the legionaries, fought with courage, and, mounting on the roofs of the cloisters, or porticoes, which surrounded the outer court of the temple, annoyed the assailants with stones, javelins, and missiles. The Romans at length set fire to the cloisters, the roofs of which were made of wood, cemented with pitch and wax, and the whole magnificent range became one immense conflagration; the gilding melted, the columns fell, and all the Jews upon the roof were either crushed to death among the blazing ruins, or lay victims to the unrelenting fury of the enemy; some of the more desperate fell on their swords; not one escaped. But the flames could not repress the daring rapacity of the Roman soldiery; they broke into the temple, plundered on all sides, and even seized the sacred treasures, from which Sabinus secured the greater part of four hundred talents; the rest was secreted by the pillagers. Maddened with this outrage, the bravest of the Jews assembled from all quarters, besieged the palace, but offered Sabinus his life if he and his legion would evacuate the city. Many of Herod's soldiers deserted to the Jews; but on the other hand, two distinguished officers, Rufus, the commander of Herod's cavalry, and Gratus, the captain of his infantry, with three thousand Samaritan troops, joined Sabinus. The Jews pressed the siege with vigor, and began to mine the palace, at the same time urging Sabinus to quit the city, and leave them to their own government; but Sabinus would not trust their faith.

The whole country was in the same dreadful state of anarchy. The Romans exercised all the oppression, without affording the protection of despotic sovereignty; and at the period when the nation was in the highest state of excitement—some looking forward, with sober patriotism, to the restoration of their national independence—others, of more ardent zeal, to the fulfillment of their national prophecies in the person of some mighty conqueror, the fame of whose destined birth at this period prevailed, according to the expression of the Roman historian, throughout all the East—the whole country was without regular government; adventurer after adventurer sprang up in every quarter, not one of whom was too base or too desperate to assemble a number, either of daring robbers or deluded
fanatics, around his standard. Two thousand of Herod's troops, having been dismissed, spread over Judea, subsisted on plunder, and besieged Achiab, a cousin of Herod, who took refuge in the mountains. One Judas, son of Hezekias, a noted bandit, surprised Sepphoris, seized the treasures, and plundered the armory, from which he supplied his followers, who became the terror of the district. Simon, a slave of Herod, a man of great personal strength and beauty, had the audacity to assume the diadem. He plundered the palace in Jericho, and several of the other royal residences; his followers burnt that of Bethrampta, near the Jordan. He was at length attacked by Gratus, taken in a ravine, and beheaded. Another adventurer, Athronges, a common shepherd, with his four brothers, men of extraordinary strength and courage, collected a predatory band, and waged open war both against the Romans and the royal party. Athronges also assumed the diadem. He had the boldness to attack a Roman cohort, which was escorting a convoy of provisions and arms, near Emmaus. One centurion and four hundred men were killed; the rest escaped with difficulty, leaving the dead on the field of battle.

In consequence of urgent entreaties from Sabinus, and dreading the peril in which his legion was placed, Varus, the Prefect of Syria, assembled at Ptolemais the two legions remaining in Syria, and four troops of horse, with some allies from Berytus, and some Arabian bands. Part he sent forward into Galilee; they recovered and burnt Sepphoris, and subdued the whole district. With the rest he advanced in person to Samaria, which had taken no part in the late insurrections. His Arabian allies committed dreadful depredations, burning and ravaging on all sides; he himself gave orders for the burning of Emmaus, in revenge for the loss of the cohort defeated by Athronges. On his approach to Jerusalem, the forces from the country broke up the siege of Sabinus and dispersed; the inhabitants submitted, and laid the whole blame of the insurrection on the strangers. Sabinus, ashamed of meeting Varus, stole away to the coast, and took ship for Rome. Varus spread his troops over the country, and seized the notorious ringleaders in the recent tumult; two thousand were crucified, the rest pardoned. Finding, however, that the rapacity of his
own forces, particularly his Arabian allies, from their hatred of Herod, increased the mischief, he dismissed the latter, and advanced only with his own force on a body of ten thousand men, who appeared in arms on the borders of Idumea. These insurgents were persuaded by Achiab to surrender; the leaders were sent to Rome for trial; a general amnesty was granted to the rest. Augustus treated the criminals with lenity, excepting those who were related to the house of Herod, whom he ordered to be put to death for their unnatural hostility to the head of their own family. In the meantime the great decision which was to award the dominions of Herod remained in suspense. A deputation of five hundred Jews arrived at Rome to petition for the re-establishment of their ancient constitution, and the total suppression of the kingly government. They were joined by eight thousand of their countrymen, resident in Rome. An audience was granted, in which they enlarged on the oppressions, cruelties, summary executions, and enormous taxations of the elder Herod. The whole Herodian family now found it expedient to give up their dissensions, and unite their common interest. Herod Philip arrived at the same time to support his own claims. At length an imperial edict appeared; it confirmed for the most part the will of Herod.

Archelaus assumed the dominion of Judea, and governed with great injustice and cruelty. Such is the unanimous report of all historians, confirmed by his condemnation, after a solemn hearing before Augustus. Yet few facts have transpired by which posterity may judge of the equity of the sentence. He displaced Joazar from the pontificate, and substituted his brother Eleazar. Eleazar, in his turn, was supplanted by Jesus, son of Siva. He repaired the palace at Jericho with great magnificence, and paid much attention to the cultivation of the palm-trees in the neighborhood. Such are the barren incidents of a reign of nine years, at the end of which Archelaus was hastily summoned to Rome, while sitting at a banquet. His cause was formally heard, his brothers, as well as his subjects, being his accusers. He was banished to Vienne, in Gaul.

Quirinius, having completed the sale of the confiscated goods which belonged to Archelaus, deposed Joazar, who had become
unpopular, from the pontificate, and substituted Ananus, the son of Seth, and then retired to Syria.

Coponius was succeeded by M. Ambivius, during whose government died Salome, the sister of Herod, leaving Jamnia and her other territorial possessions to Livia, the wife of Augustus. M. Ambivius was followed by Annius Rufus. This rapid succession of provincial governors took place at the close of the reign of Augustus; his successor, Tiberius, pursued a different policy. During his reign of twenty-three years, Judea had only two rulers, Valerius Gratus (A. C. 16) and Pontius Pilate (A. C. 27). This was avowedly done by Tiberius on principles of humanity, and implied a bitter sarcasm on the rapacity of Roman prefects—"a rapid succession of rulers," observed the shrewd tyrant, "only increases the oppressions and exactions of the provinces." The government of Gratus is remarkable only for the perpetual changes which he made in the appointment of the high-priesthood. He deposed Ananus, and substituted Ismael, son of Fabi; then Eleazar, son of Ananus; then Simon, son of Cumith; lastly, Joseph Caiphas, the son-in-law of Ananus. During this period Judea enjoyed tranquility, but the Jews of Rome were exposed to a dreadful calamity.

Up to this period the Roman pretor seems to have resided in Cesarea, and avoided all the collision between his troops and the turbulent zealots of the capital. Pontius Pilate determined to transfer the winter-quarters of his army from Samaria to Jerusalem. The Romans had hitherto so far respected the prejudices of their subjects as not to introduce their standards, on which appeared not only the offensive image of the eagle, but likewise that of Cæsar, within the walls of the city. The troops entered the gates by night, and in the morning the people were shocked and surprised at beholding the effigy of the emperor publicly displayed in their streets. They abstained from all violence, but a numerous deputation set out to Cesarea, and for many days entreated Pilate to remove the standards. Pilate treated the affair as an insult on the emperor, and, weary of their importunity concealed some troops, with which he surrounded and hoped to disperse them. When the soldiers appeared, the Jews with one accord fell on the ground, declaring
that they were ready to die rather than sanction the infringement of their law. Pilate had the prudence to withdraw the obnoxious emblems.

The refractory spirit of Jerusalem broke out on other occasions. Pilate seized some of the revenue of the temple, and applied it to the useful and magnificent design of building an aqueduct, which was to bring a supply of water to the city from the distance of two hundred stadia—about twenty-five miles. The populace rose, and interrupted the workmen. Pilate, having dressed some of his soldiers in the common garb of the country, with their swords concealed, commanded them to mingle with the people, and when they began their usual obstructions to the works, to fall upon and disperse them. The soldiers executed their commission with greater cruelty than Pilate had intended, and committed dreadful havoc among the unarmed multitude.

Such was the man, not naturally disposed to unnecessary bloodshed, but, when the peace of his province appeared in danger, stern, decided, and regardless of human life; on all other occasions by no means regardless of ingratiating himself in the popular favor, before whose tribunal Jesus Christ was led. Pilate was awed, perhaps, by the tranquil dignity of Jesus, or at least saw no reason to apprehend any danger to the Roman sovereignty from a person of such peaceful demeanor; he probably detected the malice, though he might not clearly comprehend the motive of the accusation brought forward by the priests and populace. Still, however, he shrank from the imputation of not being "Cæsar's friend," and could not think the life of one man, however innocent, of much importance in comparison with the peace of the country, and his own favor at Rome. In this dilemma, he naturally endeavored to avoid the responsibility of decision, by transferring the criminal to the bar of Herod, to whose jurisdiction Christ, as a Galilean, belonged, and who happened to be at Jerusalem for the celebration of the passover. At length, however, finding the uproar increasing, he yields without much further scruple, and the Roman soldiery are permitted to become the willing instruments of the Jewish priesthood, in the crucifixion of that man in whom Pilate himself could find no fault. We leave to
the Christian historian the description of this event, and all its consequences. Yet our history will have shown that the state of the public mind in Judea, as well as the character of Pilate, the chief agent in the transaction, harmonized in the most remarkable manner with the narrative of the evangelists. The general expectation of the Messiah; the impatience of the Roman sovereignty, fostered by the bold and turbulent doctrines of Judas, the Galilean; the extraordinary excitement of the more fanatical part of the people, which led them to crowd round the banner of each successive adventurer, who either assumed or might assume that character; the rigid prudence of the chief-priests, lest the least indication of revolt should compromise the safety of the city and the temple, and expose the whole nation to the jealous resentment of the Roman governor; these circumstances of the times sufficiently account for the reception which such a teacher as Jesus of Nazareth met with in Jerusalem. Appearing, as he did, with doctrines so alarming to the authority of the priesthood; so full of disappointment to the fanatical populace; so repugnant to the national pride, as implying the dissolution of the Mosaic constitution, and the establishment of a new and more comprehensive faith; and above all, openly assuming the mysterious title, the Son of God, it excites less astonishment than sorrow and commiseration, that the passions of such a people should at once take arms, and proceed to the most awful violence against a teacher whose tenets were so much too pure and spiritual for their comprehension, whose character was so remote from their preconceived notions of the expected Messiah.

St. Luke relates another characteristic act of violence committed during the administration of Pilate, of which the Jewish records take no notice, the massacre of certain Galileans while they were offering sacrifice. Some have supposed that these might be followers of Judas, the Gaulonite.

An act, which displayed the same vigilant jealousy of popular commotion, and the same reckless disregard of human life, led to the recall and the disgrace of Pilate. The Samaritans had hitherto remained in peaceful submission to the Roman government; they are stated occasionally to have shown their old enmity against the Jews, by waylaying those of the north-
ern provinces who passed on their way to the passover at Jerusalem. Now, however, the whole province was thrown into a state of excitement by an imposter, who promised to discover certain vessels, according to his statement (grounded doubtless upon some old tradition), buried by Moses on Mount Gerizim. Multitudes appeared in arms at a village named Tirabatha, at the foot of the mountain. Pilate, with his usual vigilance and decision, ordered some troops to station themselves on the road, attacked the village, slew the leaders, and dispersed the rest.

The Samaritan senate carried their complaints before the President of Syria, the father of that Vitellius who afterward obtained the empire. Vitellius then in person visited Jerusalem. He was received with great magnificence, and was present during the celebration of the passover. He remitted the tax on the sale of the fruits of the earth. He likewise conferred a benefit on the nation, which was considered of signal importance. By a remarkable accident the custody of the high-priest's robe of office had passed into the hands of the Romans. Hyrcanus had been accustomed to lay them up in the Baris, the castle near the temple. This usage was continued by his successors. Herod having converted the Baris into the strong fortress called Antonia, it afterward became the chief place of arms to the Roman garrison. The Jews, tenacious of ancient customs, did not think of removing these important vestments; they thus fell into the power of the foreign rulers, who, as the high-priest could not officiate without them, might impede or prevent the performance of the temple ceremonies. Vitellius gave up the robes to the high-priest, and they were transferred to a treasury within the temple. Vitellius degraded Caiphas from the high-priesthood, and substituted Jonathan, son of Ananus, or Annus. He then returned to Antioch.

During this period the other two sons of Herod had reigned in peace over their respective provinces; Herod Antipas as Tetrarch of Galilee, in Sepphoris, his capital; Philip in the district beyond the Jordan. Philip was a prince of great justice and humanity; wherever he went the divan of justice followed him; and directly any appeal was made to his tribunal, a court was formed and the cause decided. He died about
this time without issue; his territory was annexed to the province of Syria.

Herod had seduced and married Herodias, his niece, the wife of Herod Philip, a son of Herod the Great, by Mariamne, daughter of Simon, the high-priest, not Philip, the Tetrarch. It was on her account that he put to death John the Baptist. This marriage led him into danger as well as into crime. His repudiated wife was the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia. This prince took arms to avenge the wrong and insult offered to his daughter, and in a battle the whole army of Herod was cut off. Herod sent to entreat the interference of Tiberius, who gave orders to Vitellius to chastise the insolence of Aretas. Vitellius set his troops in motion to advance on Petra, the Arabian capital. His march lay through Judea, but the heads of the people sent an earnest request that he would not display his standards, which were adorned with images, within their territory. Vitellius complied; he sent his army across the Jordan, and himself, with Herod and his friends, went up a second time to witness the passover at Jerusalem. He deposed the high-priest, Jonathan, and substituted his brother, Theophilus. On the fourth day of the festival, intelligence arrived of the death of Tiberius, and the accession of Caligula. Vitellius dismissed his troops to their quarters, and returned to Antioch.

The accession of Caligula was an event of the greatest importance to another branch of the Herodian family—Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, one of the unfortunate princes, the sons of Herod the Great, by Mariamne, the Asmonean. The early life of Agrippa had been a strange course of adventure and vicissitude. On his father's execution, he was sent to Rome, where he enjoyed the favor of Antonia, the widow of the elder Drusus, the brother of Tiberius. Antonia entertained a sincere friendship for Bernice, the mother of Agrippa, and under her protection the young Idumean prince attached himself to the person of Drusus, the son of Tiberius. Agrippa inherited the profusion, but not the wealth of the Herodian race. On his mother's death, he speedily dissipated his whole property, and found himself overwhelmed with debts. His associate, Drusus, died; and Tiberius issued orders that none of the youth's intimate companions should be admitted into his presence, lest they
should awaken the melancholy recollection of this beloved son. Agrippa, in the utmost distress, retreated to his native land, and took up his residence at Malathia, an insignificant village in Idumea. There he was in such a state of destitution that he began to entertain designs of ridding himself of his miserable life by suicide. At length he had recourse to his sister Herodias, the incestuous wife of Herod Antipas. Through her interest he obtained a welcome reception at Sepphoris, where the Ethnarch of Galilee held his court. From Antipas he obtained a yearly allowance, and the government of Tiberias. But Herod, during the conviviality of a banquet, having cast some reflection on his pensioner, the indignant Agrippa withdrew from Galilee, and retired to the protection of Pompeius Flaccus, the Prefect of Syria, into whose good graces he insinuated himself with hereditary address. At Antioch he met his step-brother Aristobulus, but there was not much fraternal amity between them, and Aristobulus seized the opportunity of supplanting his rival in the favor of the Roman Prefect. Agrippa received a bribe, to secure his interest with Flaccus, from the inhabitants of Damascus, who were engaged in a dispute about their borders with the Sidonians. Detected in this discreditable transaction through the jealous vigilance of his brother, he was forced to leave Antioch in disgrace, and retired to Ptolemais in a state of the lowest indigence. A freed slave of his mother lent him seventeen thousand five hundred drachms on a promissory bond for twenty thousand. With this sum he got to Anthenon, intending to sail for Rome. But he was suddenly arrested by Herennius Capito, Prefect of Jamnia, for a debt of three hundred thousand drachms, which he had borrowed at Rome of the imperial exchequer. Agrippa promised to settle the debt, but his vessel slipping her cables by night, he escaped to Alexandria. On his landing at Puteoli, he sent a letter to Tiberius, then at Capreae. The emperor sent to congratulate him on his arrival, invited him to Capreae, and entertained him with great courtesy, till a dispatch arrived from Herennius Capito, relating his dishonorable evasion from Anthenon. He was forbidden the imperial presence, and retired in disgrace to Rome. But his mother's friend, Antonia, still protected him. She lent him a sum sufficient to discharge his debt to the imperial treasury,
and Agrippa was re-instated in the favor of Tiberius. The emperor recommended him to attach himself to the person of his grandson, the younger Tiberius; but the Jewish prince, with better fortune or judgment, preferred that of Caius Caligula. In this state of advancement, he borrowed a million drachms of Thallus, a Samaritan freedman of Caesar, and repaid his debt to Antonia. Unfortunately, one day when he was riding with Caligula in a chariot, he expressed aloud his earnest petition to Providence, that Tiberius might speedily be removed, in order to make room for a more worthy successor. The speech was overheard by Eutychus, a freedman, the driver of the chariot. Eutychus, punished for a theft, hastened to revenge himself by laying a charge against his master. The dilatory Tiberius, according to his custom, postponed the examination of the accused, who remained in prison; till Agrippa, imprudently, or having forgot the whole affair, urged on the inquiry, and the fact was clearly proved. Tiberius was already offended at the court paid by Agrippa to the young Caius; and suddenly, in the public circus, commanded Macron, the captain of his guard, "to put that man in chains." Macron, surprised at the sudden change, delayed the execution of the command; till Tiberius returning to the same spot, he demanded against whom the order was directed. The emperor sternly pointed to Agrippa, and, notwithstanding his humble supplications, the heir of the Asmonean princes, clad as he was in the royal purple, was put in fetters, like a common malefactor. The day was excessively sultry, and a slave of Caligula passing by with a vessel of water, Agrippa entreated for a draught. The slave complied, and Agrippa promised that when he should be released from his chains, he would repay the kindness through his interest with Caligula—a promise, which, to his honor, he faithfully kept. Even in this fallen condition, Antonia did not desert the son of her friend Bernice, she obtained for him some mitigation of the discomforts and privations of his prison. At length his release arrived. Immediately on the death of Tiberius, Marsyas, his faithful freed slave, hastened to his master's dungeon, and communicated the joyful intelligence, saying in the Hebrew language, "the lion is dead." The centurion on guard inquired the cause of their rejoicing; and when he had extorted the informa-
tion from Agrippa, anxious to propitiate the favor of a prisoner, whose advancement he foresaw, he ordered his chains to be struck off, and invited him to supper. While they were at the table, a rumor reached the prison that Tiberius was still living. The affrighted centurion bitterly reproached Agrippa with betraying him into so serious a breach of discipline, and ordered him immediately to be reloaded with his chains. That night Agrippa passed in the most anxious state of suspense and apprehension. With the morning the news was confirmed, and shortly after, Caligula entered Rome in imperial state. On the very day of his entry, but for the prudence of Antonia, he would have commanded the release of his friend. A short time after he sent the order for his liberation, received him at his court, and conferred on him the vacant Tetrarchate of Philip, with the title of king. He presented him with a chain of gold, of the same weight as that of iron, with which he had been fettered.

Agrippa remained that year in Rome; during the next, the second of Caligula's reign, he arrived in Palestine with royal pomp, to take possession of his dignity. But if the good fortune of Agrippa excited the general wonder, it aroused the bitterest jealousy in the mind of Herodias, the wife of Herod the Tetrarch of Galilee. She saw the splendor of her husband eclipsed by the beggarly spendthrift, who, although her own brother, had been dependent on their charity. The evil passions of this woman were as fatal to the prosperity as to the virtue of Herod. Her insatiable and envious ambition would not allow him to rest, till he had obtained a royal title which should set him on a level with the upstart Agrippa. Herod, whose character is described as cool and crafty (he is designated in the Gospel as "that fox Herod"), was carried away by her perpetual urgency, and in an inauspicious hour, he undertook a journey to Rome, in order to solicit the title of king. Agrippa instantly dispatched a messenger to counterwork the intrigues and outbid the bribery of Herod. The messenger made such good speed as to arrive at Baiae before the tetrarch. Agrippa's letter to Caligula accused Herod of former intrigues with Sejanus, and secret intelligence with the Parthians. It charged him particularly with having laid up a great store of arms in case
of a revolt. Directly Herod appeared, the emperor closely questioned him upon the plain fact, whether he had furnished his palace with large quantities of warlike stores. The tetrarch could not deny the charge, and Caligula immediately deprived him of the Ethnarchate, which he added to the dominions of Agrippa, and ordered him into banishment. Lyons in Gaul was the place of his exile; and thus in the same remote province, two sons of the magnificent Herod were condemned to waste their inglorious lives by the summary sentence of the Roman emperor.

The death of Caligula was the signal for new commotions in Alexandria. The Jews attempted to recover their former rights. Claudius issued a temperate edict, favorable to the Jewish inhabitants of that city, and confirming their privileges. This was followed by a second general decree, which secured the freedom of religious worship to the Jews throughout the empire; at the same time they were admonished to behave with decency to the religions of other people. Under this decree the inhabitants of Dora were condemned by Petronius, for wantonly insulting a Jewish synagogue, by placing a statue of Claudius within its walls.

Agrippa returned to his kingdom in great splendor. He displayed the greatest respect for the national religion; he hung up in the temple the golden chain which Caligula had bestowed upon him as a memorial of the protection of Almighty Providence. He observed the Mosaic Law with great exactness; offered sacrifice every day, and abstained from every legal impurity. In all other respects Agrippa aimed at popularity; he remitted the house-tax of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Yet the sterner zealots looked on with jealousy; and while he was at Cesarea, one Simon assembled a number of the people, and accused him of violating the Law, probably on account of his fondness for theatrical exhibitions, and demanded his exclusion from the temple. Agrippa sent for him to Cesarea; placed him by his side in the public theater, and mildly inquired whether he saw any thing contrary to the Law. Simon was silent, upon which Agrippa dismissed him without molestation.

Unhappily, besides his splendor, munificence, and conformity
to the law, Agrippa sought other means of ingratiating himself with his Jewish subjects—the persecution of the unoffending Christians. He put to death James, the brother of St. John, and threw St. Peter into prison.

Having completed a reign of three years over the whole of Palestine, Agrippa ordered a splendid festival at Cesarea, in honor of the emperor. Multitudes of the highest rank flocked together from all quarters. On the second day of the spectacle, at the early dawn, the king entered the theater in a robe of silver, which glittered with the morning rays of the sun so as to dazzle the eyes of the whole assembly, and excite general admiration. Some of his flatterers set up a shout—"A present god." Agrippa did not repress the impious adulation which spread through the theater. At that moment he looked up, and saw an owl perched over his head, on a rope. The owl had once been to him a bird of good omen. While he was in chains at Rome, a fellow-prisoner, a German, had augured, from the appearance of one of these birds, his future splendid fortune; but he had added this solemn warning, that when he saw that bird again, at the height of his fortune, he would die within five days. The fatal omen, proceeds Josephus, pierced the heart of the king, and with deep melancholy he said: "Your god will soon suffer the common lot of mortality." He was immediately struck, in the language of the sacred volume, by an angel. He was seized with violent internal pains, and carried to his palace. There he lingered five days in extreme agony, being "eaten of worms," the cause of his intestinal disorder. He died in the forty-fourth year of his age, having reigned seven years over part of his dominions, three over the whole of Palestine.
CHAPTER IX.

THE ROMAN GOVERNORS.

At the decease of Herod Agrippa, his son, who bore the same name, was seventeen years old. He was considered too young to bear the burden of royalty, and Judea relapsed into a Roman province. Cassius Longinus was appointed to the presidency of Syria. Cuspius Fadus was sent as governor of Judea. Fadus administered his office with firmness. He found a civil war disturbing the district beyond the Jordan. The inhabitants of Perea, on some boundary dispute, had attacked the Philadelphians. Fadus seized three of the ring-leaders, executed one—named Hannibal—and banished the rest. The easy yoke of Agrippa had permitted the robbers, who perpetually rose up to waste this fertile country, to gain head. Fadus made them feel the vigor of the Roman arm; he cleared the whole country of their bands, and put to death Ptolemy, a noted captain, who had committed great excesses against the Idumeans and Arabians. Apprehending, it may seem, that the high-priest possessed too much independent authority, Fadus proceeded to revoke the edict of Vitellius, by which the custody of the pontifical robes had been surrendered. He commanded that they should be replaced in the garrison of Antouia, and Longinus appeared in Jerusalem with a considerable force, to overawe all resistance. The Jews appealed to the emperor, who, at the earnest entreaty of young Agrippa, issued an imperial mandate in favor of the Jews. At the same time Herod, King of Chalcis, petitioned and obtained the sovereignty over the temple, and the power of nominating the high-priest. He displaced Cantherus, who had regained the office, and appointed Joseph, son of Camith.

Before the recall of Fadus the peace of the country was disturbed by an impostor named Theudus, who called himself a prophet, and gained a great number of proselytes. Multitudes
thronged forth with all their possessions to the banks of the Jordan, which Theudas asserted that, like Joshua of old, he would divide in the midst, and carry them through in triumph. Fadus, with his usual vigilance, seized the imposter, cut off his head, and sent it to Jerusalem.

To Fadus succeeded Tiberius Alexander, an apostate Egyptian Jew, the son of Alexander, the Alabarch Alexandria, and nephew of the celebrated Philo. The only act recorded of his short government was the crucifixion of James and Simon, two sons of Judas, the Galilean, who had attempted to disseminate the dangerous doctrines of their father. Notwithstanding, however, the famine, by which the land was still afflicted, the seditious tenets of the Galilean rebels, and the government of an apostate, which must have been singularly odious to the zealous Jews, the provinces continued in peace until the arrival of Ventidius Cumanus, to supersede Alexander.

At this time Herod, King of Chalcis, died, having once more changed the high-priest, and substituted Ananias, son of Nebid, for Joseph, the son of Camith. He left sons, particularly Aristobulus, afterward appointed by Nero to the kingdom of Lesser Armenia; but the kingdom of Chalcis, and the sovereignty of the temple, were assigned to young Agrippa, who assumed the title of king.

During the government of Cumanus, the low and sullen murmurs which announced the approaching eruption of the dark volcano, now gathering its strength in Palestine, became more distinct. The people and the Roman soldiery began to display mutual animosity. To preserve the peace during the crowded festivals in Jerusalem, the Romans mounted a guard in the Antonia, and in the adjacent cloister. One of these soldiers, to show his contempt for the religious rites, indecently exposed his person. The furious populace not only vented their rage on the offender, but uttered the most violent reproaches against Cumanus himself. The governor immediately ordered his whole forces into the Antonia. The affrighted people fled; the narrow streets were choked, and twenty thousand perished. The sacrifice was suspended, and the whole city given up to wailing and lamentation.
In an evil hour for himself and his country, Jonathan, who had succeeded to the high-priesthood, exerted his influence to obtain the appointment of governor of Judea for Claudius Felix, brother of Pallas, the freed slave and all-powerful favorite of the emperor. According to Tacitus, who is quite at variance with the Jewish historian, Felix was already in Palestine, as independent governor in Samaria, where he had inflamed the civil commotions, and ought to have appeared with Cumanus as a criminal before the tribunal of Quadratus; but Quadratus dreading his interest at Rome, placed him by his own side on the seat of justice. Born a slave, Felix was magnificent in his profligacy. He had three wives, all of royal blood. One of these was the beautiful Drusilla, the daughter of King Agrippa I., whom, by the aid of Simon, a magician (by some, though improbably, supposed the Simon Magus of the Acts), he had seduced from her husband, Aziz, king of Emesa. Aziz had carried his complacency so far as to submit to circumcision in order to obtain the hand of Drusilla, who now gave up her religion to marry Felix. Felix administered the province with the authority of a king, and the disposition of a slave. Supported by the interest of Pallas, says Tacitus, he thought he might commit all crimes with impunity. The land was full of armed robbers, who wasted the country. Felix at first proceeded with vigor and severity against them, but afterward, for his private ends, entered into a confederacy with some of the most daring. The high-priest, Jonathan, assuming the privilege of a friend, like the Christian apostle, would reason with him on temperance and righteousness. His remonstrances, if at the time they produced the same effect, and made Felix tremble, were fatal to himself. Felix, weary with his importunity, entered into a secret conspiracy with some of the Sicarii, or assassins, the most extravagant of the school of Judas, the Galilean. These were men, some fanatics, some unprincipled desperadoes, who abused the precepts of the Mosaic Law, as authorizing the murder of all on whom they might affix the brand of hostility to their country and their God. Having bribed Dora, the intimate friend of Jonathan, through his means Felix sent a party of these wretches into the temple. With their daggers under their cloaks, they mingled with the
attendants of the high-priest. They pretended to join in the public worship, and suddenly struck dead the unsuspecting pontiff, who lay bleeding on the sacred pavement. From this period, says the indignant Josephus, God hated his guilty city, and disdaining any longer to dwell in his contaminated temple, brought the Romans to purify with fire the sins of the nation.

In the meantime Claudius died, having promoted Agrippa from the kingdom of Chalcis to the more extensive dominion, the Tetrarchate of Philip, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Paneas, to which were afterward added part of Galilee and Perea. On the whole, the government of Claudius was favorable to the race of Israel; but rather as subjects of his friend Agrippa, than as Jews. At one time he closed their synagogues, and expelled them from Rome; probably on account of some tumult caused by their persecutions of the Christians. Agrippa appointed Ismael, son of Fabi, to the pontificate, vacant since the death of Jonathan; though in this interval, probably, a kind of illegitimate authority had been resumed by that Ananias, son of Nebid, who had been sent in chains to Rome by Quadratus, and had been released through the influence of Agrippa. It was that Ananias who commanded St. Paul to be struck, when he was addressing the people. St. Paul either did not know, or did not recognize his doubtful title.

Up to this period, according to the representation, of the Jewish annalist, the pontificate had remained almost entirely uncontaminated by the general license and turbulence which distracted the nation. The priests were, in general, moderate and upright men, who had endeavored to maintain the peace of the city. Now the evil had penetrated into the sanctuary, and feuds rent the sacred family of Levi. A furious schism broke out between the chief-priests and the inferior priesthood. Each party collected a band of ruffians, and assailed each other with violent reproaches, and even with stones. Even the worst excesses of the Sicarii seem to have been authorized by the priesthood for their own purposes. The forty men who, with the connivance of the priests, bound themselves by a vow to assassinate St. Paul, if not of the fraternity, recognized the principles of that sanguinary crew. It was in Cesarea that
the event took place which led to the final rupture with Rome. This magnificent city had rapidly risen to a high degree of wealth and populousness. It was inhabited by two races, the Syrian Greeks, who were heathens, and the Jews. The two parties violently contended for the pre-eminence. The Jews insisted on the foundation of the city by Herod, their king, and on its occupying the site of the old Jewish town called the tower of Straton; the Greeks appealed to the statues and temples which Herod himself had erected, which clearly proved that Cesarea was intended for a pagan city. The feud became gradually more fierce; tumults and bloodshed disturbed the streets. The more aged and prudent of the Jews could not restrain their followers. The Jews were the more wealthy; but the Roman soldiery, chiefly levied in Syria, took part with their countrymen. The officers attempted, but in vain, to keep the peace; and when Felix himself came forth to disperse a party of Jews, who had got the better in an affray, they treated his authority with contempt. Felix commanded his troops to charge them. The soldiery were too glad to avail themselves of the signal for license; many of the Jews fell, many were seized, and some of the more opulent houses plundered. After the recall of Felix, a deputation of each party was sent to Rome to lay the whole case before the emperor. The Jews brought heavy charges against Felix, but the powerful protection of his brother, Pallas, who was high in favor with Nero, secured his impunity.

At this period King Agrippa resided in Jerusalem, in the palace of the Asmonean princes, which stood on the cliff of Mount Sion, toward the temple. In front of this was the Xystus, an open colonnade, which was connected by a bridge with the temple. Agrippa reared a lofty building in this palace, which commanded a beautiful prospect of the whole city, particularly of the temple courts. Reposing on his couch he might see the whole course of the religious ceremonies. The priesthood were indignant at the intrusion, and hastily ran up a wall, on the western side of their own court, by which they intercepted not merely the view of the king, but that of the Roman guard which was mounted in the outer western portico. Agrippa and Festus ordered the demolition of this wall. The
Jews demanded permission to appeal to Nero. Festus consented, and a deputation of ten, headed by Ismael, the high-priest, and Hilkiah, the keeper of the treasury, set off to Rome. There they obtained the interest of Poppea, the profligate empress of Nero, whom Josephus describes as devout, as if she had been inclined to the Jewish religion; if so, she was no creditable proselyte. Through her interest the wall was permitted to stand, but the high-priest and treasurer were detained at Rome. Agrippa seized the opportunity of appointing another high-priest, Joseph, named Cabi, son of Simon Cantherus. Soon after, he degraded Joseph, and appointed Annas, the fifth son of Annas, in Jewish estimation the happiest of men, for he himself had been high-priest, and had seen his five sons and his son-in-law, Caiphas, successively promoted to that dignity. Annas united himself to the sect of the Sadducees, if he did not inherit those doctrines from his father. The Sadducees were noted for their rigid administration of the Law; and while the place of the Roman governor was vacant, he seized the opportunity of putting to death James the Just, and others of the Christians, at the feast of the passover. But the act was unpopular, and Agrippa deprived him of the priesthood, and appointed Jesus, son of Damnai. Unhappily for this devoted country, the upright Festus died in Judea, and Albinus arrived as his successor. With the rapacious Albinus, everything became venal. At first he proceeded with severity against the robbers, but in a short time began to extort enormous ransoms for their freedom. This was but little better than to set a premium on robbery and assassination. In the meantime the taxes were increased, and the wasted country groaned under the heaviest burdens. Two men alone grew rich amid the general distress, the Roman governor and Ananias, formerly high-priest, who, keeping both Albinus and the high-priest under pay, committed all kinds of outrages, seizing the tithes of the inferior priesthood, who were again so reduced that many of them died of famine.

Agrippa, as if he foresaw the approaching danger, began to prepare a place of retreat. He enlarged the city of Cesarea Philippi ( Paneas), and called it Neronias; but his chief expenditure was made at Berytus, where he built a theater, and at
great cost provided for the most splendid exhibitions. He likewise distributed corn and oil; collected a noble gallery of statues, and copies from the antique; in short, he transferred to that city the chief splendor of his kingdom. Albinus aggravated the mischief. Having heard of his intended recall, he brought forth all the malefactors, who crowded the prisons, executed the most notorious, but allowed all the rest to pay their ransoms. Thus the prisons were empty, but the whole province filled with these desperate desperadoes.

Nothing was wanting to fill the measure of calamity which this fruitful and once happy land was to exhaust, but the nomination of a governor like Gessius Florus, who made the people look back with regret to the administration of the rapacious Albinus. Albinus at least dissembled his cruelties and exactions.

Cestius Gallus, a man of a congenial spirit, commanded in Syria. The fear of Florus, as long as Cestius remained in Syria, prevented the Jews from appealing to his tribunal; they would not have been suffered to arrive there in safety. But when Cestius, during the days preceding the passover, visited Jerusalem, three millions of suppliants, that is the whole population, assembled for the great annual feast, surrounded him, and entreated his interference. Florus stood by the side of Cestius, turning their complaints into ridicule. Cestius however, promised that he would use his interest with Florus, to treat them with greater moderation, and Florus, without further reproof, was permitted to escort his colleague in iniquity, on his way to Antioch, as far as Cesarea.

In the meantime wild and awful prodigies, thus the Jewish annalist relates, had filled the timid with apprehensions of the approaching desolation. But the blind and desperate multitude neglected all these signs of Almighty wrath. A comet, which had the appearance of a sword, hung above the city for a whole year. While the people were assembled at the feast of unleavened bread, at the sixth hour of the night, a sudden light, as bright as day, shone about the altar and the temple, and continued for about half an hour. A cow led forth to sacrifice, brought forth a calf. The inner gate on the eastern side of the temple was made of brass and of such immense weight, as to require twenty men to close it in the evening. It was fastened by strong
iron bolts, let into the stone door-posts. Suddenly this gate flew open, and it was with much difficulty that the assembled guard could close it. This the vulgar considered a good sign, as indicating that God had opened the gate of blessing, but the wise more sadly interpreted it as a manifest token of the insecurity of the temple, and that it prefigured the opening of the gate of the holy palace to the enemy. A few days after this festival, a still more incredible circumstance occurred. Such, says Josephus, as would appear a fable, had it not been attested by eye-witnesses, and justified by the subsequent events. Before sunset chariots and armed squadrons were seen in the heavens; they mingled, and formed in array, so as to seem to encircle the city in their rapid and terrific career. And on the pentecost, when the priests on duty entered by night into the temple, they said that they heard a movement and a noise, and presently the voice as it were of a great host, which said "Let us depart hence." But more alarming still, while the city was yet at peace and in prosperity, a countryman, named Jesus, son of Ananus, began suddenly to cry aloud in the temple, *A voice from the east! a voice from the west! a voice from the four winds! a voice against Jerusalem and the temple! a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides! a voice against the whole people! Day and night in the narrow streets of the city he went along repeating these words with a loud voice. Some of the leaders seized him and had him severely beaten. He uttered no remonstrance, no entreaty for mercy, he seemed entirely regardless about his own person, but still went on reiterating his fearful burden. The magistrates then apprehended him, and led him before Albinus, the Roman governor; there he was scourged till his bones could be seen, he uttered neither shriek of pain, nor prayer for mercy, but raising his sad and broken voice as loud as he could, at every blow he cried out, *Wo, wo, wo to Jerusalem.* Albinus demanded who he was, and whence he came? he answered not a word. The Roman at length supposing that he was mad, let him go. All the four years that intervened before the war, he paid no attention to any one, and never spoke, excepting the same words, *Wo, wo to Jerusalem.* He never cursed any one who struck him, nor thanked any one who gave him food. His only answer was the same melancholy presage. He was par-
particularly active during the festivals, and then with greater frequency, and still deeper voice, he cried, *Wo, wo to the city and to the temple.* At length, during the siege, he suddenly cried out, *Wo, wo to myself!* and was struck dead by a stone from a ballista.

It is not improbable that the prophecies of the approaching ruin of Jerusalem, disseminated by the Christians, might add to the general apprehension. Mingled as they were with the mass of the people, their distinct assurances, that their divine Teacher had foretold the speedy dissolution of the State, could scarcely remain unknown, especially when in obedience to the command of Christ, they abandoned Jerusalem in a body, and retreated to Pella, a town beyond the Jordan.

There was another sign, which might have given warning to the political sagacity or to the humanity of the Romans, upon the nature of the approaching conquest, as showing how immense a population they were thus driving to desperation, and what horrible carnage would be necessary, before they could finally subdue the rebellious province. When Cestius Gallus was at Jerusalem at the time of the passover, he inquired the number of Jews present from all quarters. The priests counted the lambs sacrificed, and found two hundred and fifty-five thousand six hundred. None but Jews and those free from legal impurities might sacrifice. Reckoning at a low average of ten to each lamb, the numbers were two million five hundred and fifty-six thousand. Josephus supposes that three millions would not have been an immoderate calculation.

The fatal flame finally broke out from the old feud at Cesarea. The decree of Nero had assigned the magistracy of that city to the Greeks. It happened that the Jews had a synagogue, the ground around which belonged to a Greek. For this spot the Jews offered a much higher price than it was worth. It was refused, and to annoy them as much as possible, the owner set up some mean shops and buildings upon it, and rendered the approach to the synagogue as narrow and difficult as he could. The more hot-headed of the Jewish youth interrupted the workmen. The men of greater wealth and influence, and among them John, a publican, collected the large sum of eight talents, and sent it as a bribe to Florus, that he might interfere and stop the building. Florus received the money, made great
promises, and immediately left Cesarea for Sebaste, in order to leave full scope for the riot. On the following day, a Sabbath, while the Jews were crowding to the synagogue, a man overset an earthen vessel in the way, and began to sacrifice birds upon it. It has been conjectured that this was a peculiarly offensive jest. The heathens generally represented the origin of the Jews, as having been expelled from Egypt as a race of lepers, and since birds were the first sacrifice appointed in case of leprosy, it was most likely meant to gall the old wound. However that may be, the more violent Jews, furious at the affront, attacked the Greeks. The Greeks were already in arms, waiting for this signal for the affray. Jucundus, the governor, attempted in vain to appease the tumult, till at length, the Jews being worsted, took up the books of their Law and went away to Narbata, about seven and a half miles distance. John, the publican, with twelve of the highest rank, went to Samaria to Florus, entreated his assistance, and modestly reminded him of the eight talents he had received. Florus threw them into prison with every mark of indignity.

The news of this outrage and injustice spread to Jerusalem; the city was in a state of violent excitement. It was the deliberate purpose of Florus to drive the people to insurrection, both that all inquiry into his former oppressions might be drowned by the din of war; and that he might have better opportunities for plunder; he seized this critical moment to demand seventeen talents from the sacred treasury under pretense of Cesar’s necessities. The people assembled around the temple with the loudest outcries. The name of Florus was passed from one to another with every epithet of hatred and contempt. Some carried about a basket, entreating alms for the poor beggar, Florus. Neglecting entirely the tumult in Cesarea, Florus advanced with all the force he could collect against Jerusalem. To his disappointment, the people, instead of maintaining their seditious demeanor, endeavored to excite his clemency by the most submissive and humiliating conduct. They crowded forth, received his army with acclamations, and hailed the Procurator himself as a public benefactor. But Florus was too keen-sighted to be imposed upon by these unmerited marks of popularity. He chose to remember nothing but the insults and contumely
with which his name had been treated. He sent forward Capito with fifty horse, commanding the people to disperse; they obeyed, and, retreating to their houses, passed the night in trembling expectation of his vengeance.

Florus took up his quarters in the palace. In the morning his tribunal was erected before the gates. The high-priest and all the leaders of the people (probably the Sanhedrin) were summoned to attend. Florus demanded the surrender of all those who had insulted his name, and added, if the heads of the people delayed, he should proceed against them as responsible for the offense. The priests represented the general peaceful disposition of the city, and entreated his forbearance, throwing the blame on a few hot-headed youths, whom it was impossible to detect, as all had repented, and none would confess their guilt. At these words Florus broke out into the most violent fury; he gave the signal to his troops to plunder the upper market, and put to death all they met. The soldiers were but too ready instruments of his cruelty. They cleared the market, they broke into the houses, pillaged them, and put to death the inhabitants. The narrow streets were crowded with fugitives; many who escaped the sword were trampled to death. Unoffending citizens were seized, carried before Florus, scourged, and crucified. Of men, women, and children—for neither age nor sex were spared—there fell that day three thousand six hundred. Florus paid no regard to the sacred rights of Roman citizenship; some freemen of the first distinction—for many of the Jews had attained to the equestrian rank—were scourged and executed with their meaner countrymen. Agrippa was absent in Egypt, but his sister Bernice was in Jerusalem, in pursuance of a religious vow. She sent repeated messages to Florus, entreaty him to stay the fury of his soldiers; and, even herself, in her penitential attire, with her hair shorn, and naked feet, stood before his tribunal. The Roman was deaf to her entreaties; he had no ear but for the accounts of the wealth, which was brought in, every hour, in great masses. Even in the presence of Bernice, her miserable countrymen were scourged and hewn down. She, herself, was obliged to take refuge in one of the royal residences, and dared
not go to rest, lest the soldiers should force their way through her feeble guard.

The next day multitudes assembled in the scene of the massacre—the upper market-place—and among the wailings for the dead were heard but half-suppressed execrations and menaces against the cruel Florus. The chief heads of the city, with the priests, were in the greatest alarm; they tore their robes, rushed among the people, addressing them individually with the most earnest entreaties not again to provoke the anger of the governor. The populace, partly out of respect, partly out of fear, quietly dispersed.

Florus and his satellites alone were grieved at this pacification; he determined, if possible, to renew the profitable tumults. He sent for the priests and leaders, and commanded them, as the last proof of their submission, to go forth and receive, with the utmost cordiality, two cohorts of troops who were advancing from Cesarea. The priests assembled the people in the temple, made known the orders of Florus, and exhorted them to obedience. The more turbulent did not disguise their seditious intentions. Then all the priesthood, the Levites, the musicians and singers, in their sacred vestments, fell upon their knees and supplicated the people that they would not bring down certain ruin on the whole city, or give excuse to the rapacious plunderer to profane the holy place, and pillage the sacred treasures of God. The priests of the highest rank, with robes rent, and ashes on their heads, went about, calling on the most influential by name, and urging, with the most solemn vehemence, that however degrading the submission to the commands of Florus, it was a trifle sacrifice, if it might avert the desolation of the city, and all the horrors of war; that it would be the height of madness to allow themselves to be borne away by a few of the factious, or misguided populace, whom they, the rather, ought to overawe with their authority.

They succeeded in allaying, for the time, the enraged multitude, the more turbulent were silenced, as menaces were mingled with entreaties, and the chief-priests led forth the whole populace in peaceful array. The procession, in obedience to their admonitions, welcomed the cohorts with apparent
gladness. The cohorts, who had received their secret instructions from Florus, advanced in sullen silence, not condescending to return the greetings. The more violent Jews took fire, and broke out into audible imprecations against Florus. The troopers turned upon them, struck them with their staves; the horsemen rode over them, and trampled them down; many were bruised, many wounded. At the gates there was a violent rush to obtain entrance. Those behind pressed on those before; the horsemen came trampling on, and forcing their way through the dense mass; numbers fell, pushed down by their own people, or under the hoofs of the horses; their bodies were so crushed and mangled, that when they were taken up for burial, they could not be distinguished by their friends.

The soldiery still kept on advancing, and driving the multitude before them, or riding over them all through the suburb of Bezetha. Their object was to press forward and gain possession at the same time of the Antonia and the temple. At this moment Florus sallied from the palace, and attempted to force his way to that part of the castle which joined the temple, but without success, for the people blocked up the narrow streets so that his men could not cut their way through the living masses, and were themselves beaten down by stones and missiles from the roofs of the houses. They retreated to their quarters. The insurgents apprehending that the enemy might force their way from the Antonia to the temple, cut off the porticoes and galleries which connected them. This bold measure made Florus despair of succeeding in his main object, the plunder of the sacred treasury during the confusion. He suspended the attack, sent for the chief-priests and rulers, and proposed to evacuate the city, but offered to leave a guard of sufficient force to preserve the peace. They entreated him to leave only one cohort, and that, not the one which had been engaged against the people. On these terms Florus retired unmolested to Cesarea.

But Florus did not yet despair of inflaming the province and commencing an open war on more advantageous terms. He sent to his superior officer, Cestius Gallus, an artful representation of the tumults, in which all the blame was laid on the untractable and rebellious spirit of the Jews, whose unprovoked
and wanton insults on the Roman authority had called for instant and exemplary justice. The Jews on their part were not remiss. The rulers and Bernice sent the most touching accounts of the terrible rapacity and cruelty of Florus and his troops. Cestius summoned a council, in which it was resolved that he should repair in person to Jerusalem, to examine into the causes of the revolt, to punish the guilty, and confirm the Roman party in their allegiance.

In the meantime he sent forward Neopolitanus, a centurion, to prepare for his approach. At Jamnia, Neopolitanus met with Agrippa, then on his return from Egypt, and communicated to him the object of his mission. Before they left Jamnia, a deputation of the priesthood and heads of the people, appeared to congratulate Agrippa on his return. Agrippa artfully dissembled his compassion, and affected to reprove the turbulent conduct of his countrymen. About eight miles from Jerusalem, Neopolitanus and Agrippa were met by a more mournful procession. The people were preceded by the wives of those who had been slain, who, with wild shrieks and outcries, called on Agrippa for protection, and recounted to Neopolitanus all the miseries they had undergone from the cruelty of Florus. On the entrance of the king and the Roman into the city, they were led to the ruined market-place, and shown the shops that had been plundered, and the desolate houses where the inhabitants had been massacred. Neopolitanus having passed through the whole city and found it in profound peace, went up to the temple, paid his adorations there in the court of the Gentiles, exhorted the people to maintain their loyal demeanor, and returned to Cestius.

Agrippa, on his part, declined to countenance an embassy which they proposed to send to Nero. He assembled the whole multitude before the Xystus, and taking his seat in a lofty part of the palace, with Bernice by his side, commenced a long harangue. He enlarged on the prospect of a milder government than that which had recently afflicted them, when the real state of the province should have reached the ears of the emperor. He urged that their hopes of independence were vain; if they could not resist part of the Roman forces under Pompey, how could they expect to make any effectual struggle
when the Romans wielded the power of the whole universe; he adduced the example of all other nations, Greeks, Germans, Gauls, Africans, Asians, who were held in submission by a few Roman troops. Finally he dwelt on the horrors of war, and the danger of destruction which they would bring on the city and the holy place. He ended in tears, and his sister wept aloud. The people, with one voice, cried out that they had taken arms, not against the Romans, but against Florus. Agrippa replied that the refusal of tribute, and the demolition of the galleries which united the Antonia with the temple, were overt acts of war against Rome. He exhorted them forthwith to discharge their tribute, and repair the buildings. The people obeyed; the king and Bernice joined eagerly in urging forward the reconstruction of the porticoes. Chief persons were sent out to collect the arrears of tribute, and forty talents were speedily brought in. The war seemed at an end, and Agrippa entertained the lofty satisfaction of having, by his influence, averted inevitable ruin from his country, profanation and sacrilege from the temple of his God. The cornfields and vineyards of Judea might yet escape the trampling havoc of armed squadrons; the city at its festivals receive its gay and cheerful inhabitants; the temple resound with the uninterrupted music and psalmody of the whole united nation. Vain hope! the fire was only smothered, not extinct. In an evil moment, Agrippa attempted to persuade the people to render the usual allegiance to Florus, until the emperor should send another governor in his place. At the sound of that name all influence and authority fell, as it were, by magic, from the person of Agrippa. The populace rose, began to assail him first with insulting language, afterward with stones; they even ordered him to leave the city. Despairing at the same time of being of any further use, and indignant at this treatment, Agrippa, having sent some of the leaders to Florus, in order that he might nominate some of them to collect the tribute, retreated to his own kingdom, and left the ungrateful city to its fate.

Still the more prudent of the higher orders entertained hopes of quelling the tumult and averting the storm. But every day the breach became more inevitable. There was an important
fortress called Masada, which stood on the brow of a hill at no great distance from the Dead Sea, near the fertile spot called the gardens of Engaddi. It was a place of great strength, originally built by Jonathan, the Maccabean, and fortified at great expense by Herod. Some of the bolder and more zealous of the war party, contrived to obtain entrance into this post, put the Roman garrison to the sword, and openly unfolded the banner of revolt. In the city a still more decisive measure was taken. It had been the custom to receive the gifts and sacrifices of foreign potentates in the temple; and since the time of Julius Caesar, according to the policy of Rome, offerings had been regularly made in the name of the emperor, to the national God of the Hebrews. Eleazar, the son of Ananias, the chief-priest, who then commanded the guard in the temple, had the ambition of becoming the head of the war faction. He persuaded the lower orders of the officiating priests to reject the imperial offerings, and to make a regulation that from that time no foreigner should be allowed to sacrifice in the temple. This was a direct renunciation of allegiance. The Roman party, or rather that party which was anxious to preserve peace, made a strong but unavailing effort. The chief-priests, joined by the heads of the Pharisees, who as yet had maintained great influence over the heads of the populace, met in frequent council. They agreed to assemble the people in the quadrangle of the temple, which was before the great eastern gate. They addressed them in strong language, representing the honor and wealth that the temple had long obtained by the splendid donations of foreigners. That this act amounted to an open declaration of war; that it was not merely inhospitable, but impious, to preclude strangers from offering victims, and kneeling in worship before God; that they would consider such a decree an act of inhumanity against an individual, how much greater then must it be against the emperor and the whole Roman people. Above all, that they must take heed lest, by prohibiting others to sacrifice, they bring upon themselves the same prohibition, and thus, having as it were, outlawed the rest of the world, be themselves condemned to a more fatal outlawry. They then brought forward those who were thought best acquainted with the precedents and
customs of the temple worship. The learned in the law unanimously declared that it was the ancient and immemorial usage to receive the offerings of strangers. The violent party paid not the least attention to argument or remonstrance; the lower order of priests openly refused to officiate. The pacific party made one effort more; they sent one deputation, headed by Simon, son of Annanias, to Florus; another to Agrippa, headed by his relatives, Saul, Antipas, and Costobar, entreating them to march instantly on Jerusalem, or all would be lost. These were glad tidings to Florus, who saw, in quiet and fero-
cious delight, the progress of the mutiny. He did not conde-
scend to reply. Agrippa, still anxious to preserve the city and temple, sent immediately three thousand horse from Auranitus, Batanea, and Trachonitis, commanded by Darius, and Philip, the son of Jacimus.

On the arrival of these troops, the chiefs of the people made themselves masters of the upper city; the insurgents, under Eleazar, who now appeared openly as the head of the war-
faction, occupied Acra and the temple. The two parties began to assail each other with missiles and slings; bands occasion-
ally met, and fought hand to hand; the royal troops had the advantage in discipline, but the insurgents in courage. The temple was the great object of the struggle. For seven days affairs remained in this state, neither party obtaining any posi-
tive advantage. The following day was the festival of wood-
carrying, in which it was the custom for every individual among the Jews to contribute a certain supply of wood for the fire of the altar, which was never allowed to go out. The insur-
gents refused to admit the more distinguished of the oppo-
site party, while they themselves received a great accession of strength. With the meaner people, who were permitting to enter the temple, stole in a great number of the Zealots, called the Assassins. These desperadoes infused new daring, as well as strength. They made a vigorous attack on the upper city; the royal troops gave way; the victorious insurgents set fire to the house of Annanias, the chief-priest, to the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice, and to the public archives, in which the bonds of the debtors were registered. In this proceeding all the debtors eagerly took their side, and assisted in canceling
their debts by destroying the records. This measure was as politic as it was daring; it annihilated, at one blow, the influence of the wealthy, in whose power the poor people, before this—being generally their debtors—had entirely been. Some of the priests and heads of the people concealed themselves in the sewers; others, for the time more fortunate, secured the upper towers of the palace, and closed the gates. Among the latter were Ananias and his brother Hezekiah, and those who were obnoxious as having been deputed to Agrippa. Flushed with their victory, the insurgents retired to rest.

The next day they attempted a much more daring enterprise. A feeble garrison still held the important fortress, the Antonia, which, if better manned, might long have resisted the attacks of undisciplined soldiers. In two days the insurgents carried this citadel, put the garrison to the sword, and burned the keep. They then turned against the palace, where the miserable remains of the royal party had taken refuge. They divided themselves into four troops, and made a simultaneous attempt to scale the walls. The few defenders, distracted by these separate attacks, dared not venture on a sally, but contented themselves with striking down the assailants as they climbed singly up the battlements. Many of the insurgents fell. Night and day the conflict lasted; the besiegers expecting that the royal troops would speedily be reduced by famine—the besieged that their tumultuary assailants would grow weary of the attack.

In the meantime a new leader arose, who had hereditary claims on the ardent attachment of the Zealots. Judas, the Galilean, had been the first who had openly declared the impiety of owning any king but God, and had denounced the payment of tribute to Caesar, and all acknowledgment of foreign authority, as treason against the principles of the Mosaic constitution. Those doctrines, after having long fermented in secret, and openly betrayed themselves in local tumults, or temporary insurrections, were now espoused, as it were, by the whole nation. Judas himself, not long after his outset on his career, and his two elder sons, during the government of Tiberius Alexander, had fallen martyrs to their opinions. All eyes were now turned on Manahem, a younger son, who they hoped would maintain the lofty principles of his father with better success.
Manahem suddenly appeared in the conquered fortress of Masada, plundered the armory of Herod, and girt, with a resolute and confident band, approached Jerusalem. The gates flew open, and he entered the city as in royal pomp; he was admitted at once as the captain of their forces, and gave orders to press the siege of the palace. The palace still bravely held out; the assailants had no battering engines; and, when they attempted to mine the walls, they were beaten down by stones and javelins from above. They began therefore a mine at a considerable distance, and when they got under one of the towers, they carried in a great quantity of wood and set it on fire. The flames caught the timbers of the foundations, and the tower fell with a tremendous crash. The insurgents were already rushing to the assault, when they found themselves checked by a second wall, which the besiegers had built within. During this consternation of the assailants, the garrison sent to demand terms. The insurgents readily granted safe passage to the troops of Agrippa and to the Jews, who marched out, leaving the few Roman soldiers in the most desperate condition, without a hope of cutting their way through the countless multitudes of their assailants, and, even if they should submit to the disgrace of surrendering on conditions, almost certain that the conditions would not be kept. They retreated to the three strong towers which Herod had built, called Hippicos, Phasaelis, and Mariamne. Manahem and his followers broke into the palace, slew the few who had not made good their retreat, plundered the baggage, and set fire to the encampment.

The following morning Ananias was discovered, with his brother Hezekiah, in an aqueduct leading to the palace. They were put to death without remorse. The towers were surrounded so as to prevent any chance of escape. Manahem grew intoxicated with success; he already assumed the state of a king, and maintained his authority with the most unsparing breadth. The death of Ananias was an unpopular measure, but probably this, as well as other sanguinary acts, might have been pardoned; but Eleazar did not patiently endure that the supreme authority, for which he had so subtly plotted, and so resolutely dared, should thus be wrested at once from his hands. His partisans began to murmur, that they had only changed a
Roman tyrant for one home-born; that Manahem, though he had no claim or title to this superiority, had insolently gone up to worship in the temple, in royal attire, and surrounded by his guards. The populace rose on the side of Eleazar, and began to stone the adherents of Manahem. His followers fled. Many were slain outright, many in places of concealment. A few with Eleazar, the son of Jair, a relation of Manahem, made good their retreat to Masada. Manahem, himself was taken, having fled to a part of the city called Ophaeas; he was dragged forth and put to death with great cruelty. Many of his partisans, one Absalom in particular, shared his fate. Thus fell Manahem, who, if he had united discretion with his courage, might have given the insurgents what they felt the want of during the whole war—an acknowledged leader, who might have concentrated the resources, and consolidated the strength of the revolt.

Many of the populace had taken part against Manahem, in hopes that by his death the tumult might be suppressed; but this was not the intention of Eleazar and his party. They pressed vigorously the siege of the towers. At length Metilius, the Roman commander, found himself constrained to demand terms. The garrison offered to surrender on condition that their lives were spared; their arms and everything else were to be at the mercy of the conquerors. The treaty was accepted, and solemnly ratified. Gorion, the son of Nicomedes—Ananias, son of Sadoc—and Judas, son of Jonathan, on the part of the insurgents—swore to the execution of the conditions. Metilius led out his soldiers. While they retained their arms, no movement was made; directly they had piled their swords and bucklers, the followers of Eleazar fell upon and slew them, unresisting, and wildly appealing to the faith of the treaty. All fell, except Metilius, who had the un-Roman baseness (the word may be excused) to supplicate for mercy, and, even agreed to submit to circumcision. After this treacherous and horrid deed, the last faint hope of accommodation was quenched, as it were, in blood. The more moderate foresaw the inevitable ruin; they did not conceal their profound sorrow; the whole city, instead of resounding with triumph, was silent, dejected, and melan-
choly. It was an aggravation of the general terror and depression, that this atrocious massacre was perpetrated on a Sabbath.

On that very day and hour, by a coincidence which Josephus considered providential, a dreadful retribution for the crimes of their countrymen was, as it were, pre-acted from the Jews of Cesarea. The Greeks, now tolerably certain that to satiate their own animosity would be to please rather than offend the Romans, or perhaps under secret instructions from Florus, suddenly rose, and massacred the Jews almost to a man; in one hour twenty thousand, an incredible number, were said to have been killed. Not a Jew appeared in Cesarea. The few who fled were seized by Florus and sent to the galleys.

By this act the whole nation was driven to madness. Committed by the enormities of their brethren in Jerusalem—thus apparently proscribed everywhere else for slaughter—they determined, if mankind thus declared war upon them to wage unrelenting war upon mankind. They rose, surprised and laid waste all around the cities of Syria, Philadelphia, Sebouitis, Gerasa, Pella (where probably as yet the Christians had not taken refuge), and Scythopolis. They made a sudden descent upon Gadara, Hippo, and Gaulonitis; burned and destroyed many places, and advanced boldly against Cedasa, a Tyrian town, and the important places of Ptolemais and Gaba, and even against Cesarea itself. Sebaste and Ascalon offered no resistance—at least to their inroad on their territory; Antedon and Gaza they razed to the ground. The hamlets around these cities were pillaged, and an immense slaughter took place.

The Syrians took the alarm; and either for security, or out of old animosity, committed dreadful havoc on the Jewish inhabitants of their towns. Every city was, as it were, divided into two hostile camps. The great object was to anticipate the work of carnage. The days were passed in mutual slaughter, the nights in mutual dread. All agreed that the Jews were to be put to the sword without mercy—but how to treat the numerous proselytes to Judaism? Should they respect their Syrian blood, or punish their conformity to the Jewish faith? The fatal wealth of the Jews even then, as in after ages, was at once their pride and their ruin. Many were put to death from
the basest motives of plunder; and he who could display the
greatest heap of Jewish spoil, was considered a hero. The
streets were strewn with unburied bodies—aged men and in-
fan
ta women with the last covering of modesty torn off; the
whole province bewailing the present calamities, and forebod-
ing apprehensions of still worse.

So far the Jews had confined their attacks to foreign troops
or settlers; but making an inroad into the domain of Scythop-
olis, they met with unexpected resistance from the Jewish in-
habitants, who had taken arms with those of Syrian race, and
united with them in the defense of their common territory.

But the Scythopolitans mistrusted their fidelity, and, dreading
lest they should make common cause with the assailants during
the attack, desired them to retire with their families into an
adjacent grove. Suspecting no danger, the Jews at once com-
plied, and two days they remained in quiet encamped under the
trees. The third night the perfidious Scythopolitans attacked
them unawares, put them all to the sword, and seized all their
property. Thirteen thousand perished. This barbarous act
clearly proved to all the Jews, that no course remained but to
make common cause with their revolted countrymen.

A particular incident, which occurred during this massacre,
was well suited to spread from mouth to mouth, as a tale which
might excite the revengeful spirit of the most lukewarm, and
drive the most cautious to insurrection, as his last hope.
There was a certain Simon, the son of Saul, a Jew of distinc-
tion in Scythopolis, who, during the Jewish attack on the city,
had fought against his countrymen with the most consummate
bravery. He had slain many, and broken squadrons by his
single strength. On that fatal night, when the Scythopolitans
surrounded their Jewish brethren, he saw that all resistance to
such numbers was vain. He cried aloud—"Men of Scythop-
olis, I acknowledge the justice of the penalty I am about to
pay for having wielded arms against my countrymen, and put
my trust in you. The blood of my own brethren calls for
vengeance. It shall be satisfied; but no enemy, like you, shall
boast my death, or insult my fall." He then, with wild and
glaring eyes, looked round on his family. He had a wife,
children, and aged parents. He first seized his father by the
hoary hair, and pierced him with his sword; his mother next willingly bared her bosom to the blow. Then fell his wife and children, who crowded round him, eager to die by his hand rather than by that of the enemy. Last of all, he mounted upon their bodies, so as to make himself as conspicuous as possible, and drove his sword into his entrails.

The rest of the Grecian cities followed the example of Scythopolis. In Ascalon two thousand five hundred were put to the sword; in Ptolemais, two thousand, and as many thrown into prison. In Tyre many were killed; in Hippo and Gadara they put to death the most dangerous, and threw the rest whom they suspected into prison. Of the Syrian cities, Antioch, Sidon, and Apamea, alone showed real humanity, and forbade the death, or even the imprisonment, of their Jewish fellow-citizens. In these towns, indeed, the Jews were less numerous, and therefore less formidable; yet the exception is not the less honorable to the inhabitants. The citizens of Garaza not merely abstained from injuring those who remained in their city, but escorted those who chose to leave it into the mountains. The dominions of Agrippa were not without disturbance. Agrippa himself had gone to Antioch, to Cestius Gallus, and left the administration of his kingdom to Varus, a relation of Soemus, the Tetrarch of the district about Lebanon. It happened that Philip, the son of Jaconius, the commander of Agrippa's troops in Jerusalem, had escaped the massacre committed by the partisans of Manahem. He was concealed four days by some relatives, Babylonian Jews, then at Jerusalem. On the fifth, by putting on false hair, he escaped, and arrived at a village of his own, near the fortress of Gamala. There, while he was thinking of summoning his friends, he was seized with a fever, and as he lay ill, he sent letters to the children of Agrippa, and to Bernice, announcing his escape. Varus was jealous of the influence of Philip with Agrippa. He accused the bearer of forgery, and declared that Philip had certainly perished at Jerusalem. A second messenger arrived, and him, also, Varus made away with, for a report had reached him from Cesarea that Agrippa had been put to death by the Romans, on account of the revolt of his countrymen, and he began to entertain hopes, being of royal blood, that he might

11
secure to himself the vacant kingdom. He intercepted, therefore, all communications from Philip, and to ingratiate himself with the Cesareans, he put to death many Jews. He then determined to make an attack on Echbatana, or Bathura, a town probably in Batanea. With this view he sent twelve Jews of Cesarea to accuse them of meditating an insurrection against Agrippa, and to demand seventy of the chief citizens to answer the charge. The Cesarean Jews found the town perfectly quiet, and the seventy citizens were sent with the utmost readiness. Varus, without trial, ordered them all to be put to death, and advanced upon the town. One, however, had escaped, and gave the alarm. The inhabitants immediately seized their arms, leaving their great possessions in flocks and herds, and fled to the fortress of Gamala. Thence they sent to Philip, entreatling him to come to their assistance. On his arrival there was a general outcry that he should put himself at their head, and instantly lead them to battle against Varus and the Greeks of Cesarea. The more prudent Philip restrained their impetuosity, and by his influence preserved the peace of Gamala, and kept the whole district faithful to the Romans till the commencement of the war. Agrippa sent to supersede Varus; his great connections rendered it dangerous to inflict a more severe punishment.

The Alexandrian Jews were not exempt from the general calamities of the nation; but they are less worthy of compassion, as they seem in a great degree, by their own turbulence and rashness to have brought the persecution on their own heads. At a public assembly of the Alexandrians to dispatch an embassy to Nero, many of the Jews, whether to maintain a contested right or not, thronged into the amphitheater with the Greeks. An outcry immediately arose against the intruders, as enemies and spies. They were attacked; some were killed in their flight, others were taken and dragged along as if to be burnt alive. The whole Jewish population rose, and at first assailed the Greeks with stones; they then surrounded the amphitheater with lighted torches and threatened to burn the whole assembly to a man. They would have executed their purpose but for the immediate intervention of Tiberius Alexander, the governor—the same who had before governed in
Judea, and was by birth a Jew, the nephew of Philo. Alexander acted with humane consideration; he sent for the more influential of the Jews, ordered them to put an end to the affair, and warned them against bringing the Roman soldiery upon their heads. The more seditious mocked at his admonitions, and heaped personal abuse upon his name.

Alexander immediately ordered his troops out. Besides his two legions he had five thousand soldiers recently come from Lybia. He gave them leave not only to kill, but also to pillage and burn houses. The troops immediately forced the Delta, the quarter in which the Jews lived. The Jews made resistance; but once routed, the slaughter was horrible. The houses were stripped, or set on fire full of inhabitants, who had taken refuge in them; neither age nor sex were spared; the whole place was like a pool of blood; fifty thousand bodies were heaped up for burial. The few who remained sued for mercy. Alexander gave the signal for the cessation of the carnage; and such was the influence of the commander, and the discipline of the troops, that he was instantly obeyed by the soldiery. The most vindictive animosity of the Alexandrian populace was not so easily arrested; they could only be dragged by force from the dead bodies.

In Palestine one thing only was wanting to plunge the whole nation headlong into the revolt. They had already to stimulate them, on one hand, the remembrance of the galling oppression of their successive governors; the desperate conviction that they were already committed by the events in Jerusalem; the horrible proofs that in every city every man's hand was armed against them, and every heart steeled against their sufferings; on the other, the bold and lofty tenets of Judas, the Galilean, in whose sense their older sacred scriptures might be made to speak without much violence of interpretation; the universal belief in the immediate coming of the triumphant Messiah, which was so widely diffused as to be mentioned by Suetonius and by Tacitus as a great cause of the war; all these motives could not but operate in a most powerful manner. That which was wanting was a bright gleam of success, to break the gloom that lowered all around the horizon and animate the timid and desponding with the hope of possible vic-
tory. This was given by the imbecility of Cestius Gallus, the
prefect of Syria. Cestius had under his command the twelfth
legion, complete in its numbers, about four thousand two hun-
dred strong; besides these he had two thousand picked men;
six cohorts of foot, about two thousand five hundred, and four
troops of horse, about one thousand two hundred. Of allies,
he had from Antiochus two thousand horse and three thousand
foot, all archers; from Agrippa, as many horse, but less than
two thousand foot; Sohemus followed with four thousand more,
a third of which were horse, the rest archers. With this army
of nearly ten thousand Roman troops, and thirteen thousand
allies, Cestius advanced to Ptolemais. Many volunteers crowded
forth from the Syrian cities; and Agrippa and Sohemus at-
tended on his march. His first exploit was against the town
of Zebulon, called Andron, which divided the territory of
Ptolemais from the Jewish province of Upper Galilee. The
inhabitants fled to the mountains. The city, in which was
abundance of wealth and provisions, was pillaged by the
soldiers, and its noble buildings, said to be as handsome as
those of Tyre, Sidon, or Berytus, were burned to the ground.
After having wasted the adjacent district, Cestius returned to
Ptolemais. The Syrians, particularly those of Berytus, lingered
behind to plunder; the Jews rose upon them, and cut off about
two thousand.

Cestius advanced on Antipatris, dispersed a small band at
the tower of Apheck, and burned their camp. From Antipa-
tris he marched to Lydda, which was deserted, the inhabitants
having gone up to Jerusalem for the feast of tabernacles. Fifty
men, who came forth to meet him, were put to death; the city
burned. He then ascended the hills near Bethhoron, and en-
camped at Gabao, fifty stadia, rather more than six miles, from
Jerusalem. No sooner did the Jews hear that the war was ap-
proaching their gates than they flew to arms; they broke off
the festival; they paid no more respect to the Sabbath. It is
possible they called to mind that it was near this very place, in
the passes about Bethhoron, that, in the days of old, the Lord
cast down great stones on the Canaanites, when, as their history
declared, the sun stayed his course at the command of Joshua.
In the same mountain country, Judas, the Maccabean, had dis-
composed the immense army of Nicanor. Now they poured forth by thousands; they fell upon the Roman van, broke it, and rushing in, began so great a slaughter, that if the horse and some light troops had not made a circuit and charged them in the rear, the whole army of Cestius might have been destroyed. Notwithstanding this advantage, they retreated, having killed five hundred and fifteen, of which four hundred were horse. Their own loss was but twenty-two. Their most distinguished men in the battle were strangers; Monobazus and Cenedeus, relations of the king of Adiabene; Niger, of Perea; and Silas, a Babylonian, who had quitted the service of Agrippa. The Jews made good their retreat; and as the Romans ascended the hill of Bethhoron, Simon, son of Gioras, a man who will afterwards make an eminent figure in the history, hung on their rear, and cut off their stragglers, and beasts of burden, many of which he carried safe to the city. Cestius remained quiet for three days, the Jews keeping watch on the hills, waiting for his troops to move. At this juncture Agrippa determined to make a last effort to avert the war. He sent a deputation to persuade his countrymen to surrender, offering, in the name of Cestius, an amnesty for all that had passed. The leading insurgents dreaded the effect of these proposals on the people. They suddenly attacked the deputation, slew one, named Phebus, wounded the other, Borceus, with sticks and stones, and drove back those who appeared to take any interest in their fate. Cestius seized the opportunity of this dissension to advance on Jerusalem; he encamped at Scopas, within seven stadia, not quite a mile, to the north of the walls. Three days he suspended his attack, in hopes of receiving an offer of surrender; in the meantime his horse scoured the villages around for provision and forage; on the fourth the Romans advanced to the attack. The insurgents had not only to repel the enemy, but to watch a formidable party within the walls, whom they suspected of being lukewarm in the cause. They were struck with consternation at the order and discipline of the Roman army, as it came slowly on to the attack. They abandoned the outer walls, and fled into the temple and the other fortified places within the city. Cestius passed through the new suburb of Bezetha, and burned
it as he proceeded. He then advanced against the upper city, and encamped opposite to the palace. Had he then rushed at once to the assault, the city would have fallen. But, as Josephus asserts, with no great probability, the general, Tyrannius Priscus, and several of the commanders of cavalry, bribed by Florus to prolong the war, dissuaded him from the attack.

It is more probable that he entertained hopes of the surrender of the city by means of a powerful party within the walls, for many of the chief persons, at the persuasion of Ananus, the son of Jonathan, invited Cestius to continue the attack, and promised to open the gates. But the irresolute Cestius, either from anger or mistrust, delayed and lost time. The conspiracy was detected by the insurgents; Ananus and his followers were thrown headlong from the walls, the rest were assailed with stones and driven to their houses. The war faction manned all the towers, and beat down with missiles all who approached the walls. For five days the Romans made uncombined and desultory attacks; on the following day, Cestius with the flower of his army and his archers, made a vigorous assault on the north side of the temple. The Jews defended themselves from the cloisters with the most resolute valor, continually repulsed the enemy, till at length, galled by the shower of missiles, the Romans recoiled. But they retreated to make a more dangerous attack. They formed what was called a testudo; those in the van fixed their shields firmly against the wall, the next rank did the same, till the shields fitting over each other like the shell of a tortoise, formed an iron penthouse over their heads, under which the soldiers began to mine the walls, and attempted to set fire to the gates.

The besieged were in the most dreadful consternation; many endeavored secretly to make their escape from the devoted city. The peaceful party took courage, and began to muster in considerable force in order to open the gates and admit Cestius as their deliverer. A short time, an hour or less, might have made the Romans masters of the city—"But God, I conceive," says the Jewish historian, "on account of our sins, abhorring His own sanctuary, would not permit the war to end thus."

Cestius, ignorant of the state of affairs within the town, both of the despondency of the insurgents and the strength
of the Roman party, suddenly called off his troops, and, to the universal surprise, retreated entirely from the city. The insurgents passed at once from the lowest depression to the wildest courage; they sallied forth from all quarters, and cut off many stragglers, both horse and foot. Cestius passed the night in his former encampment, at Scopos (the watch-tower). On the following day he continued to retire. The farther he retreated, the more bold became the enemy; they harassed his rear; coming along cross-roads, they took his files in flank. The Romans dared not turn to make head; for they thought that countless multitudes were pouring behind them; and while the heavily-accoutred legionaries continued their slow and sullen march, the light-armed Jews flew about with the utmost rapidity—assaulting, retreating—now on one side, now on the other—dashing down where they saw an opening, and starting off when they met resistance. The road was strewn with the dead—every one who, for an instant, quitted the ranks, was cut off. Nor did the loss fall only on the common soldiers. Priscus, the captain of the sixth legion, Longinus, a tribune, and Æmilius, a prefect of horse, were slain, till at length, with great loss of men, and still more of baggage and munitions, the army reached its former quarters at Gabao. There, with his usual irresolution, Cestius lost two days in inactivity; the third day, when he saw the whole country in arms, and the Jews swarming on all the heights, he determined on retreat.

That he might retire with greater expedition, he commanded the soldiers to throw away everything that might impede their march. All the mules and beasts of burden were killed, except those which bore arrows and the military engines; the latter, he apprehended, might be of future use, and dreaded lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. The Romans then entered the fatal pass down to Bethoron. The Jews, who had preserved some respect for their close and serried ranks while they were in the open plain, no sooner saw them entangled in the defile than they attacked them on all sides; some hastened to block up the outlet of the pass; some, from behind, drove them headlong down the ravine; at the end of the defile incalculable multitudes showered darts upon them, till the whole squadron seemed clouded over with mis-
siles. The legionaries stood wavering, uncertain how to act. The cavalry were in a still more perilous condition; they could not form in ranks; the steep sheer sides of the mountains were impracticable for their horses. At one moment they found themselves on the verge of frightful precipices, hanging over rugged, and, it seemed, bottomless ravines. Flight and resistance were alike hopeless; they began to utter wild cries of despair, and to groan aloud in the agony of their hearts; the shrill battle-cry of the Jews answered; their savage shouts of exultation and fury rang from rock to rock. The whole Roman army must have fallen, had not night come on, which enabled the greater part to make its way to Bethhoron, while the Jews crowned every hill, and blocked up every pass around.

Cestius, despairing of being able openly to force his way, began to think of securing his personal security by flight. He selected four hundred of his bravest men, distributed them about the defenses of the camp, with orders to mount guard, and in the morning to display all their ensigns, that the Jews might suppose the whole army was still stationary. He then retreated in silence thirty stadia, not quite four miles. At the break of day the Jews discovered that the camp was deserted. Enraged at the maneuver, they rushed to the assault, and slew the four hundred to a man. They then pursued Cestius with the utmost rapidity. The Romans, who had got the start of several hours during the night, hastened their retreat, which bore every appearance of a rout. All the military engines, the catapults, battering-rams used in besieging cities, were abandoned, and fell into the hands of the Jews, who afterward employed them with dreadful effect against their former masters. The conquerors continued the pursuit as far as Antipatris, and at length finding that they could not overtake them, they turned back to secure the engines, strip the dead, and collect their immense booty. With hymns of victory they re-entered the capital, having suffered hardly any loss on their own part, and having slain of the Romans and their allies five thousand three hundred foot, and three hundred and eighty horse. The Roman arms had not received so disgraceful an affront, nor suffered so great loss, since the defeat of Varus in the forests of Germany; and this not by a fierce and uncon-
queried people, among woods and morasses never before penetrated by civilized man; but in a province which had long patiently endured the Roman yoke, and had received for its sovereigns either native kings or foreign prefects, with the humblest submission to the imperial will.

CHAPTER X.

PREPARATION FOR THE WAR.

JUDEA was now in open rebellion against Rome. It was a mad and desperate revolt; for to declare war against Rome was to defy the whole force of the civilized world. The insurgents neither had, nor could hope for allies; the rest of the Roman provinces were in profound peace, and little likely to answer or follow the example of a people they despised, in assertion of their independence. In Europe the only unsubdued enemies of the Romans were the wild tribes in the North of Britain, or in the marshes of Germany. In Asia, the only independent kingdom, the Parthian, was not a State to make war of aggression. Philo, in his oratorical invective against Caligula, threw out hints of the formidable numbers of his countrymen in Babylonia, and of the multitudes who were scattered throughout almost all the cities in the eastern dominions of Rome. But the foreign Jews, though, as Josephus hints in one place, solicited by ambassadors, either took no interest in the fate of their countrymen, or were too sadly occupied in averting the storm of public detestation from their own heads, or in bewailing its consequences, in the unprovoked carnage of their own friends and families. They were trembling in the agony of personal apprehension, or gathering up for burial the bodies of their murdered countrymen.

The state of the country offered scarcely better grounds for any reasonable hope of permanent resistance. The fortified places were not all in the power of the insurgents; they had no
organized or disciplined force; no warlike engines except those captured from the enemy; no provisions of any kind for a long war. Worse than all, they were divided among themselves. In every city there was an interested, or a timid, or a prudent party, anxious to purchase peace at any cost. They had no acknowledged leader. The representative of the Herodian house, Agrippa, openly espoused the Roman party. The rest were either undistinguished as soldiers, or strangers, or robber chieftains. Their only trust was in their own stubborn patience and daring valor, in the stern fanaticism with which they looked upon themselves as the soldiers of their God, and in the wild hope that heaven would work some miraculous revolution in their favor.

Yet, however frantic and desperate the insurrection, why should the Jews alone be excluded from that generous sympathy, which is always awakened by the history of a people, throwing off the galling yoke of oppression, and manfully resisting to the utmost in assertion of their freedom? Surely, it ever people were justified in risking the peace of their country for liberty, the grinding tyranny of the successive Roman procurators, and the deliberate and systematic cruelties of Florus, were enough to have maddened a less high-spirited and intractable race into revolt. It is true that the war was carried on with unexampled atrocity; but on the other hand, insurrectionary warfare is not the best school for the humane virtues; and horrible oppression is apt to awaken the fiercer and more savage, not the loftier and nobler passions of our nature. And it must be borne in mind, that we have the history of the war, only on the authority of some brief passages in the Roman authors, and the narrative of one to whom, notwithstanding our respect for his abilities and virtues, it is impossible not to assign the appellation of renegade. Josephus, writing to conciliate the Romans both to his own person and to the miserable remnant of his people, must be received with some mistrust. He uniformly calls the more obstinate insurgents, who continued desperately faithful to that cause which he deserted, by the odious name of robbers; but it may be remembered that the Spanish guerrillas, who were called patriots in Loudon, were brigands in Paris. It is true that the resistance of many was
the result of the wildest fanaticism. But we must not forget in what religious and historical recollections the Jews had been nurtured. To say nothing of the earlier and miraculous period of their history, what precedents of hope were offered by the more recent legends of the daring and triumphant Maccabees. It is, moreover, true that the Son of Man had prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, and that the New Testament appears having been filled up in their rejection of Christ they were doomed to intimate that the measure of wickedness in the Jewish people from that time to inevitable ruin. But we must avoid the perilous notion of confounding the divine foreknowledge with the necessary causation of events. According to the first principles of the Mosaic constitution, national guilt leads to national ir-religion. But still the motives which actuated many in that fatal struggle, which led to the accomplishment of the divine predictions, may have been noble and generous. It was the national rejection of Christ, not the resistance to Rome, which was culpable. The Jew, though guilty of refusing to be a Christian, might still be a high minded and self-devoted patriot. Although we lament that the gentle and pacific virtues of Christianity did not spread more generally through the lovely and fertile region of Palestine, yet this is no reason why we should refuse our admiration to the bravery, or our deepest pity to the sufferings of the Jewish people. Let us not read the fate of the Holy City, in that unchristian temper, which prevailed during the dark ages, when every Jew was considered a personal enemy of Christ, and therefore a legitimate object of hatred and persecution, but rather in the spirit of Him, who, when he looked forward with prophetic foreknowledge to its desolation, nevertheless was seen "to weep over Jerusalem."

The astonishment of the Romans at the revolt of this comparatively small province, and at the news of the total defeat of a Roman perfect at the head of his legionaries, was not mingled with consternation. The emperor Nero was then in Achaia. The first intelligence of the affair was brought by Costobar and Saul, two brothers, related to the Herodian family, who, with Philip the son of Jaconus, the general of Agrippa, had made their escape from Jerusalem. The two former were dispatched at their own request, to the emperor, by Cestius,
who instructed them to lay the whole blame of the war on Florus. Nero, according to Josephus, affected to treat the affair lightly. He expressed great contempt for their revolt, but great anger at the misconduct of Cestius; yet he could not help betraying visible marks of disturbance and terror. The importance really attached to the affair may be judged by the selection of the most able and distinguished military commander in the empire. Vespasian had been bred to arms from his youth; he had served with great fame in the German wars; he had reduced the unknown island of Britain into a Roman province, and obtained the honors of a triumph, for the Emperor Claudius, without his own personal exertion or danger. Nero repressed his resentment against Vespasian, who was in disgrace for not having sufficiently admired the fine voice and style of singing of the theatrical emperor. He committed the province of Syria to his charge. With his characteristic dispatch, Vespasian immediately sent his son Titus to Alexandria to conduct the fifth and tenth legions; he himself traveled with all speed, by land, to Syria, and collected all the Roman troops, and forces from the neighboring tributary kings.

In the meantime the insurgent were not inactive. Some of the more prudent hastened, as Josephus says, to desert the sinking ship. Those who still Romanized, were brought over, some by persuasion, some by force. They called a general assembly in the temple, and proceeded to elect their governors and commanders. Their choice fell on Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Ananus the chief priest, who were invested with unlimited authority in the city. Eleazar, the son of Simon, who had taken so active a part in originating and conducting the first insurrection, and in the death a Manahem, was passed over. He was suspected, not without grounds, of aiming at kingly power, for he went about attended by a body-guard of zealots. But Eleazar, probably as commanding within the temple, had made himself master of the spoil taken from the Romans, the military chest of Cestius, and a great part of the public treasures. In a short time, the want of money, and his extreme subtlety, won over the multitude, and all the real authority fell into his hands. To the other districts they sent the men whom they could best trust for courage and fidelity to their cause.
Preparation for the War.

To Idumea, Jesus, son of Saphus, one of the chief priests, and Eleazar, the son of Ananias, also a chief priest. Niger of Perea, who had hitherto commanded in that district, was directed to receive his orders from them. To Jericho was sent Joseph, son of Simon, to Perea, Manasseh, to Thamna, John the Essene; for even among these peaceful hermits were found men who would fight for their freedom. The toparchies of Lydda, Joppa and Emmaus, were added to his command. John, the son of Ananias, had the toparchies of Gophni and Acrabatene. Joseph, the son of Mathias, was intrusted with the command of upper Galilee, with particular charge of the strong city Gamala.

Galilee was the province on which the storm would first break, and the confidence of the insurgents in the ability and zeal of Joseph, the son of Mathias may be fairly estimated from their committing this important frontier to his charge. As long as the passes and hill fortresses of Galilee were defended, the southern region and Jerusalem itself might have time to organize their forces, and fortify their strongholds. Joseph, the son of Mathias, is better known as the celebrated Josephus, the historian. He was a man of illustrious race, lineally descended from a priestly family, the first of the twenty-four courses, an eminent distinction. By his mother's side he traced his genealogy up to the Asmonean princes. His father Mathias was of upright character, as well as of noble birth; he resided in Jerusalem, where the young Joseph grew up with a brother named Mathias, with great reputation for early intelligence and memory. At fourteen years old (he is his own biographer) he was so fond of letters that the chief priest used to meet at his father's house to put to him difficult questions of the Law. At sixteen he determined to acquaint himself with the three prevailing sects, those of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. For though he had led for some time a hardy, diligent, and studious life, he did not consider himself yet sufficiently acquainted with the character of each sect to decide which he should follow. Having heard that a certain Essene, named Banus, was living in the desert the life of a hermit, making his raiment from the trees, and his food from the wild fruits of the earth, practising cold ablutions at all seasons, and in short, us-
Preparation for the War.

... every means of mortification to increase his sanctity, Josephus, ambitious of emulating the fame of such an example of holy seclusion, joined him in his cell. But three years of this ascetic life tamed his zealous ambition, he grew weary of the desert, abandoned his great example of painful devotion, and returned to the city at the age of nineteen. There he joined the sect of the Pharisees. In his twenty-sixth year he undertook a voyage to Rome, in order to make interest in favor of certain priests, who had been sent there to answer some unimportant charge by Felix. They were friends of Josephus, and his zeal in their favor was heightened by hearing that, with religious attachment to the Law, they refused, when in prison, to eat any unclean food, but lived on figs and nuts. On his voyage he was shipwrecked, like St. Paul, and in great danger. His ship foundered in the Adriatic, six hundred of the crew and passengers were cast into the sea, eighty contrived to swim, and were taken up by a ship from Cyrene. They arrived at Decearchia (Puteoly), the usual landing place, and Joseph, making acquaintance with one Aliturus, an actor, a Jew by birth, and from his profession in high credit with the Empress Poppea, he obtained the release of the prisoners, as well as valuable presents from Poppea, and returned home. During all this time he had studied diligently; and made himself master of the Greek language, which few of his countrymen could write, still fewer speak with a correct pronunciation.

On his return to Jerusalem, he found affairs in the utmost confusion; great preparations were making for the war, and the insurgents were in high spirits. He united himself to the party who were for peace, and strongly urged the rashness and peril of the war; apprehensive that these unpopular doctrines had made him an object of suspicion to the more violent, and dreading lest he might be seized and put to death, he retired, after the battle of Antonia, into the inner temple. After the murder of Manahem, he stole forth from thence, and joined himself to a considerable body of the chief priests and leading Pharisees, who pretended to enter into the insurrectionary measures that they might save the lives of those who capitulated in the palace, yet looked with anxious eagerness for the
advance of Cestius, who, it was expected, would easily suppress the revolt.

On the disastrous retreat of Cestius, and the barbarous massacre of the Jews in the Syrian cities, many of the more peaceful party joined heart and hand with the insurgents, others pursued a more temporizing policy, and outwardly uniting in defensive measures, still cherished a secret inclination to submission. To which of these parties Joseph, the son of Mathias, belonged, it is not quite so easy to decide. Without his having acquired some confidence with the war faction, he would scarcely have been intrusted with the command in Galilee, yet he undertook that post with the approbation and at the request of the more moderate. Josephus, with his two coadjutors, Joazar, and Judas, hastened to their government. The province of Galilee was divided into two districts, called upper and lower Galilee; it contained all the territory which had belonged to the northern tribes of Naphtali, Zebulun, Issachar, and half Manasseh, reaching to the district of Ptolemais on the north, and Samaria on the south. The Jordan was the eastern limit. The people were a bold, hardy, and warlike race, considered somewhat barbarous by the inhabitants of the metropolis, and speaking a harsh and gutteral dialect of the Syro-Chaldaic language, which was the vernacular tongue of Palestine. The country was remarkably rich, abounding in pasture, corn land, and fruit trees of every description. The population was very great. They lived in cities, which were numerous and large, and in great open villages, the least of which, says Josephus, contained fifteen thousand inhabitants. In many of these cities there was a mingled population of Syrians and Jews, rarely on an amicable footing, often forming fierce and hostile factions. Sepphoris, was the capital, but that rank was disputed by Tiberias, on the sea of Galilee.

The measures of Josephus were prudent and conciliatory, yet by no means wanting in vigor and decision. His object was to promote union and organize the whole country on one regular system. He endeavored to acquire the confidence and attachment of the people. In order to interest and pledge all ranks to the common cause, as well as to secure the public peace, he appointed a sort of sanhedrin of seventy, and seven
judges in each city; all less important causes were to come before the latter tribunal; cases of murder, before himself and the sanhedrin. Yet he acknowledges that he kept the seventy about his person as a kind of hostages. In all respects he endeavored to maintain the strictest character for probity and justice, particularly labored in these lawless times to protect the chastity of the females from insult or outrage, refused all presents for the administration of justice, and declined all opportunities of enriching himself; though he confesses that he secured a considerable share in the confiscated property of the Syrian inhabitants in the cities, when they were expelled or massacred by the Jews. As he could not suppress the robbers, he obliged them as far as he could to give up their profession, and enrol themselves as regular troops. Having thus provided that the war, if commenced, should be that of an orderly and united people, not the desultory conflict of insurgents and robbers, he proceeded to fortify with the greatest strength and expedition the most defensible towns; among many others, Jotapata, Tarichea, Tiberias, Itaburium on Mount Tabor, and certain caves near the lake of Gennesareth. To the wealthy inhabitants of Sepphoris, who seemed to enter zealously into the cause, he granted the privilege of building their own fortifications, and gave permission to John, the son of Levi, afterward the celebrated John of Gischala, to strengthen that city. The others he superintended in person. He then raised an army of one hundred thousand men, armed them with weapons, obtained from all quarters, and proceeded to introduce the Roman discipline. He appointed centurions and decurions, regularly exercised the whole force in military maneuvers, and thus organized an effective army of sixty thousand foot, and according to the text of Josephus from which probably a cipher has fallen, two hundred and fifty horse. Besides these he had four thousand five hundred mercenaries, on which he placed his chief reliance, and a body-guard of six hundred.

Such were the general results of Joseph's administration, but all these vigorous and prudent measures were perpetually interrupted and rendered abortive, partly by the internal dissensions of the province, but chiefly by the machinations of his subtle enemy, John of Gischala. While Josephus invariably
represents himself as the most upright, incorruptible, and patriotic of men, no colors are too dark for the character of his antagonist. John of Gischala surpassed all men of high rank in craft and deceit, all of every class in wickedness. He was at first a poor adventurer, his poverty stood in the way of his advancement, but by his readiness in falsehood, and by the singular skill with which he glazed over his falsehoods so as to make all men believe them, he deceived his nearest friends; affecting humanity, yet most sanguinary for the slightest advantage; lofty in his ambition, but stooping to the basest means to obtain his end. He began as a single robber, but gradually collected a powerful and select banditti, for he would only admit men distinguished for strength, bravery, or warlike skill. His force at length amounted to four thousand, and with these he long wasted Galilee. Such was the man who counterworked all the measures of Josephus, and inflamed the dissensions of the province, already too little disposed to lasting unions.

For though the cities of Galilee seen generally to have submitted to the administration of Joseph and his coadjutors, so as to permit their walls to be put in a state of defense, yet each had its separate interests and inclinations, and was distracted by violent factions. Sepphoris, though intrusted with building its own walls, and, as Josephus says in one place, hearty in the cause, yet inclined to the Roman party; the inhabitants had sworn fealty, and given hostages from the chief families of the city to Cestius, these were still at Cesarea. On the arrival of Josephus in his province, he found the territory of Sepphoris threatened with an attack by the rest of the Galileans on account of their dealings with the Romans. This danger was averted by Josephus, and the Sepphorites united, as was before said, in the common cause. Tiberius was distracted by three factions. This city belonged to Agrippa, and one faction, consisting of the more opulent and respectable burgthers, headed by Julius Capellus, were desirous of preserving their allegiance to the king. A second of the lowest class, headed by Jesus, son of Saphia, were clamorous for war. A third was headed by Justus, who afterward wrote a history of the war. Justus, according to his rival Josephus, only regarded his own interests. He had endeavored to excite a feud between Tiberius and Sep-
phoris, asserting that on account of the manifest defection of
the latter to the Roman party, Tiberias might justly be consid-
ered the capital of Galilee. He had meditated the attack on
the Sepphorite district, but as yet, had only carried his plun-
dering bands into the lands of Gadara, and Hippos. Josephus,
after settling affairs at Sepphoris, went to Bethmaaus, within
half a mile of Tiberias. He sent for the senate, who came
readily to parley with him; he opened his commission from
the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, and demanded the demolition of a
palace built by Herod the Tetrarch, and adorned with "graven
images" of living creatures. The party of Agrippa opposed
this measure; but the war faction, headed by Jesus, son of
Saphia, were ready for any work of destruction. Besides, they
were not a little tempted by the hope of plunder, for the roof
of the palace was gilded. They proceeded to plunder the fur-
niture, and then to burn the palace to the ground. Flushed with
their success they rose on the Syrians, massacred all they could
find, and at the same time seized the opportunity of revenging
themselves on all their fellow-citizens who had been their
enemies before the war.

Josephus seems to have been anxious to remain on terms
with Agrippa. He assumed great indignation at the plunder
of the palace, of which he had authorized the demolition, gath-
ered up the wrecks of the furniture, consisting of candlesticks
of Corinthian brass, royal tables, and uncoined silver, and com-
mitted them to the custody of Capellus, the head of Agrippa's
party. Josephus then proceeded to Gischala. At the com-
 mencement of the insurrection, John had rather inclined to the
Roman faction. Upon this the inhabitants of Gadara, Gebara,
Sogana, and other towns, had assaulted and burnt Gischala.
John, however, had rallied his forces, recovered the town, and
fortified it more strongly than before. As yet, John and Jo-
sephus were on good terms. Josephus admired the activity of
John, and John was anxious to obtain every possible advan-
tage from the governor of the province. He first proposed to
Josephus that he might be permitted to carry off large quanti-
ties of corn stored up by the Romans in upper Galilee; the sale
of this, he stated, would enable him to complete his fortifica-
tions. Josephus answered that he should keep that corn either
for the Romans, the owners (a suspicious answer), or for the use of the province intrusted to him by the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. John then demanded and obtained a monopoly of oil sold in Syria. For the Jews in the Syrian towns would not use the unclean oil prepared by the heathen, and were obliged to obtain it from their own country. John drove a thriving trade; for four attick drachms he bought four measures of oil, which he sold again at the same sum for half a measure. This money he employed in undermining the power of Josephus, and industriously propagated reports which accused him of intending to betray the province to the Romans. Whether or not the suspicions of John had any substantial grounds, strong circumstances combined to throw a shade on the popularity of Josephus. Certain youths of a village called Dabaritte, in the great plain, waylaid and plundered Ptolemy, the agent of King Agrippa. With their spoils, consisting of embroidered robes, silver vessels, and six hundred pieces of gold, they went to Josephus, then at Tarichea. Josephus rebuked them for the robbery, and committed the property to the custody of one of the chief citizens of Tarichea, to be restored to the owners. The robbers, deprived of their booty, raised loud outcries against the governor, whom they accused of being in treasonable league with the king. One hundred thousand armed men assembled (Josephus is somewhat prone to large numbers) and throughe the circus of Tarichea; some cried out to depose, some to burn him. With this intent they surrounded his house, all his friends, except four fled; Josephus suddenly awoke from sleep, he was neither confounded by the noise of his assailants, nor the desertion of his friends. He rent his robes, poured ashes on his head, with his hands behind him, and his sword suspended around his neck, went out to face the tumult. The Taricheans were moved with compassion; the ruder countrymen continued their clamor, ordered him to bring forth the plunder, and confess his treason. Josephus answered with an affrontery and readiness of falsehood which might have done credit to his mendacious rival, John of Gischala. "Men of Tarichea, ye are quite in error if ye suppose that I kept these treasures with any design of restoring them to king Agrippa. The fact is, that seeing the walls of your town in a ruinous and dismantled state, I have
kept them to be spent in fortifying your loyal city." This bold address threw the Terechians, to the number of forty thousand, on his side. The strangers, particularly those of Tiberias, continued the tumult for some time, but at length sullenly withdrew, with the exception of two thousand (six hundred) of the most desperate. These men, when Josephus retired again to rest, surrounded his house and threatened to break down the doors. Josephus had recourse to a stratagem, still more daring. He mounted the roof of the house, and making a sign that he wished to address them; he began with saying that from the height he could not distinguish their commands, but if they would depute some of their leaders, he was ready to treat with them. No sooner were these few admitted, than he ordered them to be dragged into the inner part of the house, and scourged till their bowels were laid open. The mob began to grow impatient, when the doors were opened, and their leaders turned out among them in this bloody and mangled state. The mob, supposing that he would not have ventured on such a step, without a great force concealed, dispersed in consternation.* The secret enemy of Josephus, John of Gischala, had prompted this outrage, but as there was no open breach between them, John, pretending to be ill, sent to demand permission to visit Tiberias, for the benefit of the warm baths in that city. There, partly by persuasion, partly by bribes, he induced the inhabitants to renounce their allegiance to the governor. Silas, who commanded in the city under Josephus, sent immediate intelligence of the state of affairs. Josephus traveled night and day, and suddenly appeared in Tiberias. John, pretending that he was confined to his bed, excused himself from pay-

* This transaction, as indeed the whole narrative of his administration in Galilee, is related with such extraordinary variations in the life of Josephus and in the history of the Jewish war, as to leave a very unfavorable impression, if not of the writer's veracity, at least of his accuracy. It is impossible to keep the same order of events, and in this affair the War gives the number of armed men at two thousand, the Life six hundred. In the former, those admitted into the house are called the more distinguished and the rulers, and are sent in to treat on terms of agreement. In the other, some of the men are sent in to receive the money which he was accused of appropriating. In the one, all those admitted are scourged; in the other, one ringleader who has his hand cut off and hung about his neck.
Preparation for the War.

The people of Tiberias in the circus. He had begun to address them, when he was suddenly interrupted by a loud outcry from the spectators; turning round, he saw a band of armed men, with their swords drawn, who were placed by John to assassinate him, he leaped from his rostrum, which was about six feet high, rushed to the beach, seized a boat, and with two of his followers pushed out into the lake and escaped.

His soldiers, in the meantime, attacked the band of John, but Josephus, apprehensive of a civil war, sent orders to his troops to abstain from bloodshed, and resisted all the urgent entreaties of his other Galilean friends, who were eager to make an example of the treacherous city. John fled to Gischala, where Josephus did not think it prudent to attack him, but contented himself with expelling those who espoused his party, from every city in Galilee.

In the meantime Sepphoris began again to waver. The inhabitants sent to Jesus, who commanded a noted troop of banditti, eight hundred strong, on the borders of Ptolemais, offering him a large sum to make war on Josephus. Jesus thought it more prudent to earn his wages by stratagem than by open force. He sent to request an interview with Josephus, that he might salute him, and immediately began his march with his whole troop. One of his followers, however, deserted, and put Josephus on his guard. Thus forewarned, Josephus proceeded to the interview, having occupied all the roads with his own forces, and gave orders that Jesus alone, and his immediate followers, should be admitted within the gates, which were to be closed immediately on their entrance. Jesus entered boldly, but Josephus instantly ordered him to throw down his arms, or he was a dead man. Trembling, he obeyed. Josephus took him apart, informed him that he was aware of his treacherous designs, but offered him pardon if he would repent and swear to be faithful to him in future. Jesus complied, and Josephus having severely threatened the Sepphorites, departed to quell new disturbances. On his way he encountered two officers of the king, from Trachonitis, who wished to join him with some horse; these men the Jews would have forced to submit to circumcision. Josephus interfered, and asserted the right of
every man to worship God according to his conscience. Gamala now demanded the presence of the indefatigable governor. After the departure of Philip, Agrippa's general, a certain Joseph, son of a female physician, persuaded the people to revolt. They forced some to enter into their views; others they put to death. They fortified the city, with the approbation of Josephus, and all Gaulonitis, a district which skirted Upper Galilee, followed their example. Gamala was now threatened by Æquiculus Modius; in the meantime, Neapolitanus, with some Roman troops, pushed toward Tiberias, and Æbutius, a decurion, advanced against Josephus, who lay at Simanias. Æbutius endeavored to draw him down to the plain, where his cavalry would have given him an advantage. Josephus continued on the hills, and Æbutius withdrew with some loss. Josephus then, in his turn, made an attack on some magazines of corn, which he carried off, quietly loading his camels and asses in the sight of Æbutius, who was fairly out-generated. Æquiculus' Modius failed in his attempt on Gamala.

John of Gischala, in the meantime, remained quiet in his citadel; but it was only because he was laying a train from a greater distance, which was to explode under the feet of his enemy. He sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan, son of Sisenna, to Simon, son of Gamaliel, at Jerusalem, to persuade the people that Josephus was forming a dangerous power in Galilee, and to demand his recall. Simon was a man of great character and weight, but ill-disposed to Josephus, and closely allied to John. By bribes they brought Ananus, the chief-priest, who at first espoused the cause of Josephus, and Jesus, the son of Gamala, into their party. They determined to act with caution, lest Josephus should advance with his numerous and devoted army against Jerusalem. Jonathan and Ananias, two learned and influential Pharisees, and Joazar and Simon, priests, were sent gradually to alienate the Galileans from their attachment to Josephus, and then either to put him to death, or bring him alive to Jerusalem. They had troops with them; John of Gischala received orders to render them every support, and Sepphoris, Gabara, and Tiberias, were to hold their troops in readiness at the command of John. Josephus got intelli-
gence of the plot through his father, and also, as he relates, through a remarkable dream, which warned him that he should remain in Galilee and fight against the Romans. In compliance with the earnest supplications of all the Galileans, who entreated him not to abandon them, he gave up his intention of submitting to the mandate, and withdrawing to Jerusalem. With eight thousand foot, and eighty horse, he posted himself at Chabolos, on the frontier of Ptolemais, under the pretext of making head against Placidus, who had begun to waste Galilee. Four of their cities, Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias, acknowledged the authority of the deputation from Jerusalem. The deputies, who had traveled secretly, and with expedition, in order to come on Josephus-unawares, finding him on his guard, still attempted to proceed by craft, rather than by force. They sent him a friendly letter, informing him that they were come to punish the subtle proceedings of his enemy, John, and to force him to obedience. Josephus kept the letter unopened to the evening, when he had a great banquet of his friends, to which he invited the messenger. He then secretly made himself master of its contents, and sealed it up again. He ordered the messenger twenty drachms, as a reward for having brought welcome intelligence. The messenger was delighted. He then plied him with wine, and offered him a drachm with every cup, till the man betrayed the whole plot. Josephus wrote back a friendly answer, excusing himself from attendance, on account of the necessity of watching Placidus. The deputies passed from place to place, and found almost every town in favor of Josephus, and enraged against John, and sent a more peremptory message, requiring his attendance at Gabara, to make good his charge against John of Gischala. Josephus expressed his readiness to wait upon them, but not at Gabara or Gischala, where he apprehended treachery. They determined to send messengers throughout Galilee to excite the malcontents. Josephus waylaid the roads from Gabara, seized all the messengers, and made himself master of all the letters. Upon this he surrounded Gabara with his own Galileans, and boldly entered the town. He first went to repose at an inn; his enemies seized the opportunity to raise the people against him, but failed. Josephus soon after made his appear-
ance in the assembly. The Galileans surrounded the hall with loud acclamations. John and his friends endeavored in vain to make their escape. Josephus publicly read the letters which he had intercepted; the deputies were confounded, the people unanimous in their applause. The mob would willingly have fallen on the whole assembly, who were saved only by the merciful intervention of Josephus. Josephus then took horse, and rode away to Sogana. From thence he dispatched an embassy of one hundred men of distinction, escorted by an armed guard of five hundred, to Jerusalem.

The discomfited deputies retired to Tiberias, John to Gischala. At Tiberias they expected the city to declare in their favor, but Josephus suddenly made his appearance there. They received him with hypocritical courtesy, but requested him to withdraw, on account of the approaching Sabbath, lest there should be a disturbance. He retired to Tarichea; new scenes of trickery followed; the deputies, with Jesus and Justus, the turbulent leaders of Tiberias, endeavored to raise the town. Josephus again appeared with his soldiers; they got rid of him by a false alarm of Roman troops, seen in the neighborhood. Josephus counteracted this by another plot. They appointed a general fast, during which no one was to appear armed at the Proseuchae. Josephus and his friends concealed their daggers and breastplates under their robes, and when the enemy expected to find them defenseless they brandished their weapons. The deputation of Josephus, in the meantime, returned from Jerusalem with a favorable answer, confirming him in the government. He summoned an assembly of Galileans, who, in the same spirit, declared their ready and cheerful submission to his command. Emboldened by this, he began to act with greater vigor; he chastised the unruly inhabitants of Tiberias, got the deputies into his power, and sent them back to Jerusalem.

Tiberias attempted again to revolt, and surrender the city to the troops of Agrippa. Not having his forces in readiness, Josephus had recourse, as usual, to one of his stratagems. He seized two hundred and forty vessels, put not above four sailors in each, and commanded them to take their station in sight of the town, and then advanced boldly to the gates. The citizens, supposing the ships full of soldiers, surrendered at discretion.
Preparation for the War.

Josephus got the senators, to the number of six hundred, and two thousand of the people, within his power, and sent them to Tarichea. They denounced one Clitus, as the ringleader; he was carried to the shore to have his hands cut off; on his earnest application one was spared; the rest of the malcontents were pardoned. After this, Josephus surprised Gischala, and gave it up to pillage. Sephoris admitted the troops of Gallus into their city. Josephus, with his forces, scaled the walls, but was beaten back, and afterward defeated in the open plain. The troops of Agrippa soon after made their appearance, under Sylla; they were posted near Julias. Josephus endeavored, by a feigned flight, to betray them into an ambush, and might have succeeded, but his horse unfortunately plunged into a morass, and he was severely hurt in the wrist, and carried to Cepharorne. From thence, feverish symptoms appearing, he was removed to Tarichea.

Thus we have endeavored to wind up our weary way through the intricate politics of Galilee. It is difficult to conceive how all these intrigues, as well as all the masterly and effective warlike preparations of Josephus, could be carried on simultaneously, more particularly if all these transactions must be crowded into the winter of one year, 66-7. Besides the details of armies raised, armed, and exercised, cities fortified and strengthened, the civil administration set on a regular footing, by his own statement, Josephus twice took Sephoris, four times Tiberias, once Gadara, perhaps Gischala; counteracted the plots, defeated the troops, took and pardoned his subtle antagonist, John. Yet we must either, adhering to the usual chronology, admit this improbability, or throw back the whole events of the year which ended in the defeat of Cestius Gallus, into the year 65, and adopt almost as incredible a supposition, that, with most unusual inactivity, the Romans left the defeat of Cestius unreveenged, and allowed the Jews a whole year to organize their revolt, and strengthen their territory against invasion.

In the meantime, the insurgents in Jerusalem continued to press their preparations for war, with as great activity and less interruption, than those in Galilee. For though the timid and moderate groaned in heart to hear the din of war, the clatter-
ing of arms, the gymnasium echoing with the trampling march of all the youth in military exercise, and sadly foreboded the miseries and ruin to which the joyous city—the place of national festival, the rich, the beautiful, the holy city of Sion, was thus self-devoted; though they could not utter their prayers in the temple, nor make their offerings on the altar of Jehovah, without awful misgivings that before long the worship might be prescribed, and fire and sword lay waste the courts of the Lord's house; yet they were constrained to conceal the unpopular weakness, and tremble lest the fierce eye of the zealot or the assassin should detect the dangerous or unpatriotic emotion.

In the city, Ananus, the chief-priest, took the lead; arms were fabricated with the greatest expedition; the walls strengthened, military engines made, and stores of every kind laid in with the utmost care and expedition. The timid and moderate were not the only enemies with whom Ananus had to contend. The fierce Simon, the son of Gioras, has already appeared, at the head of his daring bandits, rendering good service during, the retreat of Cestius. In the toparchy of Acrabatene, he had betaken himself, not to the regular defense of the country, but to the most lawless ravage. He broke open and pillaged the houses of the opulent, and even inflicted personal violence, scourging and maltreating all who opposed him. Already men began to forebode both his daring ambition—which would not be content with less than the highest station—and his cruelty, which would scruple at no means of obtaining or securing advancement. Ananus sent some troops against him; Simon took refuge with men of a kindred spirit, who held Masada, and from thence he pursued his ravages in Idumea, till the magistrates of that district were constrained to raise an army, and set a guard in every village.

It was probably soon after the defeat of Cestius, that an unsuccessful expedition was attempted against Ascalon. This strong city, situated about sixty-five miles from Jerusalem, was weakly garrisoned by one cohort of foot and one troop of horse, under a commander named Antonius. The Jews marched out in great force under Niger of Perea, Silas the Babylonian, and John the Essene. Antonius, undismayed by the number and
the daring of the enemy, led out his horse. The Jewish soldiers were all infantry, undisciplined and unused to war. The first furious charge of the cavalry broke their van, which fell back on their main body, threw it into confusion, and the whole army was scattered in small squadrons over the field. The active Roman horse attacked first on one hand, then another, charging and riding round them, their mounted archers making dreadful havoc. Numbers were of no avail, or rather stood in the way of effective defense. The vast and confused multitude could not fight, and would not fly. Night put an end to the battle, or rather to the carnage. Ten thousand men, with Judas and Silas, fell; Niger escaped with the rest, to a small tower named Sille. The Jews were not cast down by this signal defeat. In the shortest time—not enough for the wounded to get healed—they assembled all their forces, and in still greater pride and indignation again marched out against Ascalon. They had learned as little prudence as humility. Antonius occupied the passes with an ambush, and suddenly surrounding the Jewish army with his horse, after scarcely any resistance, cut down eight thousand of them. Niger, who showed great courage in the retreat, again escaped, and got possession of a strong tower in a village called Bezedel. The Romans, who had not time for a regular siege, and yet were unwilling to allow so formidable a leader to escape, set fire to the wall. Having seen the tower in flames, they retreated in triumph. Niger, however, leaped down into a deep cavern which was under the tower, and when his sorrowing companions came, three days after, to find his body, that they might bury it, they heard his feeble voice calling them from below. The Jews were full of joy, and looked on the escape of their champion as little less than a miraculous proof of divine favor.
CHAPTER XI.

THE WAR COMMENCED.

With the early spring Vespasian appeared at Antioch, at the head of his powerful army. There Agrippa met him, with all his forces. Vespasian advanced to Ptolemais: he was met by a deputation from Sepphoris. The metropolis of Galilee, notwithstanding the authority and threats of Josephus, again made overtures to join the invader. Vespasian received the deputies with great courtesy, and sent them back with a strong body of one thousand horse and six thousand foot, to defend their city against any attack of the Jews. These troops, under the command of Placidus, took up their position towards the great plain, the foot within the city, the cavalry encamped without the walls. From these quarters they ravaged the surrounding country. Josephus made one strong effort to recover the capital, but was repulsed, and only the more exasperated the Romans, who spread fire and sword over the whole region; they slew all who were able to bear arms, the rest they carried off as slaves.

Titus, with expedition unusual during the winter season, sailed from Achaia to Alexandria. From thence he shipped his troops for Ptolemais, and joined his father. Vespasian was now at the head of three of the most distinguished legions of the Roman army—the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth. Besides these, he had twenty-three cohorts, five of them from Cesarea. Ten of these cohorts mustered one thousand men; the rest six hundred, with one hundred and fifty horse each. The allied force consisted of two thousand foot, all archers, and one thousand horse, furnished by Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus. Malchus, King of Arabia, sent one thousand horse and fifty thousand five hundred foot, the greatest part archers. The whole army amounted to sixty thousand regulars, horse
and foot, besides followers of the camp, who were also accustomed to military service, and could fight on occasion.

The campaign was now formally opened; the forces of Placidus overspread the whole country. Josephus attempted no resistance in the open field. The inhabitants had been directed to fly to the fortified cities; all who were not expeditious or fortunate enough to escape were cut off or seized. But these were the unwarlike part of the people; the more active and courageous had all crowded into the cities. The strongest of all these was Jotapata, where Josephus commanded in person. Placidus concluded that, if, by an unexpected attack, he could make himself master of that important post, the blow would so terrify the rest that they would immediately fall. He marched rapidly against it, but the garrison of Jotapata received timely information, and anticipated the attack by a daring sally, for which the Romans were entirely unprepared. The troops of Placidus were repulsed; many wounded but only seven killed, for the legionaries retreated in good order, and being entirely covered with their defensive armor, seldom received mortal wounds. The Jews were only light-armed troops, who rarely ventured to fight hand to hand, but annoyed the enemy at a distance with their javelins. It was an inspiring commencement of the campaign.

At length the vast army of Vespasian began to move. Josephus describes the order of march with the accuracy of an eye-witness. He must, indeed, have watched its stern and regular advance with the trembling curiosity of the sailor, who sees the tempest slowly gathering, which is about to burst, and perhaps wreck his weak and ill-appointed bark. The van was preceded by the light-armed allies and their archers, who scattered over the plain to observe any unexpected attack of the enemy, and to examine all the woods or thickets that might conceal an ambuscade. Then came part of the heavy-armed cavalry and infantry, followed by ten of each centenary, carrying the furniture and vessels of the camp. After these the pioneers, who were to straighten the winding roads, level the hills, or cut down the woods which might impede the march of the main army. Then came the baggage of the general and his officers, strongly guarded by cavalry. Next rode the gen-
eral, with a picked troop of foot, horse, and lancers. After him the horse of his own legion, for to each legion there were one hundred and twenty cavalry attached. Then the mules, which carried the military engines, and the besieging train. The lieutenant-generals, the commanders of cohorts, and the tribunes followed, each with a chosen band of men. Then the eagles, of which each legion had one. The standards were followed by the trumpeters. Behind came the phalanx itself in files six deep. A centurion, whose business it was to keep order, brought up the rear. Behind them were the servants with the baggage, on mules and other beasts of burden. After the Romans marched the mercenaries; a strong rear guard of light and heavy-armed foot, and many horse, closed the procession. The host passed on in its awful magnificence. Vespasian halted on the frontier of Galilee, as if to give the revolted province time for repentance, or to strike terror into the more obstinate insurgents. The measure was not without effect; no sooner did the army of Josephus, which was encamped at Garis, not far from Sepphoris, hear of this tremendous invasion, than, before they had seen the enemy, they dispersed on all sides, and Josephus, left almost alone, began to despair of the war. It was idle to think of opposing such an enemy with a few dispirited troops; he gathered, therefore, the wreck of his army and fled to Tiberias.

Vespasian marched against Gadara; the city was ungarrisoned, and the stern Roman proceeded to make a terrible example, and to wipe out the affront of Cestius in the blood of the enemy. The youth were put to the sword; not a man escaped; the city, with every village and hamlet in the neighborhood, was burned to the ground; the few villagers whose lives were spared were seized as slaves. The retreat of Josephus to Tiberias filled the city with consternation; they naturally construed it into a proof that he despaired of success. They were not wrong, for the manner in which the war was conducted made him consider resistance hopeless. Yet, though by his own account he could immediately have made terms with the Romans, he determined not to abandon the cause. He sent dispatches to Jerusalem, strongly worded, in which he exhorted them to make their immediate option, either of capit-
ulating at once, or sending a powerful and effective army into the field. Jotapata was the city in which the greater part, and those the bravest, of the Galilean warriors had taken refuge. It was strongly situated in a rugged mountainous district. The roads were scarcely practicable for infantry; quite impassable for horse. In four days the pioneers of Vespasian cut a practicable road through the mountains, and on the fifth Jotapata lay open to the army. Josephus contrived to throw himself into the city. This was made known to Vespasian by a deserter. He became more eager for the capture of the town when he heard that the general-in-chief was within the walls. It seemed as though the most prudent of the enemy had surrendered himself, as into a prison. Placidus and Æbutius, decurions of great merit, in whom Vespasian had great confidence, were sent with one thousand horse to surround the walls, and cut off all possibility of escape.

The next day, May 15, Vespasian advanced in person with his whole army. During all the day, till late in the evening, the defenders of Jotapata saw, from their lofty battlements, the slow and endless files emerging from the straight and level road which led to the city walls. It was in the strength of their position, their rugged and precipitous mountains, and their dark and impenetrable forests, that they had relied for their security. To their consternation they saw the woods falling before the ax of the pioneer like grain before the sickle of the reaper; the lofty crests of their mountains, as it were, bowing down their heads before the resistless invader; and nature itself giving up the custody of her unprotected fortress. Vespasian drew up his whole army on a hill, less than a mile to the north of the city; his object was to strike terror into the defenders by the display of his whole force, which lay encamped on the slope. He was not mistaken in the effect which it produced; the garrison cowered behind their walls; not a man ventured forth. The army, weary with their long march, did not advance to an immediate assault; they proceeded to draw a triple line of circumvallation round the city, and thus every chance of escape was cut off. This, however, instead of striking terror, drove the whole garrison to despair. They felt themselves cooped up like wild beasts in their lair; they had
no course left but to fight gallantly to the utmost; and their first consternation gave place to the fiercest valor, and the most stubborn resolution. The next day the attack began. The Jews, disdaining to be pent up within their walls, pitched their camp before the trenches, and went boldly forth to meet the enemy. Vespasian ordered the bowmen and slingers to gall them with their missiles, and himself, with the infantry, began to ascend a steep acclivity, which led to the least defensible part of the wall. Josephus saw the danger, and with the whole strength of the garrison made a resolute sally, and drove the assailants down the hill. Great valor was displayed on both sides. On one side fought desperation; on the other, the haughty shame of being defeated by such a foe. The Romans had skill in the use of their arms; the Jews made up what they wanted in practice and experience with reckless bravery. Night separated the combatants; yet the slaughter was not great on either side. The Romans lost thirteen killed, and many wounded; the Jews, seventeen killed, but six hundred wounded.

On the following day they again attacked the Romans. They had become more resolute, since they found they could make headway against their formidable enemies. Every morning added to the fury of the contest; for five days the Romans continued to make their assaults, and the Jews to sally forth or fight from the walls with equal courage; the Jews had now lost all their terror of the Roman prowess; while the Romans with their obstinate bravery, persisted in forcing their way to the walls.

Jotapata stood on the summit of a lofty hill, on three sides rising abruptly from the deep and impassable ravines which surround it. Looking down from the summit of the walls the eye could not discover the bottom of those frightful chasms. It was so embosomed in lofty mountains that it could not be seen till it was actually approached. It could only be entered on the north, where the end of the ridge sloped more gradually down; on this declivity the city was built; and Josephus had fortified this part with a very strong wall. Vespasian called a council of war. It was determined to raise an embankment (agger) against the most practicable part of the wall. The
whole army was sent out to provide materials. The neighboring mountains furnished vast quantities of stone and timber. In order to cover themselves from the javelins and arrows of the garrison, the assailants stretched a kind of roof, made with wattles of wicker work, over their palisades; under this penthouse they labored securely at their embankment. They worked in three divisions, one bringing earth, the others stones, or wood. The Jews were not idle, they hurled down immense stones and every kind of missile upon the workmen, which, although they did not do much damage, came thundering down over their heads with appalling noise, and caused some interruption to their labors.

Vespasian brought out his military engines, of which he had one hundred and sixty, in order to clear the walls of these troublesome assailants. The catapults began to discharge their hissing javelins, the ballistas heaved huge stones of enormous weight; the balls of fire and blazing arrows fell in showers. The Arab archers, the javelin men, and the slingers, at the same time, applied their terrible weapons, so that a considerable space of the wall was entirely cleared; not a man durst approach the battlements. But the Jews, who could not fight from above, began to attack them below. They stole out in small bands, like robbers, came secretly on the workmen, pulled down their breastworks, and struck at them as they stood naked and without armor, which they had pulled off to work with greater activity. If the besiegers fled, they instantly demolished the embankment, and set fire to the timbers and the wattles. Vespasian, perceiving that the intervals between the different breastworks, under which the separate parties were laboring, facilitated the attack, ordered one to be carried all around, and, uniting all the working parties, effectually prevented these destructive attacks.

The garrison at length beheld this vast embankment completed; it almost reached to the height of their battlements; it stood towering right opposite to them, as if another city had risen beside their own, and from the equal heights of their respective walls they were to join in deadly conflict for the mastery; Josephus hastily summoned his workmen, and gave orders that the city walls should be raised to a much greater
height. The workmen represented that it was impossible, as long as the wall was thus commanded by the enemy, to carry on their labor. Josephus was not baffled; he ordered tall stakes to be driven on the top of the wall, upon which he suspended hides of oxen newly killed. On this yielding curtain the stones fell dead; the other missiles glided off without damage; and even the fire darts were quenched by the moisture. Under this covering his men worked night and day till they had raised the wall twenty cubits, thirty-five feet. He likewise built a great number of towers upon the wall, and surrounded the whole with a strong battlement. The Romans, who thought themselves already masters of the city, were not a little discouraged, and were astonished at the skill and enterprise of the defenders; but Vespasian was only the more enraged at the obstinacy of the garrison, and the subtlety of the commander. For the defenders, become confident in the strength of their bulwarks, began to renew their former sallies; they fought in small bands, with the courage of regular troops, and all the tricks and cunning of robbers. Sometimes they crept out and carried off whatever they could lay their hands on; sometimes unperceived, set fire to the works. At length, Vespasian determined to turn the siege into a blockade; and, as he could not take the city by assault, to reduce it by famine. For, in a short time, the garrison would either desire to capitulate, or, if they were still obstinate in their resistance, would perish from want; at all events, if it was necessary to renew the attack, their men would be enfeebled by privation and suffering. Accordingly, he kept his troops in their quarters, and contented himself with strictly blockading every avenue to the city.

The besieged were very well supplied with grain, and every other necessary, excepting salt; but there was great want of water. There was no spring in the city; the inhabitants were obliged to be content with rain water. But during the summer it rarely if ever rains in that region, and the summer was the time of the siege, they began to be dreadfully dispirited, and to look forward in horrible apprehension to the time when their supply would entirely fail. Josephus commanded the water that remained to be rigidly measured out. This scanty doling out of that necessary refreshment to men parched with
fatigue, and many of them feverish with wounds, seemed worse even than absolute privation; the sense of want seemed to aggravate their thirst; many began to faint, as if already at the worst extremity of drought. The Romans saw what was going on within the walls; and, as the inhabitants crept along with their pitchers to a particular spot to receive their daily allotment of water, they pointed their engines at them, and struck them down as they passed.

But the fertile mind of Josephus had not exhausted its store of schemes; he ordered a great number of his men to steep their clothes in water and hang them up from the battlements, till the wall ran down with the dripping moisture. The Romans were confounded; for men who could waste so much water out of mere wantonness, could not possibly be in the wretched state of privation they had hoped. Vespasian, weary of thus blockading a city so amply supplied, returned to the assault, the mode of attack to which the Jews wished to drive him. For in their state it was better to perish at once by the sword, than by thirst and famine.

Josephus had another stratagem by which he kept up intelligence with those without the city. There was one narrow and rugged path, down the dry bed of a torrent, which led into the valley to the south. It was so dangerous and seemingly impracticable, that the Romans neglected to guard it. By this way the messengers of Josephus stole out of the city, bearing letters to and from the commander, and everything of small bulk of which the garrison stood in need. These men, in general, crept out on all fours, covered with the skins of beasts, that they might look like dogs. This went on for a long time, till at length the way was detected and closed up by the enemy.

At this perilous juncture, Josephus honestly confesses that he began to think of his own personal safety; and entered into deliberation with some of the chief leaders of the garrison, as to the means of effecting their escape. Their counsel transpired, and they were environed by all the people of the city, earnestly entreating them not to abandon the wretched town to the fury of the enraged enemy; for, so long as he and the garrison remained, there was some hope of resistance, directly they were gone, the city must inevitably fall, and merciless extermi-
nation was the only fate which they could expect. The crafty
general endeavored to persuade them, that his only object in
leaving the town, would be to provide more effectually for their
safety; that he would raise all Galilee, and so harass the Ro-
mans as to force them to break up the siege; that his presence
was of no real service, but only made Vespasian the more ob-
stinate in his determination to capture the town. This language
only the more inflamed the multitude; the women with their
infants in their arms began to wail, boys and old men fell at his
feet, and embracing them, besought him to remain and share
their fate. "Not," Josephus adds, "from any jealousy lest I
should save my life while theirs were in danger, but because
they entertained some hope of saving their own through my
means. As long as I remained they were safe."

Partly moved by compassion, partly feeling that if he did not
consent to their entreaties he might be detained by force,
Josephus determined to stand firm at his post, and seized the
moment of excitement to lead his force to a desperate attack.
"If then," he exclaimed, "there is no hope of safety, let us die
nobly, and leave a glorious example to posterity." The
bravest crowded round him, and some rushed suddenly forth,
drove in the Roman guard, and carried their inroads even into
the camp; they tore up the hides with which they had defended
their works, and set fire to the lines in many places. A second
and third day they continued these furious attacks, and for
many nights and days kept up, without being wearied, a per-
petual alarm.

Vespasian found the heavy-armed legionaries ill suited to
this desultory warfare; from the unwieldy weight of their
armor they could not, from their pride they would not,
retreat; and, when they turned again in any force, the light-
armed Jews in an instant disappeared within their walls. Be-
sides, the valor of the Jews was mere desperation; like a fierce
fire, if unresisted it would burn out. He ordered, therefore,
the regular troops to decline these attacks, and to repel the
sallies of the besieged with the Arabian archers and Syrian
slingers. The engines, in the meantime, never ceased dis-
charging their showers of bolts and stones; these sorely dis-
tressed the Jews, but sometimes, getting under the range of
the engines, they fiercely attacked the Romans, never sparing their lives, and new troops continually filling up the places of those who were fatigued or slain.

The Roman general found that he was, as it were, besieged in his turn; and as the embankment had now reached close to the wall, he ordered the battering ram to be advanced. This was the most formidable of all the besieging artillery, used in ancient warfare. It was an immense beam, headed with iron, in the shape of a ram’s head, from whence it took its name. It was suspended by cables from another beam, which was supported by strong tall posts; it was drawn back by a great number of men, and then driven forward with so tremendous a recoil that tower or wall could scarcely ever resist the shock, and the Romans were accustomed to see the bulwarks of the strongest cities crumble, as it were, to dust, the instant they could bring that irresistible machine to work. As the heavy ram slowly advanced towards the walls, covered with a penthouse of wattles and hides, both for the protection of the engine and the men who were to work it, the catapults and other engines, with the archers and slingers, were commanded to play with increasing activity, to sweep the walls, and distract the besieged. The battlements were entirely cleared of the defenders, who lay crouching below, not knowing what was about to happen. At the first blow of the ram the wall shook as if with an earthquake, and a wild cry rose from the besieged, as if the city were already taken. The engine battered at the same place, shock after shock; the wall already began to totter and crumble, when Josephus thought of a new expedient. He ordered a number of sacks to be filled with straw, and let down by ropes from the walls, to catch the hard blows of the ram, wherever it might strike. The Romans were perplexed, for their blows fell dead on this soft and yielding substance, and in their turn they fastened the blades of scythes on long poles and cut asunder the ropes which held the sacks. Then the engine again began, without interruption, its work, when behold, the Jews suddenly broke forth in three parties. They bore in their hands all the lighted combustibles they could find, they swept everything before them, and set fire to the engines, the wattles, and the palisades of the
besiegers. The Romans, confounded with this unexpected daring, and blinded by the fire and smoke driving in their faces, made less courageous defense than usual. The timbers of the embankment were all dry; a great quantity of bitumen, pitch, and even sulphur, had been used as cement. The conflagration spread with the greatest rapidity, and thus one hour destroyed the labors of many days.

The daring exploit of one man among the Jews, met with universal admiration; he was a Galilean of Saab, named Eleazar, son of Sameas. With an immense stone from the wall, he took such a steady aim that he struck off the iron head of the battering-ram; he then leaped down from the wall, secured his prize, and was carrying it back to the city. He was unarmed, and all the darts and arrows of the enemy were discharged at him. He was transfixed by five arrows. Still, however, he pressed on, regained the wall, stood boldly up, displaying his trophy in the sight of all—and then, still clinging to it with convulsive hands, fell down and expired. Two other Galileans, Netiras and Philip, of Ruma, greatly distinguished themselves, breaking through the ranks of the tenth legion, and driving in all who opposed them.

Josephus and the rest followed his heroic example, and all the engines and the breastwork of the fifth and of the tenth legions, which were driven in, were entirely consumed. Others followed the first rank of the assailants, and heaped the earth over what was destroyed, as fast as they could.

Still, towards the evening, the Romans again set up the ram, and began to batter the wall at the same place. But while Vespasian himself was directing the assault, he was wounded in the heel by a javelin from the wall—slightly, indeed, for the javelin was spent; but the greatest alarm spread through the army. Many gave up the attack to crowd around the general, who was bleeding. Titus showed the utmost solicitude; but Vespasian, suppressing the pain of his wound, speedily relieved their fears; and, to revenge the hurt of their commander, the whole army rushed on with a loud shout to the walls. All that night the awful conflict lasted. The Jews fell in great numbers, for though the missiles poured round them like hail, they would not abandon the walls, but continued heaving down
great stones, and flinging fiery combustibles on the wattles which protected those that worked the ram. They fought at disadvantage, for the light of their own fires made the walls as light as day, and the enemy were thus enabled to take steady aim, while the black engines lay in shadow in the distance, and they could not distinguish when the bolts were about to be discharged. The scorpions and catapults raged more and more fiercely, and swept the walls; the stones from the other engines shattered the pinnacles and the corners of the turrets, which kept falling with a fearful crash. The stones penetrated right through dense masses of men, making, as it were, a furrow as they passed, and reaching to the rearmost man. Strange stories are reported of the force of these engines; one man was struck on the head, and his skull hurled, as by a sling, to the distance of three stadia, about three furlongs. A pregnant woman was hit in the lower part, and the child hurled to the distance of half a stadium. It was a night of unexampled confusion. The clattering of bolts, the shouts of the army, the heavy fall of the huge stones, the thundering shocks of the battering-ram, were mingled with the frantic shrieks of women and the screams of children. The whole space about the walls was like a pool of blood, and men could mount the walls upon the bodies of their slaughtered friends. All this deafening din was echoed back and multiplied by the surrounding mountains. Many fell, many more were wounded, but till the morning watch the wall stood firm; it then yielded. Still, however, those who were well provided with defensive armor labored with all their might to form new buttresses and bulwarks, wherever a breach was threatened, before the machines, by which the enemy were to mount the breach, could be advanced.

Towards the morning Vespasian allowed his troops a short time for refreshment. In order to repel the besieged from the breach, he made the bravest of his horsemen dismount, and divided them into three parties. They were completely cased in armor, and had long pikes in their hands, to be ready to charge, instantly that the machines for mounting the breach were fixed. Behind these he stationed the flower of his infantry. The rest of the horse were extended all over the mountains which encircled the town, that none might make their
escape. Behind the foot were the archers, the slingers and engineers, and others with scaling ladders, which were to be applied to the part of the walls which were yet uninjured, to call off the attention of the defenders from the breach. When Josephus discovered this, he selected the old, the infirm, the fatigued and the wounded, to defend those parts of the wall. The bravest he chose to man the breach; six—of whom himself was one—formed the first line. He addressed them in a few words, enjoining them not to be alarmed at the shout of the legionaries; to kneel down and cover their heads with their bucklers, and retreat a little, till the bowmen had exhausted their quivers; when the Romans had fixed the mounting machines to leap down and fight upon them, remembering that they could now scarcely be thought to fight for safety, for of that they had no hope, but for a brave revenge; finally, to set before their eyes their fathers and their children massacred, their wives defiled, and anticipate a just vengeance for these, now inevitable, calamities.

While this was going on, the idle multitude, with the women and children, saw the city still surrounded by triple lines, for the Romans did not withdraw any part of their guards for the approaching conflict—the appalling force standing with their drawn swords before the breach—the whole mountain gleaming with the lances of the cavalry, and the Arabian archers with their bows already leveled—they were seized with universal consternation; one shrill and agonizing shriek ran through the whole city, as if the horrors of the capture were not only dreaded, but actually begun. Josephus, lest they should dispirit his men, ordered all the women to be locked up in the house, and threatened the rest with exemplary punishment if they raised any disturbance. He then took his post in the breach. At once the trumpets of the legions sounded, and the whole Roman host raised one terrific shout. At that instant the sun was darkened with clouds of arrows. The Jews closed their ears to the noise, and, shrouded under their bucklers, avoided the arrows. The moment that the mounting engines were fixed, the Jews were upon them before the assailants, fighting hand to hand with the most resolute courage; till at length the Romans, who could continually pour new
troops upon them, while the besieged had none to supply their place when weary, formed a solid phalanx, and moving on as one man, drove back the Galileans, and were already within the walls. Still Josephus had a last expedient. He had prepared an immense quantity of boiling oil, and at a signal this was poured down, vessels and all, which burst with the heat upon the ascending phalanx. The ranks were broken, and the men rolled down, writhing with agony; for the boiling oil, which kindles easily and cools slowly, trickled within their armor. They had not time to tear off their breastplates and bucklers before it had penetrated to the skin; but they leaped about and writhed with anguish, or plunged headlong from the bridges; or if they attempted to fly, were pierced through their backs, the only part which was without defensive armor. Yet the steady courage of the Romans was not thus to be repelled. However those behind might pity their suffering companions, they still pressed forward, and sternly rebuked them for standing in their way, and for impeding braver men in the performance of their duty. But the Jews had still another stratagem. They poured boiled fenugreek, a kind of herb, upon the planks, on which the enemy were mounting the breach, and made them so slippery that no one could gain a firm footing, either to ascend or retreat. Some fell on their faces, and were trampled down by those who followed; others rolled back upon the embankment. The Jews struck at them as they lay and groveled; or, the close combat being thus interrupted, discharged their javelins, and heaped darts and stones upon them. At length, about the evening, the general recalled his worsted men, with considerable loss in killed and wounded. Those of Jotapata lost six killed and three hundred wounded.

Vespasian found his troops rather exasperated than disheartened by this obstinate resistance; but yet it was necessary to proceed by more slow and cautious approaches. He gave orders that the embankment should be raised considerably; and that fifty towers should be built upon it, strongly girded with iron, both that the weight might make them more firm, and to secure them against fire. In these he placed his javelin men, his slingers, and archers, and the lighter engines for the discharge of the missiles. These, being concealed by the height
and the breastworks of their towers, might take deliberate aim at all who appeared upon the walls. This was a fatal measure to the Jews. The darts and arrows came pouring from above, so that they could not shift and avoid them. They could have no revenge against these invisible foes; for their own arrows could not reach to the height of the towers, and the towers, being solid and compact with iron, could not be set on fire. All they could do was to abandon their walls, and, when any party approached, make a rapid and desperate sally to beat them off. Thus their own loss was considerable—that of the Romans very slight. Still, however, they kept up a manful resistance, and constantly repelled the enemy from the walls.

But now the fall of a neighboring city was a dreadful omen, and a warning of their own approaching fate, to the defenders of Jotapata. A city called Japha, at no great distance, emboldened by the vigorous defense of Jotapata, closed its gates against the Romans. Vespasian detached Trajan, by some supposed to have been the father of the emperor, with two thousand foot and one thousand horse, to reduce the place. The city was strongly situated, and surrounded by a double wall. The men of Japha came boldly forth to meet the enemy; but this hardihood was their ruin. They were repulsed, and chased to the walls. The pursuers and the pursued entered pell-mell within the outer gates. Those who defended the inner wall instantly closed their gates, and shut out the flower of their own garrison as well as the enemy. The fugitives, hotly pursued, were cooped up between the two walls, and mowed down with horrible carnage. They rushed to the gates, called upon their fellow-citizens by name, and entreated them to open and let them in—but in vain; to admit them was to admit the conquering enemy. Totally disheartened, not only by the terror of the foe, but by the apparent treachery of their friends, they had no courage to resist; but either stood still to be tamely butchered, reproaching, as it were, those who looked down from the walls with their miserable end—or in desperate phrensy, rushed on each other's swords, or fell upon their own. And so they died, execrating their fellow-citizens rather than the enemy. In the flight and in the suburb twelve thousand perished; and those who had thus, either out of panic or miscalculating
prudence, betrayed their fellow-citizens, obtained only a brief respite; for Trajan, rightly concluding that the garrison must be greatly enfeebled by this loss, formed the blockade of the city, and with courtier-like reserve, as if he had already anticipated the imperial destiny of the Flavian family, sent dispatches to Vespasian to request that his son Titus might be detached to complete the victory. Titus speedily arrived with one thousand foot and five hundred horse. He took the command, and placing Trajan at the head of the left wing, and himself leading the right, gave orders for a general assault. No sooner had the soldiers fixed the scaling ladders, than the Galileans, after a feeble resistance, abandoned the walls. Titus and his soldiers leaped down into the city, and, the Galileans rallying, a furious conflict ensued; for the citizens blocked up the narrow streets and lanes, and fought desperately, while the women, from the roofs of the houses hurled down everything on which they could lay their hands. The battle lasted six hours, when all who could bear arms were slain; and the rest, old and young, part in the public streets, part in the houses, were indiscriminately put to the sword. The women alone and infants were reserved as slaves; fifteen thousand were killed, two thousand one hundred and thirty taken.

It is remarkable that the Samaritans, who are generally accused by the Jews as disclaiming their kindred in every period of danger, made common cause in this insurrection. Roman oppression must indeed have weighed heavily, if the indignation it excited could overpower the rooted animosity of Samaritan and Jew, and set them in arms together against the same enemy. The Samaritans had not openly joined the revolt, but stood prepared, with a great force, on the sacred mountain of Gerizim—for most of their strong cities were garrisoned by the Romans. Vespasian determined to anticipate and suppress the insurrectionary spirit which was manifestly brooding in the whole region. Cerealis was sent with six hundred horse and three thousand infantry, who suddenly surrounded the foot of the mountain. It was the height of summer, and the Samaritans, who had laid in no provisions, suffered grievously from the want of water; some actually died of thirst, others deserted to the Romans. As soon as Cerealis supposed that they were
sufficiently enfeebled, he gradually drew his forces up the side of the mountain, enclosing them in a narrower compass, as in the toils of a skillful hunter. He then sent to them to throw down their arms, and promised a general amnesty. On their refusal, he charged them with irresistible fury, and slew the whole, to the number of eleven thousand six hundred.

And now the end of Jopata drew near. For forty-seven days its gallant inhabitants had resisted all the discipline and courage of the whole Roman army, under their most skillful general; they had confronted bravery with bravery, and stratagem with stratagem. They were now worn out with watching, and fatigue, and wounds, and thirst. Their ranks were dreadfully thinned, and the over-wearied survivors had to fight all day and watch all night. A deserter found his way to the camp of Vespasian, and gave intelligence of the enfeebled state of the garrison, urging him to make an assault at the early dawn of morning, when the sentinels were apt to be found sleeping on their posts. Vespasian suspected the traitor, for nothing had been more striking during the siege than the fidelity of the Jews to their cause. One man who had been taken had endured the most horrible torments, and though burnt in many parts of his body, steadily refused to betray the state of the town, till at length he was crucified. Still the story bore marks of probability; and Vespasian, thinking that no stratagem could inflict great injury on his powerful army, prepared for the assault.

A thick morning mist enveloped the whole city, as at the appointed hour the Romans, with silent step approached the walls. Titus was the first to mount with Domitius Sabinus, a tribune, and a few soldiers of the fifteenth legion. They killed the sentinels, and stole quietly down into the city. Sextus Cerealis and Placidus followed with their troops. The citadel was surprised; it was broad day, yet the besieged, in the heavy sleep of fatigue, had not discovered that the enemy were within the walls; and even now, those who awoke saw nothing through the dim and blinding mist. But by this time the whole army was within the gates, and they were awakened to a horrible sense of their situation, by the commencement of the slaughter. The Romans remembered what they had suffered during the siege, and it was not a time when mercy and compassion, for-
eign to their usual character, could arrest the arm of vengeance. They charged furiously down from the citadel, hewing their way through the multitude, who, unable to defend themselves, stumbled and were crushed in the uneven ways; or were suffocated in the narrow lanes, or rolled headlong down the precipices. Nothing was to be seen but slaughter; nothing heard but the shrieks of the dying and the shouts of the conquerors. A few of the most hardy had gathered round Josephus, and mutually exhorted each other to self-destruction. As they could not slay the enemy, they would not be tamely slain by them. A great number fell by each other's hands. A few of the guard, who had at first been surprised, fled to a tower on the northern part of the wall, and made some resistance. At length they were surrounded, and gave themselves up to be quietly butchered. The Romans might have boasted that they had taken the city without the loss of a man, had not a centurion, named Antonius, been slain by stratagem. There were a great number of deep caverns under the city, in which many took refuge; one of these, being hotly pursued, entreated Antonius to reach his hand to him as a pledge of accepting his surrender, as well as to help him to clamber out. The incautious Roman stretched out his hand, the Jew instantly pierced him in the groin with a lance, and killed him.

That day all were put to the sword who appeared in the streets or houses; the next, the conquerors set themselves to search the caverns and underground passages, still slaughtering all the men, and sparing none but infants and women; one thousand two hundred captives were taken. During the siege and capture, forty thousand men fell. Vespasian gave orders that the city should be razed to the ground, and all the defenses burnt. Thus fell Jotapata, on the first day of Panemus (July).

But among all the dead the Romans searched in vain for the body of their obstinate and subtle enemy, Josephus. Vespasian himself expressed great anxiety for his capture, but all their search was baffled; and they began to fear that the wily chieftain had, after all, withdrawn himself from their vengeance. During the confusion of the massacre, Josephus had leaped down the shaft of a dry well, from the bottom of which a long cavern led off, entirely concealed from the sight of those above.
There Josephus unexpectedly found himself among forty of the most distinguished citizens of Jotapata, who had made this their hiding place, and furnished it with provisions for several days. He lay hid all the day, while the enemy were prowling about, and at night crept out and endeavored to find some way of escape from the city; but the Roman guards were too vigilant, and he was obliged to return to his lair. Two days he remained without detection, on the third, a woman who had been with those within the cavern, being captured, betrayed the secret. Vespasian immediately dispatched two tribunes, Paulinus, and Gallicanus, to induce Josephus, by a promise of his life, to surrender. Josephus, while he lay quiet in his cavern, was suddenly startled by hearing himself called on by name. It was the voice of the tribune, with the message of Vespasian. But Josephus had no great confidence in Roman mercy, and refused to come forth, till Vespasian sent another tribune, Nicador, with whom he had been well acquainted. Nicador stood at the mouth of the well, and enlarged on the natural generosity of the Romans, and their admiration of so gallant an enemy; he assured the suspicious Josephus, that Vespasian had no intention against his life, but was anxious to save a man who had displayed such noble self-devotion; and strongly urged that his delay would be of little use, as they might easily take him by force. He even added, that Vespasian would not have employed the friend of Josephus on such a mission, if he had any secret or treacherous design.

The Roman soldiers would have settled the affair in a much more summary manner; they were, with difficulty, restrained by their commander from throwing fire into the cavern, which would either have suffocated those within, or forced them to make their way out. At this moment Josephus remembered his dream, which had so precisely foretold all the calamities of the Jews, and all which was to happen to the future Emperor of Rome. Now, Josephus was an adept in the interpretation of dreams; as a priest he had deeply studied the prophecies of the Holy Books. He was suddenly, and doubtless, most opportunely seized with divine inspiration, which inwardly assured him that it was the will of Heaven that his country should fall, and Rome triumph, and he himself save his life. So,
if he passed over to the Roman party, he would do so not as a renegade, but as an obedient servant of God.

Saying this within himself, he consented to the terms of Nicander. But unhappily, a new difficulty occurred. However satisfactory to his own conscience this determination of humbly submitting to the will of God, the companions of Josephus were not religious enough to enter into his motives. They reproached him with the vulgar desire of saving his life, and cowardly defection from the laws of his country. They reminded him of his own eloquent exhortations to despise death in such a noble cause; exhortations with which so many had complied. They intimated somewhat plainly, that they would assist his failing patriotism, and enable him to obtain all the honors of martyrdom; in short, that their hands and swords were ready to enable him to die, not as a renegade, but as the chieftain of the Jews. At the same time they showed their zealous interest in his character by surrounding him with drawn swords, and threatened to put him to death if he stirred. Josephus was in great embarrassment, for he felt that it would be impious resistance to the will of God, if he should thus submit to die. He began (in his own words) to philosophize to them. It is not very probable, that at this perilous instant, Josephus should have the self-command to make, or his fierce assailants the patience to listen to, a long set speech; but his oration, as it stands in the history, is so curious, that we must insert the chief topics on which he dwelt.

"Why, my friends," he began, "should we be so eager for self-murder—why should we separate associates so dear to each other as the soul and body? It is noble to die in war, 'tis true; but according to the legitimate usage of war, by the sword of the enemy. If I had supplicated for mercy, I should have deserved to die; but if the Romans freely offer to spare us, why should we not spare ourselves? For what have we been fighting for all this time? To save our lives; and now we are to be such fools as to throw our lives away. It is noble, indeed, to die for our liberty—yes, in battle. That man is equally a coward who fears to die when death is necessary, and he who chooses to die when there is no necessity. Why do we refuse to surrender? In fear, lest the Romans should kill us; and
therefore we would kill ourselves. In fear, lest we be made
slaves? at present, indeed, we enjoy great liberty!" He then
entered at large into the common-place arguments against self-
murder; the disgrace of abandoning the helm when the bark
is in danger; the natural fondness of all animals for life, and
their aversion to death; above all, the sin of throwing away
the most precious gift of God. "Our bodies are mortal, and
made of perishable matter; but the soul is immortal; as a part
of the divinity it dwells within our bodies. He is base and
treachery who betrays that with which he is intrusted by
man; how much more he who basely gives up the precious
trust which God has confided to him. We punish slaves even
if they desert the service of a cruel master; yet we have no
scruple to desert the service of a good and merciful Deity.
Know ye not that those who depart this life according to the
laws of nature, and pay the debt when it is demanded by God,
obtain everlasting glory? Their houses and families prosper;
their souls remain pure and obedient, and pass away to the
holiest mansions in heaven, from whence, in the revolution of
ages, they again take up their dwelling in pure bodies. But
for those who have madly lifted their hands against their own
lives, the darkest pit of hell receives their souls, and God
avenges their crime upon their children. Hence God and our
wise lawgivers have enacted a severe punishment against the
suicide; his body is cast forth at sunset without burial; the
guilty hand which dared to separate the soul from the body is
cut off." (Here Josephus seems to have calculated on the ign-
orance of his audience, and boldly engraven a Grecian sup-
station on the Mosaic Law). He concluded with protesting
that he had no thought of deserting to the ranks of the Ro-
mans, but that he rather looked forward to their putting him
to death, in which case he should die gladly, having affixed the
stain of the basest treason on the enemy. But, unfortunately,
these subtle arguments, these sublime doctrines, and magnani-
mous sentiments, were lost on the dull ears of the Galileans.
They only became more enraged; they ran at him with their
swords; they reproached him with his cowardice; and every
one of them stood ready to plunge his sword to his heart. He
stood, like a wild beast at bay, constantly turning to the man
that was rushing at him; one he called familiarly by his name; another he looked sternly at, as if he were still his commander; here he clasped a hand, there he entreated; at all events determined to save his life, if possible. At length his distress so wrought upon them, that some, out of respect, some out of attachment, perhaps some out of contempt, dropped their swords; those or not a few, he says, fell out of their hands; others were quietly returned into their sheaths. The wily leader marked his time, and had a stratagem ready on the instant. "If we must die, then let us not die by our own, but by each other's hands. Let us cast lots, and thus fall one after another; for if the rest perish, it would be the deepest disgrace for me to survive." They all readily agreed, thinking that Josephus would inevitably share their fate. How the lots were cast we are not informed, or whether, among his other soldier-like and noble qualities, the worthy commander had some skill in sleight-of-hand; but it so happened (by good fortune or the will of Providence) that they all, one after another, as the lots came up, offered their breasts to the sword. Josephus found himself left, with one other, to the last. Not in the least inclined that the lot should fall on himself, and with a nice and scrupulous reluctance to imbrue his hands in the blood of a fellow-creature, Josephus persuaded this man to accept of the offered terms; and so they both came out together, leaving their dead friends in the cavern. Nicanor immediately led him to Vespasian. The Romans crowded from all parts to see this redoubted chieftain. A great rush and uproar ensued. Some were rejoicing at his capture, others threatening him with vengeance; all pressing forward to get a sight of him. Those who were at a distance cried out that he should be put to death; those near him were seized with admiration and remembrance of his noble actions. Not one of the officers, who had been most furious against him, but inclined to mercy directly they saw him, particularly Titus, who was struck with his dignified fortitude and vigor of manhood—he was thirty years old at the beginning of the war. The influence of Titus was of great weight with Vespasian to dispose him to lenity; the prisoner was ordered to be closely guarded, with the design that he might be sent to Nero at Rome.
Josephus instantly demanded to be admitted to a private conference with Vespasian. All, excepting Titus and two friends, retired. Josephus assumed at once the air and language of a prophet; he solemnly protested that nothing would have tempted him to avoid the death which became a noble Jew, but the conviction that he was a messenger of God, to announce to Vespasian that he and his son would speedily assume the imperial dignity: "Send me not to Nero; bind me, and keep me in chains, as your own prisoner; for soon wilt thou be the sovereign lord of earth and sea, and of the whole human race." Vespasian naturally mistrusted the adroit flatterer; but before long, permitted himself to be fully persuaded of his prophetic character. Josephus appealed to the inhabitants of Jotapata, whether he had not predicted the taking of the city, and their own capture at the end of forty-seven days. The captives, who could only have been women, as all the men were put to the sword, readily avouched his story; and the prophet, though still kept in chains was treated with great distinction, and received presents of raiment and other valuable donatives. This is a strange adventure. It is impossible not to admire the dexterity with which the historian extricates himself from all difficulties of situation, which, however highly colored, must have been one of the greatest peril. What secrets that dark cavern may have concealed, can never be known; but we should certainly have read with deep interest the account of these transactions, and indeed of the whole Galilean administration of Josephus, in the work of his rival, Justus, of Tiberias, unhappily lost. But, after every deduction for his love of the marvelous, and the natural inclination to paint highly where he was the hero of his own story, the valor and skill displayed in the defense of Jotapata, and the singular address with which he insinuated himself into the favor of Vespasian and his son, give a very high impression of the abilities of Josephus. As to the sincerity of his belief in his own inspiration, it would more easily have obtained credit, if he had displayed himself on other occasions, either more scrupulous or less addicted to stratagem. The prediction itself was far from requiring any great degree of political sagacity. It was impossible to suppose that the bloody Nero would be allowed to burden the throne
much longer; the imperial family was all but extinct. The empire would in all probability, fall to the lot of the boldest and most ambitious of the great military leaders, among whom Vespasian stood, if not confessedly the first, yet certainly with few competitors, in the first rank. It was therefore no very bold hazard to designate him as the future sovereign; at all events, and perhaps Josephus looked no further, the prediction served his immediate turn; yet the life of the prophet was secure, and his history, if ever written, might have preserved a prudent silence with regard to a prediction which the event had not justified.

The progress of this year's campaign was not according to the usual career of the Roman arms; a powerful army had marched to subdue the rebellious and insignificant province; two months had nearly elapsed, and they were little beyond the frontier. Now, however, they proceeded with greater rapidity. Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, from whence he marched along the coast to Cesarea. The Greek inhabitants of that city had now, by the massacre of their Jewish competitors, the whole region at their command. They threw open their gates, went forth to receive the Romans with the loudest and most sincere demonstrations of joy; for their vengeance was not yet satiated with Jewish blood. They sent a petition for the execution of Josephus; but Vespasian did not condescend to reply. He took possession of Cesarea, as pleasant winter-quarters, for two of his legions; for though very hot in summer, the climate of Cesarea was genial in winter; he fixed on Scythopolis for the station of the other legion, the fifteenth. Cestius Callus, during his flight, had abandoned Joppa. A strong body of insurgents had collected from all quarters, and taken possession of the town, where they had built a great number of barks, with which they made piratical excursions, and plundered all the rich merchant vessels which traded between Syria, Phœnecia, and Egypt. Vespasian sent a considerable force against this city. The troops reached Joppa by night; and, the walls being unguarded, entered at once. The inhabitants made no resistance, but fled to their ships, and moored for the night out of the reach of the enemy's darts and arrows.

Joppa is a bad harbor, the shore is steep and rugged, form-
ing a kind of semicircular bay, the extreme headlands of which approach each other. These headlands are formed by precipitous rocks and breakers, which extend far into the sea; when the north wind blows, there is a tremendous surge which makes the port more dangerous than the open sea. In the morning this wind, called by the sailors of Joppa the black north-wind, began to blow furiously; it dashed the ships against each other, or against the rocks. Some endeavored to push to sea against the swell; for they dreaded alike the lee-shore breakers and the enemy; but all these, unable to stem the rolling of the swell, foundered. The rest the wind drove toward the city, which the Romans would not let them enter. The shrieks of the men, the crashing of the vessels, made an awful din; many were drowned, many were seen swimming on broken pieces of wreck, many, to escape drowning, fell on their own swords. The whole shore was strewn with mutilated bodies; those who struggled to the beach were slain by the Romans; four thousand two hundred lives were lost. The Romans razed the city, but garrisoned the citadel, lest it should again become a nest of pirates.

At first vague rumors of the fall of Jotapata reached Jerusalem; not a man had escaped to bear the fatal intelligence. But bad tidings are apt to travel fast; and, as is usual, when the truth became known, it was accompanied with many circumstances of falsehood. Josephus was said to have fallen; and all Jerusalem united in lamenting his loss; his death was a public calamity. There was scarcely a family which had not to deplore some private affliction; they bewailed those who had been their guests (probably at the great festivals), or relations, or friends, or brothers; but all deplored Josephus. For thirty days, wailings were heard in the city; and musicians were hired to perform funeral chants. When, however, the news arrived that Josephus was not merely alive, but treated with distinction by Vespasian, sorrow gave place to the fiercest indignation. By some he was called a dastard, by others a traitor; his name was execrated; and to their motives for fierce and obstinate resistance to the Romans was added an eager desire to revenge themselves on the apostate. But they were yet left for some
time to exhale their fury in words, and display their bravery, not against the enemy, but against each other.

Vespasian—whether his army had been too severely handled at Jotapata, or whether, as is possible, he wished, in case any effort should be made at Rome to rid the world of the tyrant, to find himself at the head of a powerful and unbroken force—turned aside from the direct road of victory, and declined to advance upon the rebellious capital. He accepted the invitation of Agrippa, who earnestly solicited his presence, in order that he might make a splendid display of his devotion to the Roman cause, and, by fear of the Roman arms, quell the spirit of revolt in his own dominions. From Cesarea by the sea, he passed to Cesarea Philippi, where the army reposed for twenty days. Tarichea and Tiberias, though on the western coast of the Lake of Genesareth, belonged to the dominions of Agrippa. Evident symptoms of insurrection appeared in both these cities. Titus was ordered to concentrate all the forces on Scythopolis, which is at no great distance from Tiberias; there Vespasian met him, and they advanced to a place on an eminence, within half a mile of Tiberias, named Sennabris. From thence he sent forward a decurion, named Valerian, with fifty horse, to exhort the inhabitants to surrender; for the people were peaceably disposed, but forced into war by a small turbulent party. Valerian, when he came near the city, dismounted, that his troops might not appear like a body of skirmishers; but before he could utter a word, the insurgents, headed by Jesus, the son of Saphat, charged him with great fury. Valerian, though he might have easily dispersed them, had no orders to fight; and, astonished at the boldness of the Jews, fled on foot, with five of his companions. The captured horses were led in triumph into the city. The Senate of Tiberias took the alarm, and fled to the Roman camp; they entreated Vespasian not to act precipitately against a city almost entirely disposed to the Roman interest, and not to visit the crime of a few desperate insurgents on the unoffending people. Vespasian had given orders for the plunder of the city; but partly in compliance with their supplication, partly from respect for Agrippa, who trembled for the fate of one of the fairest towns in his dominions, he accepted their submission. The insurgents, under
Jesus, fled to Tarichea. The people opened their gates and received the Romans with acclamations. As the entrance to the city was too narrow for the army to march in, except in very slender files, Vespasian commanded part of the wall to be thrown down; but he strictly prohibited all plunder or outrage against the inhabitants; and, at the intervention of Agrippa, left the rest of the wall standing.

Not only the insurgents from Tiberias, but from all the adjacent country, assembled in Tarichea, which likewise stood south of Tiberias, on the shore of Geneareth. This beautiful lake has been compared by travelers with that of Geneva. In those days the shores were crowded with opulent towns which lay enibowered in the most luxuriant orchards, for which the whole district was celebrated. Such was the temperature of the climate that every kind of fruit-tree flourished in the highest perfection—nuts, which usually grow in a colder climate, with the palm of the sultry desert, and the fig and olive, which require a milder air. "Nature," says Josephus, "is, as it were, ambitious of bringing together the fruits of different climates, and there is a strife among the seasons of the year, each claiming this favorite country as their own; for not only do fruits of every species flourish, but continue to ripen; the grapes and figs for ten months, other kinds throughout the year. The water of the lake is remarkably salubrious, milder than that of fountains, and as cool as snow. It abounds in fish of several kinds, peculiar to its waters." This lake had been the chief scene of the miracles and preaching of Jesus Christ. Its blue and quiet waters were now to be broken by other barks than those of the humble fishermen who spread their nets upon its surface; and to reflect, instead of the multitudes who listened to the peaceful teacher, the armor of embattled squadrons and the glittering pride of the Roman eagles. Tarichea had been carefully fortified by Josephus; not indeed so strongly as the more important town of Tiberias, but still every part that was not washed by the lake had been surrounded with a strong wall. The inhabitants had a great number of vessels in their port, in which they might escape to the opposite shore, or, if necessary, fight for the naval command of the lake. The Romans pitched their camp under the walls; but while they were commencing their works,
Jesus, at the head of the Tiberians, made a vigorous sally, dispersed the workmen, and when the legionaries advanced in steady array, fled back without loss. The Romans drove a large party to their barks; the fugitives pushed out into the lake, but still remained within the range of missiles, cast anchor, and drawing up their barks, like a phalanx, began a regular battle with the enemy on land.

Vespasian heard that the Galileans were in great force on the plain before the city. He sent Titus with six hundred picked horse to disperse them. The numbers were so immense that Titus sent to demand further succors; but before they arrived, he had determined to charge the enemy. He addressed his men, exhorting them not to be dismayed by numbers, but to secure the victory before their fellow soldiers could come up to share their glory. He then put himself at their head, and his men were rather indignant than joyful at beholding Trajan at the head of four hundred horse, make his appearance in the field.

Vespasian had likewise sent Antonius Silas, with two thousand archers, to occupy the side of a hill opposite to the city, in order to divert those who were on the walls. Titus led the attack; the Jews made some resistance, but, overpowered by the long spears and the weight of the charging cavalry, gave way, and fled in disorder toward Tarichea. The cavalry pursued, making dreadful havoc, and endeavored to cut them off from the city. The fugitives made their way through by the mere weight of numbers. When they entered the city, a tremendous dissension arose. The inhabitants, anxious to preserve their property, and dismayed by their defeat, urged capitulation. The strangers steadily and fiercely refused compliance. The noise of the dissension reached the assailants, and Titus immediately cried out, "Now is the time for resolute attack, while they are distracted by civil discord." He leaped upon his horse, dashed into the lake, and, followed by his men, entered the city. Consternation seized the besieged; they stood still, not attempting resistance. Jesus and his insurgents, at the alarm, fled, with others, towards the lake, and came right upon the Romans. They were killed endeavoring to reach the shore; the inhabitants without resistance; the strangers fighting
gallantly, for the former still cherished a hope that their well
known peaceful disposition might obtain them mercy. At
length Titus, having punished the ringleaders, gave orders
that the carnage should cease. Those who had before fled to
the lake, when they saw the city taken, pushed out to sea as
far as possible. Titus sent information to his father of this
signal victory, and gave orders that vessels might instantly be
prepared to pursue the fugitives. When the vessels were ready,
Vespasian embarked some of his troops, and rowed into the
center of the lake. The poor Galileans in their light fishing
boats, could not withstand the heavy barks of the Romans, but
they rowed round them, and attacked them with stones—
feeble warfare—which only irritated the pursuers, for if thrown
from a distance they did no damage, only splashing the water
over the soldiers, or falling harmless from their iron cuirasses;
if those who threw them approached nearer, they could be hit
in their turn by the Roman arrows. All the shores were
occupied with hostile soldiers, and they were pursued into
every inlet and creek; some were transfixed with spears from
the high banks of the vessels, some were boarded and put to
the sword, the boats of others were crushed or swamped, and
the people drowned. If their heads rose as they were swim-
ning, they were hit with an arrow, or by the prow of the bark;
if they clung to the side of the enemy’s vessel, their hands and
heads were hewn off. The survivors were driven to shore,
where they met with no more mercy. Either before they
landed, or in the act of landing, they were cut down or pierced
through. The blue waters of the whole lake were tinged with
blood, and its clear surface exhaled for several days a fetid
stream. The shores were strewn with wrecks of boats and
swollen bodies that lay rotting in the sun, and infected the air,
till the conquerors themselves shrank from the effects of their
own barbarities. Here we must add to our bloody catalogue
the loss of six thousand lives.

These, however, were the acts of an exasperated soldiery
against enemies with arms in their hands. But Vespasian
tarnished his name forever, by an act at once of the most loath-
some cruelty and deliberate treachery. After the battle, his
tribunal was erected at Tarichea, and he sat in solemn judg-
ment on those of the strangers who had been taken captives, and had been separated from the inhabitants of the city. According to his apologist, Josephus, his friends encircled the seat of justice, and urged the necessity of putting an end to these desperate vagabonds, who, having no home, would only retreat to other cities, forcing them to take up arms. Vespasian, having made up his sanguinary resolution, was unwilling to terrify the inhabitants of Tarichea by commanding the massacre in their streets; he feared that it might excite insurrection; nor did he wish the whole city to be witness of his open violation of that faith which had been pledged when they surrendered. But his friends urged that every act was lawful against the Jews, and that right must give way to the expediency. The insurgents received an ambiguous assurance of amnesty, but were ordered to retreat from the city only by the road to Tiberias. The poor wretches had implicit reliance on Roman faith. The soldiers immediately seized and blockaded the road to Tiberias; not one was allowed to leave the suburbs. Vespasian in person pursued them into the stadium; he ordered one thousand two hundred of the aged and helpless to be instantly slain, and drafted off six thousand of the most able-bodied to be sent to Nero, who was employed in a mad scheme of digging through the Isthmus of Corinth. Thirty thousand four hundred were sold as slaves, besides those whom he bestowed on Agrippa, who sold his portion also. The greater part of these, if we may believe Josephus, were desperate and ferocious ruffians from Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Gadara, and Hippos, men who sought to stir up war, that they might escape the punishment of the crimes they had committed during peace. Had they been devils, it could not excuse the base treachery of Vespasian.

This terrible example appalled the whole of Galilee, and most of the towns capitulated at once to avoid the same barbarities; three cities alone still defied the conqueror, Gamala, Gischala, and Itabyrium, the city which Josephus had fortified on Mount Tabor. Though the inhabitants of Gamala, situated on the side of the lake of Genesareth, opposite to Tarichea, at no great distance from the shore, might have inhaled the tainted gales, which brought across the waters the noisome and
pestilential odors of the late massacre, though probably some single fugitive may have escaped, and hastening to the only city of refuge, have related the dreadful particulars of those still more revolting deeds which had been perpetrated in the stadium of Tarichea; yet Gamala, proud in the impregnable strength of its situation, peremptorily refused submission. Gamala was the chief city of Lower Gaulonitis, and belonged to the government of Agrippa. It was even more inaccessible than Jotapata. It stood on a long and rugged ledge of mountains, which sloped downward at each end, and rose in the middle into a sudden ridge, like the hump of a camel, from which the town had its name of Gamala. The face and both sides of the rock ended in deep and precipitous chasms or ravines; it was only accessible from behind, where it joined the mountain ridge. On this side a deep ditch had been dug right across, so as to cut off all approach. The houses rose one above another on the steep declivity of the hill, and were crowded very thick and close. The whole city seemed as if hanging on a sharp precipice, and threatening constantly to fall and crush itself. It inclined to the south, but on the southern crag, of immense height, was the citadel of the town, and above this was a precipice without a wall, which broke off sheer and abrupt, and sank into a ravine of incalculable depth. There was a copious fountain within the walls. This impregnable city, Josephus had still further strengthened by trenches and water-courses. The garrison was neither so numerous nor so brave as that of Jotapata, but still confident in the unassailable position of their city. It was crowded with fugitives from all parts, and had already for seven months defied a besieging force, which Agrippa had set against it. Vespasian marched to Emmaus, celebrated for its warm baths, and then appeared before Gamala. It was impossible to blockade the whole circuit of a city so situated. But he took possession of all the neighboring heights, particularly of the mountain which commanded the town. He then took up a position behind and to the east of the city, where there was a lofty tower. There the fifteenth legion had their quarters, the fifth threw up works opposite to the center of the city, the tenth was employed in filling up the ditches and ravines. Agrippa ventured to ap-
proach the walls to persuade the inhabitants to capitulation. He was struck by a stone from a sling, on the right elbow, and carried off with all speed by his followers. This insult to the native king exasperated the Roman soldiery. The embankments were raised with great expedition by the skillful and practiced soldiers. Directly they were ready, the engines were advanced. Chares and Joseph commanded in the city; they had some misgivings of the event, for they were but scantily supplied with provisions and water, still, however, they manned the wall boldly, and for some time vigorously resisted the engineers, who were fixing the machines; but, at length, beat off by the catapults and other engines for throwing stones, they drew back into the city. The Romans immediately advanced the battering rams in three places, and beat down the wall. They rushed in through the breaches, and broke into the city amid the clang of their trumpets, the clashing of their arms, and the shouting of their men.

The Jews thronged the narrow streets, and bravely resisted the advance of the assailants. At length, overpowered by numbers, who attacked them on all sides, they were forced up to the steep part of the city. There they turned, and charging the enemy with great fury, drove them down the declivities, and made great havoc among them as they endeavored to make their way up the narrow streets, and along the rugged and craggy paths. The Romans, who could not repel their enemy, thus hanging, as it were, over their heads, nor yet break through the throngs of their own men, who forced them on from beneath, took refuge in the houses of the citizens, which were very low. The crowded houses could not bear the weight, and came crashing down. One, as it fell, beat down another, and so all the way down the hill. The situation of the Romans was tremendous. As they felt the houses sinking, they leaped on the roofs, and fell with the tumbling buildings. Many were totally buried in the ruins; many caught by some part of their bodies, as in a trap; many were suffocated with the dust and rubbish. The Gamalitees beheld the hand of God in this unexpected calamity of the foe. They rushed on, regardless of their own lives, struck at the enemy on the roofs, or, as they were slipping about in the narrow ways, and aiming
steadily from above, slew every one who fell. The ruins furnished them with stones, and the slain of the enemy with weapons. They drew the swords of the dead to plunge into the hearts of the dying. Many of the Romans who had fallen from the houses killed themselves. Flight was impossible, from their ignorance of the ways and the blinding dust; many slew each other by mistake, and fell among their own men. Those who could find the road retreated from the city. Vespasian himself, who had shared in the labors of the men, was deeply afflicted to see the city rolling down in ruins upon the heads of his soldiers. Neglectful of his own safety, he had ascended by degrees, without perceiving it, to the upper part of the city. He found himself in the thick of the danger, with but few followers, for Titus was absent on a mission to the Prefect of Syria. It was neither safe nor honorable to fly. With the readiness of an old and experienced soldier, he called to those who were with him to lock their shields over their heads in the form of a testudo. The storm of darts, and of the falling ruins, crushed about them without doing them any injury. They persevered. The Gamalites, according to Josephus, who now loses no opportunity of flattering his protector, thinking their presence of mind little less than divine, relaxed the fury of their attack. The troop retreated with their faces to the enemy, and did not turn till they were safe beyond the walls. The loss of the Romans was great. The brave centurion, Aebutius, was particularly lamented. A decemvir, named Gullus, with ten men, in the tumult crept into a house and concealed himself there. The good citizens, at supper, sat quietly conversing on the exploits of the day; Gullus, who was a Syrian, understood every word they said. At night he broke out, cut all their throats, and came safe to the Roman camp.

The soldiers were dispirited with their defeat, and with the shame of having left their general in so perilous a situation. Vespasian addressed them in language of approbation and encouragement; he attributed their repulse to accident, and to their own too impetuous ardor, which had led them to fight with the frantic fury of their antagonists, rather than the steady and disciplined courage of Roman legionaries. The Gamalites, in the meantime, were full of exultation at their unexpected success.
But before long pride gave way to melancholy forebodings, for their provisions began to fail. Their spirits sank, for now they had no hope of being admitted to capitulation. Yet they did not entirely lose their courage and activity. They repaired the shattered walls, and strictly guarded the parts that were still unshaken. When at length the Romans had completed their works, and threatened a second assault, many fled through the sewers and passages which led into the ravines, where no guard was stationed. The rest of the inhabitants wasted away with hunger in silence, for the scanty provisions that remained were kept for the use of the garrison alone.

In the meantime Itabyrium had fallen. This town had been strongly fortified by Josephus. The ascent to the hill of Tabor is on the north, but extremely difficult. The level area on the top, three miles and a quarter in circuit, occupied by the troops, was surrounded in forty days by a strong wall. The lower part of the hill had copious fountains, but the town depended on the cisterns of rain water. Against this city Placidus was sent with six hundred horse. The hill seemed absolutely inaccessible. But the garrison, endeavoring to outgeneral the Roman commander, were themselves caught by their own stratagem. Each party pretended a desire to come to terms. Placidus used mild language, and the Itabyrians descended the hill as if to treat, but with a secret design of assailing the Romans unawares. At this unexpected assault Placidus feigned flight to lure them into the plain. They pursued boldly, when he suddenly wheeled round, routed them with dreadful slaughter, and cut off their retreat to the mountain. Those who escaped fled to Jerusalem. The inhabitants of Itabyrium, distressed for want of water, surrendered.

In the meantime, the garrison of Gamala still made a vigorous resistance, while the people pined away with hunger. At length two soldiers of the fifteenth legion contrived by night to creep under one of the highest towers, where they began to undermine the foundations. By the morning watch they had got, unperceived, quite under it. They then struck away five of the largest stones and ran for their lives. The tower came down, guards and all, with a tremendous crash. The rest of the sentinels on the wall fled on all sides. Some were killed as they
ran out of the city; among them Joseph, one of the valiant defenders. The whole city was in confusion, men running up and down, with no one to take the command; for the other leader, Chares, lay in the last paroxysms of a fever, and, in the agitation of the alarm, expired.

But all that day, the Romans, rendered cautious by their former repulse, made no attempt. Titus had now returned to the camp; and eager to revenge the insult on the Roman arms, with two hundred horse and a number of foot entered quietly into the city. As soon as the Galilean guards perceived him they rushed to arms. Some catching up their children, and dragging their wives along, ran to the citadel, shrieking and crying; others, who encountered Titus, were slain without mercy. Those who could not make their escape to the citadel rushed blindly on the Roman guard. The steep streets ran with torrents of blood. Vespasian led his men immediately against the citadel. The rock on which it stood was rugged and impracticable, of enormous height, and surrounded on all sides by abrupt precipices. The Jews stood upon this crag, the top of which the Roman-darts could not reach, striking down all their assailants, and rolling stones and throwing darts upon their heads. But a tremendous tempest completed their ruin. They could not stand on the points of the rock, nor see the enemy as he scaled the crag. The Romans reached the top, and surrounded the whole party. The memory of their former defeat rankled in their hearts. They slew as well those who surrendered as those who resisted. Numbers threw themselves headlong, with their wives and children, down the precipices. Their despair was more fatal than the Roman sword. Four thousand were killed by the enemy, five thousand bodies were found of those who had cast themselves from the rock. Two women alone escaped, the sisters of Philip, Agrippa's general, and they only by concealing themselves, for the Romans spared neither age nor sex; they seized infants and flung them down from the rock. Thus fell Gamala on the 23d of September.

Gischala alone remained in arms. The inhabitants of this town were an agricultural people, and little inclined to war. But the subtle and ambitious John, the son of Levi, the rival of Josephus, commanded a strong faction in the city, headed by
his own desperate banditti. The town, therefore, notwithstanding the desire of the people to capitulate, assumed a warlike attitude. Vespasian sent Titus against it with one thousand horse. The tenth legion moved to Scythopolis, he himself with the other two went into winter-quarters at Cesarea. When he arrived before Gischala, Titus perceived that he might easily take the city by assault. But desirous of avoiding unnecessary bloodshed, and probably well acquainted with the disposition of the people, he sent to offer terms of capitulation. The walls were manned by the faction of John; not one of the people was allowed to approach them, while the summons of Titus was proclaimed. John answered with the greatest temper and moderation, that the garrison accepted with the utmost readiness the generous terms that had been offered; but that day being the Sabbath, nothing could be concluded without a direct infringement of the law. Titus not merely considered this delay, but withdrew his troops to the neighboring town of Cydoessa.

At midnight, John, perceiving that no Roman guard was mounted, stole quietly, with all his armed men, out of the city, followed by many others, with their families, who had determined on flying to Jerusalem. To the distance of twenty stadia—about two miles and a half—the women and children bore on steadily; their strength then began to fail. They dropped off by degrees, while the men pressed rapidly on without regarding them. They sat down, wailing by the wayside; and the more faint and distant seemed the footsteps of their departing friends, the more near and audible they thought the hurried trampling of the enemy. Some ran against each other, each supposing the other the foe; some lost their way; many were trampled down by other fugitives. Those who kept up longest, as they began to fail, stood calling on the names of their friends and relations, but in vain. The unfeeling John urged his men to save themselves, and make their escape to some place where they might have revenge on the Romans. When Titus appeared, the next day, before the gates, the people threw them open, and, with their wives and children, received him as their deliverer. He sent a troop of horse in pursuit of John. They slew six thousand of the fugitives, and
brought back three thousand women and children to the city. Titus entered Gischala amid the acclamations of the people, and conducted himself with great lenity, only threatening the city in case of future disturbance, throwing down part of the wall, and leaving a garrison to preserve the peace. Gischala was the last city in Galilee which offered any resistance, and the campaign ended soon after, when Vespasian, having made an expedition against Jamnia and Azotus, which both surrendered, and admitted Roman garrisons, returned to Cesarea, followed by a vast multitude from all quarters, who preferred instant submission to the Romans to the perils of the war.

But while the cities of Galilee thus arrested the course of the Roman eagles, while Jotapata and Gamala set the example of daring and obstinate resistance, the leaders of the nation in Jerusalem, instead of sending out armies to the relief of the besieged cities, or making an effort in their favor, were engaged in the most dreadful civil conflicts, and were enfeebling the national strength by the most furious collision of factions. It must be allowed that the raw and ill-armed militia of Judea, if it had been animated with the best and most united spirit, could scarcely have hoped to make head in the open field against the experience and discipline of the Roman legions. Their want of cavalry perhaps prevented their undertaking any distant expedition, so that it may be doubted whether it was not their wisest policy to fight only behind their walls, in hopes that siege after siege might weary the patience and exhaust the strength of the invading army. But Jerusalem was ill-preparing itself to assume the part which became the metropolis of the nation in this slow contest; and better had it been for her if John of Gischala had perished in the trenches of his native town, or been cut off in his flight by the pursuing cavalry. His fame had gone before him to Jerusalem, perhaps not a little enhanced by the defection of his rival Josephus. The multitude poured out to meet him, as well to do him honor as to receive the authentic tidings of the disasters in Galilee. The heat and the broken breathing of his men showed that they had ridden fast and long; yet they assumed a lofty demeanor, declared that they had not fled, but retreated to maintain a better position for defense; that for Gischala and
such insignificant villages it was not worth risking the blood of brave men; they had reserved all theirs to be shed in defense of the capital. Yet to many their retreat was too manifestly a flight, and from the dreadful details of massacre and captivity, they forebode the fate which awaited themselves. John, however, represented the Roman force as greatly enfeebled, and their engines worn out before Jotapata and Gamala; and urged that if they were so long in subduing the towns of Galilee, they would inevitably be repulsed with shame from Jerusalem.

John was a man of the most insinuating address, and the most plausible and fluent eloquence. The young men listened with eager interest and vehement acclamation; the old sat silent, brooding over their future calamities. The metropolis now began to be divided into two hostile factions; but the whole province had before set them the fatal example of discord. Every city was torn to pieces by civil animosities; wherever the insurgents had time to breathe from the assaults of the Romans, they turned their swords against each other. The war and the peace faction, not only distracted the public councils, but in every family, among the dearest and most intimate friends, this vital question created stern and bloody divisions. Every one assembled a band of adherents, or joined himself to some organized faction. As in the metropolis, the youth were everywhere unanimous in their ardent for war; the older in vain endeavored to allay the phrensy by calmer and more prudent reasoning. First individuals, afterwards bands of desperate men, began to spread over the whole country, spoiling either by open robbery, or under pretense of chastising those who were traitors to the cause of their country. The unoffending and peaceful, who saw their houses burning, and their families plundered, thought they could have nothing worse to apprehend from the conquest of the Romans, than from the lawless violence of their own countrymen. The Roman garrisons in the neighboring towns, either not considering it their business to interfere, or rejoicing, in their hatred to the whole race, to behold their self-inflicted calamities, afforded little or no protection to the sufferers. At length an immense number of these daring ruffians, satiated with plunder, by de-
gress, and in secret, stole into Jerusalem, where they formed a great and formidable troop. The city had never been accustomed to exclude strangers from its walls—it was the national metropolis, and all of Jewish blood had a right to take up their temporary or permanent residence in the Holy City. They thought too that all who entered their gates would strengthen their power of resistance, and that it would be impolitic to reject any who came to offer their lives for the defense of the capital. But even had they not brought sedition and discord in their train, this influx of strangers would rather have weakened than strengthened the defense of Jerusalem; for the provisions, which ought to have been reserved for the soldiers, were consumed by an inactive and useless multitude, and famine was almost immediately added to the other evils which enfeebled and distracted the city.

These men, of fierce and reckless dispositions, and already inured to marauding habits, though gathering from all quarters, soon began to understand each other, and grew into a daring and organized faction. They began to exercise their old calling; robberies and burglaries, and assassinations took place every day, not secretly or by night, or of the meaner people, but openly in the face of day, of the most distinguished characters in Jerusalem. The first victim was Antipas a man of royal blood, and a citizen of such high character, as to be intrusted with the charge of the public treasury. They seized and dragged him to prison. The next were Levias, and Saphias, the son Raguel, both of the Herodian family, with many others of the same class. The people looked on in dismay, but, so long as their own houses and persons were safe, they abstained from interference.

Having gone so far in their daring course, the robbers did not think it safe not to proceed farther. They dreaded the families of those whom they had imprisoned, for they were both numerous and powerful; they even apprehended a general insurrection of the people. They sent a ruffian named John, the son of Dorcas, a man ready for the worst atrocities, with ten others like him, and, under their warrant, a general massacre of the prisoners took place. The ostensible pretext of this barbarity was the detection of a conspiracy to betray
the city to the Romans. They gloried in this act, and assumed the title of saviours and deliverers of their country, for having thus executed condign punishment on those who were traitors to the common liberty.

The people still cowered beneath the sway of these Zealot robbers. Their next step was even more daring. They took upon themselves the appointment to the chief-priesthood—that is, probably to nominate the members of the Sanhedrin. They annulled at once all claims from family descent, and appointed men unknown and of ignoble rank, who would support them in their violence. Those men whom they had raised by their breath, their breath could degrade. Thus all the leaders of the people were the slaves and puppets of their will. They undermined the authority of some who were before at the head of affairs, by propagating false rumors, and by ascribing to them fictitious speeches, so that by their dissensions among each other they might increase the power of the Zealots, thus united for evil. At length, satiated with their crimes against men, they began to invade the sanctuary of God with their unhallowed violence.

After some time the populace were at last goaded to resistance. Ananus, the oldest of the chief-priests, had been long the recognized head of the other party. He was a man of great wisdom, and, in the opinion of Josephus, had he not been cut off by untimely death, might have saved the city. At his incitement, murmurs and threats of resistance spread among the people, and the robber Zealots immediately took refuge in the temple of God, which they made their garrison and headquarters. They pretended to proceed according to a mockery of law, which was more galling to the popular feeling than their licentious violence. They declared that the high-priest ought to be appointed by lot, and not according to family descent. They asserted that this was an ancient usage; but, in fact, it was a total abrogation of the customary law, and solely intended to wrest the supreme power into their own hands. Matthias, the son of Theophilus, was the rightful high-priest, but the Zealots assembled, for this purpose, one family of the priestly race—that of Eniachim—and from this choice a high-priest was made by lot. It happened that the choice fell
on one Phanias, the son of Samuel, a man not merely unworthy of that high function, but a coarse clown, who had lived in the country, and was totally ignorant even of the common details of his office. They sent for him, however, decked him up in the priestly robes, and brought him forth as if on the stage. His awkwardness caused them the greatest merriment and laughter, while the more religious priests stood aloof, weeping in bitter but vain indignation at this profanation of the holy office.

The people could endure everything but this. They rose as one man, to revenge the injured dignity of the sacred ceremonies. Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Simon, the son of Gamaliel, went about, both in private and public, haranguing the multitude, and exhorting them to throw off the yoke of these desperate ruffians, and to cleanse the holy place from the contamination of their presence. The most eminent of the priestly order, Jesus, son of Gamala, and Ananus, remonstrated with the people for their quiet submission to the Zealots, which had now become a name of opprobrium and detestation.

A general assembly was summoned. All were indignant at the robberies, the murders and sacrileges of the Zealots, but still they apprehended their numbers and the strength of their position. But Ananus came forward and addressed them, and as he spoke he continually turned his eyes, full of tears, towards the violated temple. He reproached them with their tame endurance of a tyranny, more cruel than that of the Romans; and their abandonment of the temple of their God to profane and lawless men. His long and animated harangue was heard with the deepest interest, and the people demanded, with loud outcries, to be immediately lead to battle. The Zealots had their partisans in the assembly, and speedily received intelligence of what was going on. While Ananus was organizing his force, they began the attack. But Ananus was not less active, and though the people were inferior in discipline, unused to act together in bodies, and inexperienced in the management of their arms, yet they had vast superiority in numbers. Thus a fierce civil war broke out in a city, against whose gates a mighty enemy was preparing to lead his forces. Both parties fought with furious valor; many were slain; the
bodies of the people were carried off into their houses, those of the Zealots into the temple, dropping blood as they were hurried along upon the sacred pavement. The robbers had always the best in a regular conflict, but the people at length increasing in numbers, those that pressed behind prevented those in front from retreating, and urged forward in a dense and irresistible mass, till the Zealots were forced back into the temple, into which Ananus and his men broke with them. The first quadrangle, that of the Gentiles, being thus taken, the Zealots fled into the next, and closed the gates. The religious scruples of Ananus prevented him from pressing his advantage; he trembled to commit violence against the sacred gates, or to introduce the people, unclean and not yet purified from slaughter, into the inner court of the temple. He stationed six thousand chosen and well-armed men in the cloisters, and made arrangements that this guard should be regularly relieved.

In this state of affairs, the subtle and ambitious John of Gashala, who had not long arrived in Jerusalem, pursued his own dark course. Outwardly he joined the party of Ananus; no one could be more active in the consultations of the leaders, or in the nightly inspection of the guards. But he kept up a secret correspondence with the Zealots, and betrayed to them all the movements of the assailants. To conceal this secret he redoubled his assiduities, and became so extravagant in his protestations of fidelity to Ananus and his party, that he completely overacted his part and incurred suspicion. The people could not but observe that their closest consultations were betrayed to the enemy, and they began gradually to look with a jealous eye on their too obsequious servant. Yet, it was no easy task to remove him; he was too subtle to be detected, and had a formidable band of adherents, by no means of the lowest order, in the council itself. The people acted in the most unwise manner possible. They betrayed their suspicions of John, by exacting from him an oath of fidelity. John swore readily to all they demanded, that he would remain obedient to the people, never betray their councils, and entirely devote both his courage and abilities to the destruction of their enemies. Ananus and his party laid aside their mistrust, admitted him to their most secret councils, and even deputed him to treat with
the Zealots. John undertook the mission, and proceeded into the court of the temple. There he suddenly threw off his character, began to address the Zealots as if he had been their ambassador, rather than that of the people. He represented the dangers he had incurred in rendering them secret service, informed them that negotiations were going on for the surrender of the city to the Romans, that their ruin was resolved, for Ananus had determined either to enter the temple by fair means, under the pretext of worship, and with that view had purified the people, or by main force; they must either submit, or obtain succors from some external quarter; and he solemnly warned them of the danger of trusting to the mercy of the people. John, with his characteristic caution, only intimated the quarter from which this succor was to be sought. The chieftains of the Zealots were Eleazar, the son of Simon, the old crafty antagonist of Ananus, and Zacharias, the son of Phalec. They knew that they were designated for vengeance by the party of Ananus, and their only hope was in driving their own party to desperation. The mention of negotiations, according to Josephus, the malicious invention of John, inflamed the whole party of the Zealots to madness. A dispatch was instantly sent to call the Idumeans to their assistance, by messengers, who were noted for their swiftness of foot and promptitude of action.

The Idumeans, who, since the conquest of Hyrcanus, had been incorporated with the Jews as a people, were a fierce and intractable tribe; some of the old Arab blood seemed to flow in their veins; they loved adventure, and went to war as to a festivity. No sooner was the welcome invitation of the Zealots made known through the country, than they flew to arms, and even before the appointed day, had assembled an immense force, proclaiming as they went, that they were marching to the relief of the metropolis. They were twenty thousand in number, under John and James, the sons of Susa, Simon, son of Cuthla, and Phineas, son of Clusoth. The messengers of the Zealots had escaped the vigilance of Ananus; and the vast army came suddenly, though not quite unexpectedly, before the walls. The gates were closed, and Ananus determined to attempt expostulation and remonstrance with these formidable invaders. Jesus,
the next in age of the chief priests to Ananus, addressed them from a lofty tower on the wall. He endeavored to persuade them to follow one of three lines of conduct—either to unite with them in the chastisement of these notorious robbers and assassins; or to enter the city unarmed, and arbitrate between the conflicting parties; or, finally, to depart and leave the capital to settle its own affairs. Simon, the son of Cathla, sternly answered, that they came to take the part of the true patriots and defenders of their country, against men who were in a base conspiracy to sell the liberties of the land to the Romans. This charge the party of Ananus had always disclaimed; with what sincerity it it impossible to decide.

At the words of the son of Cathla, the Idumeans joined in the loudest acclamations, and Jesus returned in sadness to his dispirited party, who now, instead of being the assailants, found themselves as it were besieged by two hostile armies. The Idumeans were not altogether at their ease. Though enraged at their exclusion from the city, they were disappointed at receiving no intelligence from the Zealots, who were closely cooped up in the temple, and some began to repent of their hasty march. So they encamped, uncertain how to act against the walls. The night came on, and with the night a tempest of unexampled violence, wind and pouring rain, frequent lightnings, and long rolling thunders. The very earth seemed to quake. All parties, in this dreadful state of suspense, sat trembling with the deepest awe, and construed the discord of the elements, either as a sign of future calamity, or as a manifestation of the instant wrath of the Almighty. The Idumeans saw the arm of heaven revealed to punish them for their assault on the Holy City; and thought that God had openly espoused the cause of Ananus. Mistaken interpreters of these ominous signs! which rather foreboded their own triumph, and the discomfiture of the Jewish people. Yet they locked their shields over their heads, and kept off the torrents of rain, as well as they could. But the Zealots, anxious about their fate, looked eagerly abroad to discover some opportunity of rendering assistance to their new friends. The more daring proposed, while the fury of the storm had thrown the enemy off their guard, to fight their way through the band stationed in the
cloisters of the outer court, and throw open the gates to the Idumeans. The more prudent thought it in vain to resort to violence, because the sentinels in the cloisters had been doubled, and the walls of the city would be strongly manned for fear of the invading army, and they expected Ananus every hour to go the round of the guards. That night alone, trusting perhaps to the number and strength of his doubled party, Ananus neglected that precaution. The darkness of the night was increased by the horrors of the tempest; some of the guard stole off to rest. The watchful Zealots perceived this, and taking the sacred saws, began to cut asunder the bars of the gates. In the wild din of the raging wind and pealing thunder, the noise of the saws was not heard. A few stole out of the gate, and along the streets to the wall. There applying their saws to the gate which fronted the Idumean camp, they threw it open. The Idumeans at first drew back in terror, for they suspected some stratagem of Ananus; they grasped their swords, and stood awaiting the enemy whom they expected every instant to break forth. But when they recognized their friends, they entered boldly, and so much were they exasperated, that if they had turned towards the city they might have massacred the whole people. But their guides earnestly besought them first to deliver their beleaguered companions. Not only did gratitude, but prudence likewise, advise this course; for if the armed guard in the porticoes were surprised, the city would speedily fall, if it remained entire, the citizens would rally round that center, speedily collect an insuperable force, and cut off their ascent to the temple. They marched rapidly through the city, and mounted the hill of Moriah. The Zealots were on the watch for their arrival, and as they attacked the guard in front, fell upon them from behind. Some were slain in their sleep; others awaking at the din, rushed together, and endeavored to make head against the Zealots, but when they found that they were attacked likewise from without, they perceived at once that the Idumeans were within the city. Their spirits sank, they threw down their arms, and uttered wild shrieks of distress. A few bolder youths confronted the Idumeans and covered the escape of some of the older men, who rau shrieking down the streets announcing the dreadful
calamity. They were answered by screams and cries from the houses, and the shrill wailing of the women. On their side the Zealots and Idumeans shouted, and the wind howled over all, and the black and flashing sky pealed its awful thunders.

The Idumeans spared not a soul of the guard whom they surprised, being naturally men of bloody character, and exasperated by having been left without the gates exposed to the furious pelting of the storm; those who supplicated and those who fought suffered the same fate; it was in vain to appeal to the sanctity of the temple, even within its sacred precincts they were hewn down; some were driven to the very edge of the rock on which the temple stood, and in their desperation precipitated themselves headlong into the city. The whole court was deluged with human blood, and when day dawned, eight thousand five hundred bodies were counted. But the carnage ended not with the night. The Idumeans broke into the city and pillaged on all sides. The high-priests, Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamala, were seized, put to death, and—an unprecedented barbarity among a people so superstitious about the rites of sepulcher, that even public malefactors were buried before sunset—the bodies of these aged and respected men, who had so lately appeared in the splendid sacred vestments of the priests were cast forth naked to the dogs and carrion birds.

With the death of Ananus, all hopes of peace were extinguished, and from that night Josephus dates the ruin of Jerusalem. The historian gives him a high character; he was a man of rigid justice, who always preferred the public good to his own interest, and a strenuous lover of liberty, of popular address, and of great influence over all the lower orders. Though vigilant and active in placing the city in the best posture of defense, yet he always looked forward, in eager hope, to a peaceable termination of the contest. In this respect he followed the wisest policy, considering the state of his country, and the strength of the enemy; yet we can not wonder, that a man with such views, at such a crisis, should be vehemently suspected of traitorous intentions by the more rash and zealous of his countrymen, who preferred death and ruin rather than submission to the tyrannous yoke of Rome. Jesus, the son of Gamala, was likewise a man of weight and character.
The vengeance of the Zealots and their new allies was not glutted by the blood of their principal enemies. They continued to massacre the people, in the words of Josephus, like a herd of unclean animals. The lower orders they cut down wherever they met them, those of higher rank, particularly the youth, were dragged to prison, that they might force them, by the fear of death, to embrace their party. No one complied; all preferred death to an alliance with such wicked conspirators. They were scourged, and tortured, but still resolutely endured, and at length were relieved from their trials by the more merciful sword of the murderer. They were seized by day, and all the night those horrors went on; at length their bodies were cast out into the streets, to make room for more victims in the crowded prisons. Such was the terror of the people, that they neither dared to lament, nor bury their miserable kindred; but retired into the farthest part of their houses to weep, for fear the enemy should detect their sorrow; for to deplore the dead, was to deserve death; by night they scraped up a little dust with their hands, and strewed it over the dead bodies; none but the most courageous would venture to do this by day. Thus perished twelve thousand of the noblest blood in Jerusalem.

Ashamed at length, or weary of this promiscuous massacre, the Zealots began to effect the forms of law, and set up tribunals of justice. There was a distinguished man, named Zacharias, the son of Baruch, whose influence they dreaded, and whose wealth they yearned to pillage, for he was both upright, patriotic, and rich. They assembled, by proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, and formed a Sanhedrin. Before that court they charged Zacharias with intelligence with the Romans. They had neither proof nor witness, but insisted on their own conviction of his guilt. Zacharias, despairing of his life, conducted himself with unexampled boldness; he stood up, ridiculed their charges, and in a few words clearly established his own innocence. He then turned to the accusers, inveighed with the most solemn fervor against their iniquities, and lamented the wretched state of public affairs. The Zealots murmured, and some were ready to use their swords; but they were desirous of seeing whether the judges were sufficiently
subservient to their will. The seventy unanimously acquitted the prisoner, and preferred to die with Zacharias rather than be guilty of his condemnation. The furious Zealots raised a cry of indignation; two of them rushed forward, and struck him dead, where he stood, in the temple court, shouting aloud, "This is our verdict—this is our more summary acquittal." Then dragging the body along the pavement, they threw it into the valley below. The judges they beat with the flat blades of their swords, and drove them in disgrace, back into the city. At length the Idumeans began to repent of this bloody work; they openly declared that they had advanced to Jerusalem to suppress the treason of the leaders, and to defend the city against the Romans, that they had been deceived into becoming accomplices in horrible murders; no treason was really apprehended; and the Roman army still suspended their attack. They determined to depart; first, however, they opened the prisons and released two thousand of the people, who instantly fled to Simon the son of Giorus, of whom we shall hereafter hear too much. Their departure was unexpected by both parties. The populace, relieved from their presence, began to gain confidence; but the Zealots, as if released from control, rather than deprived of assistance, continued their lawless iniquities. Every day new victims fell by rapid and summary proceedings; it seemed as if they thought their safety depended on the total extermination of the higher orders. Among the rest perished Gioron, a man of the highest birth and rank, and the greatest zeal for liberty—incautious language caused his ruin. Even Niger, of Perea, their most distinguished soldier, who had escaped from the rout at Ascalon, was dragged along the streets, showing in vain the scars which he had received for his ungrateful country. He died with fearful imprecations, summoning the Romans to avenge his death, and denouncing famine, and pestilence, and civil massacre, as well as war, against this accursed city—Niger was the last whose power they dreaded. After that they carried on their sanguinary work without scruple; none could escape. He who paid them no court, was stigmatized as haughty; he who spoke boldly, as one who despised them; he who merely flattered them, as a traitor; they had but one punishment for great and small of-
fenses—death; none but the very meanest in rank and fortune escaped their hands.

In this state of the city, many of the Roman leaders strongly urged Vespasian to march immediately on Jerusalem, and put an end to the rebellion. The more politic general replied, that nothing would extinguish these feuds, which were wasting the strength of the rebels, or unite their forces, but an attack from the Romans; he determined to allow them, like wild beasts, to tear each other to pieces in their dens. Every day deserters came in; not but that the roads were closely guarded, yet those who had the power to bribe largely, and those alone, were sure to find their way; yet some, such was the attachment to the very soil of Jerusalem after they had got off, returned of their own accord, only in hopes that they might find burial in the Holy City. Hopes too often baffled; for, so hardened were all hearts become, that even the reverence for that sacred rite was extinct. Both within the city, and in the villages, lay heaps of bodies rotting in the sun. To bury a relative was death; thus compassion itself was proscribed and eradicated from the heart. Such was the state of the people, that the survivors envied the dead as released from suffering; those who were tormented in prisons even thought them happy whose bodies were lying unburied in the streets. Religion seemed utterly abolished; the law was scorned, the oracles of the prophets were treated with ridicule, as the tricks of impostors. "Yet by these men," says Josephus, "the ancient prediction seemed rapidly drawing to its fulfillment; that when civil war should break out in the city, and the temple be profaned by the hands of native Jews, the city would be taken, and the temple burnt with fire."

During all this horror and confusion, John of Gischala steadily pursued his path of ambition. From the most desperate of these desperate men, he attached a considerable party to his own person; and, though suspected by all as aiming at kingly power, and watched with jealous vigilance, yet such was his craft and promptitude, that he imperceptibly centered all real authority and influence in his single person. In the public councils he contradicted every one, and delivered his own sentiments with a sort of irresistible imperiousness. Some were cajoled by his subtility, others awed by his decision, till at
length his adherents almost threw off the mask, and formed, as it were, a body-guard around their leader. Thus the Zealots were divided; in one part John ruled like a king, in the other a kind of democratical equality prevailed. Yet the factions only watched each other, and contending but in occasional skirmishes, combined readily for the persecution of the people, and vied with each other in the quantity of plunder they could extort.

Thus the miserable city was afflicted by the three great evils, war, tyranny, and sedition; a fourth was soon added to complete their ruin. The Sicarii, or Assassins, it may be remembered, had seized the strong fortress of Masada, near the Dead Sea. They had hitherto been content to subsist on the adjacent country. Encouraged by the success of the daring robbers who had thus become masters of Jerusalem, they surprised Engaddi during the night of the passover, dispersed all who resisted, and slew about seven hundred, chiefly women and children. They brought away great quantities of corn, and followed up the blow by wasting the whole region. Other bands collected in other parts, and the province became a scene of plunder and confusion.

It was now the spring—the commencement of a new campaign. The refugees in the camp of Vespasian earnestly besought him to march at once upon the capital, but the wary Roman chose rather to reduce the rest of the country. The first place against which he moved was Gadara, the chief city of Perea. The more wealthy inhabitants sent a deputation to Vespasian. The opposite party, surprised by the rapid advance of the Romans, after revenging themselves on some of those who had treated for surrender, withdrew, and Gadara received the conqueror with open gates, and with joyful acclamations. Vespasian granted the inhabitants a garrison for their protection, for they had destroyed their walls of their own accord.

Vespasian having dispatched Placidus with five hundred horse and three thousand foot, to pursue the fugitives from Gadara, returned to Cesarea. They had taken possession of a large village named Bethanabris; which they armed in their defense. Placidus attacked them, and employing his usual stratagem, a feigned retreat, to allure them from their walls,
and then faced round, and cut off the greater part. Some forced their way back, and Placidus had well nigh entered the village with them. Before night it was taken and laid waste, with the usual carnage. Those who escaped raised the country as they passed, and, grown again to a considerable body, fled towards Jericho, the populous and strongly fortified city, on the other side of the river. Placidus pursued them to the Jordan; the river was swollen and impassable. They were obliged to turn and fight. It must have been near the place where the waters, of old, receded at the word of Joshua, but now the deep and rapid flood rolled down in unchecked impetuosity. The Romans charged with their accustomed vigor. Multitudes fell, multitudes were driven into the stream, others plunged in of their own accord. Not only the river, but the Dead Sea also, was almost choked with bodies, which lay floating upon its dark and heavy waters. Fifteen thousand were killed, two thousand five hundred taken prisoners, with an immense booty from all that pastoral region, asses, sheep, camels, and oxen. Placidus followed up his victory, reduced the whole country of Perea, and the coast of the Dead Sea as far as Marcerus.

In the meantime the state of the Roman empire began to call the attention of Vespasian. Vindex had revolted in Gaul, and Vespasian was anxious to put an end to the war in Palestine, in order that his army might be at liberty for any further service. He advanced from Cesarea, took successively Antipatris, Lydda, and Jamnia, and blockaded Emmaus, which made resistance. He then moved southward through the Toparchy of Bethlephetha, to the frontier of Idumea, wasting as he went with fire and sword, and leaving garrisons in all the defensible castles. In Idumea he took two large villages, Betharis and Cephartoba, put to the sword above ten thousand men, and brought away one thousand captives. Leaving there a strong force to waste the country, he returned to Emmaus, passed by Samaria and Neapolis, encamped in Corea, and at length appeared before Jericho, where the troops which had subdued Perea, met him. The insurgents of Jericho fled to the wilderness of Judea, which lay to the south, along the shores of the Dead Sea. The city was deserted, and the Roman soldiery
reposed among the delicious gardens and palm groves in the neighborhood, before they encountered the dreary and mountainous wilderness which lay between them and Jerusalem.

Vespasian sent to reduce all the neighboring country. Lucius Annius was detached against Gerasa, where one thousand of the youth were put to the sword, the rest made captive, and the city pillaged by the soldiery. And now Jerusalem already beheld the enemy at her gates; every approach to the city was cut off, and every hour they expected to see the plain to the north glitter with the arms and eagles of the fated enemy, when suddenly intelligence came from Rome which checked the march of Vespasian, and Jerusalem had yet a long period either to repent and submit, or to prepare for a more orderly and vigorous resistance. The first event was the death of Nero, and during the whole of the year 68–9, in which Galba, Otho, and Vitellius successively attained and lost the imperial crown, Vespasian held his troops together without weakening, by unnecessary exertions against the enemy, that force by which he might eventually win his way to the sovereignty of the world.

But Jerusalem would not profit by the mercy of the Almighty in thus suspending, for nearly two years, the march of the avenger; an enemy more fatal than the Roman immediately rose up to complete the sum of her misery, and to add a third party to those which already distracted her peace. Simon, son of Gioras, a native of Gerasa, was a man as fierce and cruel, though not equal in subtlety to John of Gischala. He had greatly distinguished himself in the rout of Cestius. Since that time it has been seen that he pillaged Acrabatene, and being expelled from that region by Ananus, entered Masada, where by degrees he became master of the town. His forces increased; he had wasted all the country toward Idumea, and at length began to entertain designs against Jerusalem. The Zealots marched out in considerable force against him, but were discomfited and driven back to the city. Simon, instead of attacking Jerusalem, turned back and entered Idumea at the head of twenty thousand men. The Idumeans suddenly raised twenty-five thousand, and after a long and doubtful battle Simon retreated to a village called Nain, the Idumeans to
their own country. Simon a second time raised a great force, and entered their border. He encamped before Tekoa, and sent one of his adherents, named Eleazar, to persuade the garrison of Herodium, at no great distance, to surrender. The indignant garrison drew their swords upon him; he leaped from the wall and was killed." On the other hand the Idumeans, betrayed by one of their leaders, were struck with a panic, and dispersed. Simon entered the country, took Hebron, and wasted the whole region. His army consisted of forty thousand men, besides his heavy armed troops. They passed over the whole district like a swarm of locusts, burning, destroying, and leaving no sign of life or vegetation behind them.

The Zealots, in the meantime, surprised the wife of Simon, and carried her off in triumph to Jerusalem. They hoped that by this means they should force Simon to terms. Simon came raging like a wild beast before the walls of Jerusalem. The old and unarmed people who ventured out of the gates were seized and tortured. He is said scarcely to have refrained from mangling their bodies with his teeth. Some he sent back with both hands cut off; vowing that unless his wife were returned he would force the city, and treat every man within the walls in the same manner. The people, and even the Zealots themselves, took the alarm; they restored his wife, and he withdrew. It was now the spring of the second year, 69, and Vespasian once more set his troops in motion. He reduced the Toparchies of Gophnitis and Acrabatene. His cavalry appeared before the gates of Jerusalem. Cerealis, in the meantime, had entered Idumea, and taken Caphethra, Capharabais, and Hebron; nothing remained to conquer but Herodium, Masada, Macherus, and Jerusalem itself.

Still no attempt was made on Jerusalem, it was left to its domestic enemies. Simon had remained in Masada, while Cerealis wasted Idumea. He then broke forth again, entered Idumea, drove a vast number of that people to Jerusalem, and again encamped before the walls, putting to the sword all the unfortunate stragglers who quitted the protection of the city.

Simon thus warred on the unhappy city from without, and John of Gischala within. The pillage and license of the opu-
lent capital had totally corrupted his hardy Galileans, who had been allowed to commit every excess. Pillage was their occupation, murder and rape their pastime. They had become luxurious and effeminate; they had all the cruelty of men with the wantonness of the most abandoned women. Gluttoned with plunder and blood, and the violation of women, they decked their hair, put on female apparel, painted their eyes, and in this emasculate garb wandered about the city, indulging in the most horrible impurities, yet on an instant, resuming their character of dauntless ruffians, drawing their swords, which were concealed under their splendid clothes, and fighting fiercely or stabbing all they met without mercy. Thus was the city besieged within and without, those who stayed were tyrannized over by John, those who fled, massacred by Simon.

At length the party of John divided: The Idumeans, who were still in considerable numbers in Jerusalem, grew jealous of his power; they rose and drove the Zealots into a palace built by Grapte, a relation of King Izates. This they entered with them, and thence forced them into the temple. This palace was the great treasure house of John's plunder, and was now in turn pillaged by the Idumeans. But the Zealots assembled in overwhelming force in the temple, and threatening to pour down upon the Idumeans and the people. The Idumeans did not dread their bravery so much as their desperation, lest they should sally, and set the whole city on fire over their heads. They called an assembly of the chief priests, and that council was adopted which added the final consummation to the miseries of the city. "God," says Josephus, "overruled their wills to that most fatal measure." They agreed to admit Simon within the gates. The high-priest, Matthias, a weak, but from his rank an influential man, supported this new proposition; he was sent in person to invite him within the walls, and amid the joyful greetings of the misguided populace, the son of Gioras marched through the streets; and took possession of all the upper city.

Simon immediately proceeded to attack the Zealots in the temple, but the commanding situation of the building enabled them to defend themselves with success. They fought with missiles from the porticoes and pinnacles, and many of Simon's
men fell. To obtain still farther advantage from the height of their ground, they reared four strong towers, one on the north-east corner, one above the Xystus, one at another corner opposite the lower city, and one above the Pastophoria, where the priests were accustomed to sound the silver trumpet to announce the commencement and termination of the Sabbath. On these towers they placed their military engines, their bowmen and slingers, which swept the enemy down at a great distance; till at length Simon in some degree relaxed his assaults.

Vespasian had now assumed the purple; the East declared in his favor; Josephus received the honor and reward of a prophet, and was delivered from his bonds. After the defeat and death of Vitellius, the new Caesar was acknowledged at Rome, and the whole empire hailed in joyful triumph the accession of the Flavian dynasty. At the commencement of the ensuing year, the emperor had time to think of the reduction of the rebellious city, which had long resisted his own arms. His son Titus was sent to complete the subjugation of Palestine by the conquest of the capital.
CHAPTER XII.

SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

A. C. 69-70.

The last winter of Jerusalem passed away in the same ferocious civil contests; her streets ran with the blood of her own children; and instead of organizing a regular defense against the approaching enemy, each faction was strengthening its own position against the assaults of its antagonists. The city was now divided into three distinct garrisons, at fierce and implacable hostility with each other. Eleazar, the son of Simon, the man who was the first cause of the war, by persuading the people to reject the offerings of the Roman emperors, and who afterward had set himself at the head of the Zealots, and seized the temple, saw, with deep and rankling jealousy, the superiority assumed by John of Gischala. He pretended righteous indignation at his sanguinary proceedings, and at length, with several other men of influence, Judas, the son of Hilkiah, Simon, the son of Ezron, and Hezekiah, the son of Chobar, he openly seceded from the great band of Zealots who remained true to John, and seized the inner court of the temple. And now the arms of savage men, reeking with the blood of their fellow-citizens, were seen to rest upon the gates and walls of the Holy of Holies; the sacred songs of the Levites gave place to the ribald jests of a debauched soldiery; instead of the holy instruments of music were heard the savage shouts of fighting warriors; and among the appointed victims, men, mortally wounded by the arrows of their own brethren without, lay gasping upon the steps of the altar. The band of Eleazar was amply supplied with provisions, for the stores of the temple were full, and they were not troubled with religious scruples. But they were few, and could only defend themselves within, without venturing to sally forth.
against the enemy. The height of their position gave them an advantage over John, whose numbers were greatly superior; yet, though he suffered considerable loss, John would not intermit his attacks; clouds of missiles were continually discharged into the upper court of the temple, and the whole sacred pavement was strewn with dead bodies.

Simon, the son of Gioras, who occupied the upper city, attacked John the more fiercely, because his strength was divided, and he was likewise threatened by Eleazar from above. But John had the same advantage over Simon which Eleazar had over John. It was a perilous enterprise to scale the ascent to the temple, and on such ground the Zealots had no great difficulty in repelling the incessant assaults of Simon's faction. Against Eleazar's party they turned their engines, the scorpions, catapults, and ballistae, with which they slew not a few of their enemies in the upper court, and some who came to sacrifice. For it was a strange feature in this fearful contest that the religious ceremonies still went on upon the altar, which was often encircled with the dead; besides the human victims which fell around, the customary sacrifices were regularly offered. Not only the pious inhabitants of Jerusalem constantly entreated and obtained permission to offer up their gifts and prayers before the altar of Jehovah, but even strangers from distant parts would still arrive; and, passing over the pavement, slippery with human blood, make their way to the temple of their fathers, where, they fondly thought, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, still retained his peculiar dwelling within the Holy of Holies. Free ingress and egress were granted; the native Jews were strictly searched, the strangers admitted with less difficulty; but often in the very act of prayer, or sacrifice, the arrows would come whizzing in, or the heavy stone fall thundering on their heads; and they would pay with their lives the price of kneeling and worshiping in the sacred place.

The contest raged more and more fiercely, for the abundant stores within the temple, so unsparingly supplied the few adherents of Eleazar, that in their drunkenness they would occasionally sally out against John. When these attacks took place, John stood on the defensive; from the outer porticoes repelled Simon, and with his engines within harassed Eleazar.
When the drunken or overwearied troops of Eleazar gave him repose, he would sally forth against Simon, and waste the city. Simon, in his turn, would drive him back; and thus the space around the temple became a mass of ruin and desolation; and in these desultory conflicts the granaries, which, if carefully protected and prudently husbanded, might have maintained the city in plenty for years, were either wantonly thrown to waste, or set on fire by Simon, lest they should be seized by John.

The people in the meantime, particularly the old men and the women, groaned in secret; some uttered their prayers, but not aloud, for the speedy arrival of the Romans, to release them from the worse tyranny of these fierce strangers. In one point the three parties concurred, the persecution of the citizens, and in the condign punishment of every individual whom they suspected of wishing well to the Roman army, as their common enemy. It was dreadful to witness the deep and silent misery of the people; they dared not utter their griefs, their very groans were watched, and stifled in their hearts. But it was even more dreadful to see the callous hard-heartedness which had seized all ranks—all were alike become reckless from desperation—there was no feeling for the nearest kindred, their very burial was neglected; all the desires, the hopes, the interest of life were extinguished, death was so near, it was scarcely worth while to avoid it. Men went trampling over dead bodies as over the common pavement; and thus familiarity with murder, as it deadened the hearts of the citizens, so it increased the ferocity of the soldiers. Yet, even in the midst of all this, the old religious prejudices were the last to yield. Among the atrocities of John, the promiscuous spoilations and murders, one act made still a deep impression upon the public mind, his seizing some sacred timbers of great size and beauty, which Agrippa had brought from Lebanon, for the purpose of raising the temple twenty feet, and his converting them to the profane use of raising military towers, to annoy the faction of Eleazar in the temple. He erected these towers on the west side, where alone there was an open space, the others being occupied by flights of steps. The force of the three factions was as follows: Simon had ten thousand men, and five thousand Idu-
means; John six thousand; Eleazar two thousand four hundred.

At length, after this awful interval of suspense, the war approached the gates of Jerusalem. Titus having traveled from Egypt, arrived at Cesarea, and began to organize his forces. In addition to the three legions, which Vespasian had commanded, the twelfth returned to Syria, burning with revenge for its former disgraceful defeat under Cestius Gallus. The Syrian kings sent large contingents. The legions were full; the men who had been drafted off by Vespasian having been replaced by two thousand picked troops from Alexandria, and three thousand of those stationed on the Euphrates. Tiberius Alexander, who was distinguished not only by his wisdom and integrity, but by the intimate friendship of Titus, was appointed to a high command. He had been the first, in the recent political changes, to espouse the party of Vespasian; and his experience in arms and the knowledge of the country, which he had once governed, added weight to his counsels. The army advanced in its customary order of march; first the allies, then the pioneers; the baggage of the principal officers strongly guarded, then Titus himself with a select guard of spearmen, then the horse attached to the legions. The military engines next, strongly guarded. The eagles and the trumpeters followed, then the legionaries in their phalanx six deep, the slaves with the baggage; last of all the mercenaries with the rear guard to keep order. The host moved slowly through Samaria into Gophna, and encamped in the valley of Thorns, near a village called Gaboth Saul, the Hill of Saul, about three and three-quarter miles from Jerusalem. Titus himself with six hundred horse went forward to reconnoiter. As they wound down the last declivities, which sloped towards the walls, the factious and turbulent city seemed reposing in perfect peace. The gates were closed; not a man appeared. The squadron of Titus turned to the right, filed off, and skirted the wall towards the tower Isephina. On a sudden, the gate behind him, near the tower of the Women, towards the monument of Helene, burst open; and countless multitudes threw themselves, some across the road on which Titus was advancing, some right through his line, separating those who had diverged from the rest of the
party. Titus was cut off with only a few followers—to advance was impossible. The ground was covered with orchards and gardens, divided by stone walls and intersected by deep trenches and water-courses, which reached to the city walls. To retreat was almost as difficult, for the enemy lay in thousands across his road. Titus saw that not a moment was to be lost; he wheeled his horse round, called to his men to follow him, and charged fiercely through. Darts and javelins fell in showers around him; he had rode forth to reconnoiter, not to battle, and had on neither helmet nor breastplate. Providentially, not an arrow touched him; clearing his way with his sword on both sides, and trampling down the enemy with his fiery steed, he continued to cleave his passage through the dense masses. The Jews shouted with astonishment at the bravery of Cæsar, but exhorted each other to secure the inestimable prize. Yet still they shrank and made way before him; his followers formed around him as well as they could, and at length they reached their camp in safety; one man had been surrounded and pierced with a thousand javelins; another, having dismounted, was slain, and his horse led away into the city. The triumph of the Jews was unbounded; Cæsar himself had been seen to fly; it was the promise and presage of more glorious and important victories.

The legion from Emmaus now joined the camp, and advanced to Scopus, within a mile of the city, from which all its extent could be surveyed. A level plain lay between the army and the northern wall; the Romans encamped, two legions in front, the fifteenth three stadia behind. The tenth legion now likewise arrived from Jericho, and occupied a station at the foot of the Mount of Olives.

Each from his separate watch tower, Eleazar from the summit of the temple, John from the porticoes of the outer courts, and Simon from the heights of Sion, beheld three camps forming immediately under the walls of the city. For the first time they felt the imperious necessity of concord. They entered into negotiations, and agreed on a simultaneous attack; their mutual animosity turned to valiant emulation; they seized their arms, and rushing along the Valley of Jehoshaphat, fell with unexpected and irresistible impetuosity upon the tenth legion at the
foot of the Mount of Olives. The legionaries were at work on their entrenchments, and many of them unarmed. They fell back, overpowered by the suddenness of the onset, many were killed before they could get to their arms. Still more and more came swarming out of the city; and the consternation of the Romans yet further multiplied their numbers. Accustomed to fight in array, they were astonished at this wild and desultory warfare; they occasionally turned and cut off some of the Jews, who exposed themselves in their blind fury; but, overborne by numbers, they were on the verge of total and irreparable defeat, when Titus, who had received intelligence of the assault, with some picked men, fell unexpectedly on the flank of the Jews, and drove them up the valley with great loss. Still the battle raged the whole day. Titus, having planted the troops who came with him in front across the valley, sent the rest to seize and fortify the upper part of the hill. The Jews mistook this movement for flight, their watchmen on the walls shook their garments violently as a signal; it seemed as if the whole city poured forth, roaring and raging like wild beasts. The ranks of the Romans were shattered by the charge, as if by military engines; they fled to the mountain. Titus was again left, with but a few followers, on the declivity. With the advantage of the ground he defended himself resolutely, and at first drove his adversaries down; but like waves broken by a promontory, they went rushing up on both sides, pursuing the other fugitives, or turning and raking his party on both flanks. Those on the mount, as they saw the enemy swarming up the hill, were again seized with a panic, and dispersed on all sides, until a few, horror struck at the critical situation of their commander, by a loud outcry raised an alarm among the whole legion, and bitterly reproaching each other for their base desertion of their Caesar, with the resolute courage of men ashamed of their flight, rallied their scattered forces, made head, and drove the Jews down the hill, into the valley. The Jews contested every foot of ground, till at length they were completely repulsed, and Titus, again having established a strong line of outposts, dismissed his wearied men to their works.

It was now the passover, the period during which in the earlier days of Mosaic polity, or during the splendor of their
monarchy, the whole people used to come up with light and rejoicing hearts to the hospitable city, where all were welcome; where every house was freely opened and without reward; and the united voices of all the sons of Abraham blessed the Almighty for their deliverance from Egypt. Even in these disastrous days the festival retained its reverential hold upon the hearts of the people. Not merely multitudes of Jews from the adjacent districts, but even from remote quarters, were assembled to celebrate the last public passover of the Jewish nation. Dio Cassius states that many Jews came even from beyond the Euphrates to join in the defense of the city; probably he meant those strangers who had come to the festival. These numbers only added to the miseries of the inhabitants, by consuming the stores, and hastening the general distress and famine. Yet, even the day of sacrifice was chosen by John of Gischala, for an act of treachery and bloodshed. When Eleazar opened the gates of the court to admit the worshipers, some of John’s most desperate adherents, without having performed their ablutions (Josephus adds this as a great aggravation of the crime), stole in among the rest with their swords under their cloaks. No sooner were they within, than they threw away their cloaks, and the peaceful multitude beheld the swords of these dauntless ruffians flashing over their heads. The worshipers apprehended a general massacre. Eleazar’s Zealots knew well on whom the attack was made. They leaped down and took refuge in the subterranean chambers of the temple. The multitude cowered around the altar, some were slain out of wantonness, or from private animosity—others trampled to death. At length, having glutted their vengeance upon those with whom they had no feud, the partisans of John came to terms with their real enemies. They were permitted to come up out of their hiding places, even to resume their arms, and Eleazar was still left in command; but one faction became thus absorbed in another, and two parties instead of three divided the city.

In the meantime, Titus was cautiously advancing his approaches. The whole plain from Scopus to the outward wall was leveled. The blooming gardens, with their bubbling fountains, and cool water-courses, in which the inhabitants of
Jerusalem had enjoyed sweet hours of delight and recreation, were ruthlessly swept away. The trees, now in their spring flower, fell before the axe, the land-marks were thrown down, the water-courses destroyed; even the deep and shady glens were levelled and filled up with the masses of rugged and picturesque rocks which used to overshadow them. A broad and level road led from Scopus to the tomb of Herod, near the pool of Serpents.

While this work was proceeding, one day, a considerable body of the Jews was seen to come, as if driven out from the gate near the tower of the Women. They stood cowering under the walls, as if dreading the attack of the Romans. It seemed as if the peace party had expelled the fiercer insurgents, for many at the same time were seen upon the walls, holding out their right hands in token of surrender, and making signs that they would open the gates. At the same time they began to throw down stones on those without; the latter appeared at one moment to endeavor to force their way back, and to supplicate the mercy of those on the walls; at another to advance towards the Romans, and then retreat as if in terror. The unsuspecting soldiers were about to charge in a body, but the more wary Titus ordered then to remain in their position. A few, however, who were in front of the workmen, seized their arms, and advanced towards the gates. The Jews fled, till their pursuers were so close to the gates, as to be within the flanking towers. They then turned, others sallied forth and surrounded the Romans, while those on the walls heaped down stones and every kind of missile on their heads. After suffering great loss in killed and wounded, some of them effected their retreat, and were pursued by the Jews to the monument of Aelene. The Jews not content with their victory, stood and laughed at the Romans for having been deceived by so simple a stratagem, clashed their shields, and assailed them with every ludicrous and opprobrious epithet. Nor was this the worst; they were received with stern reproof by their tribunes, and Cæsar himself addressed them in the language of the strongest rebuke: "The Jews," he said, "who have no leader but despair, do everything with the utmost coolness and precaution, lay ambushes, and plot stratagems; while the Romans, who
used to enslave fortune by their steady discipline, are become so rash and disorderly, as to venture into battle without command.” He then threatened, and was actually about to put into execution, the military law, which punished such a breach of order with death—had not the other troops surrounded him, entreating mercy for their fellow-soldiers, and pledging themselves to redeem the blow by their future regularity and discipline. Caesar was with difficulty appeased.

The approach to the city was now complete, and the army took up a position along the northern and western wall. They were drawn up, the foot in front, seven deep; the horse behind, three deep, with the archers between them. The Jews were thus effectually blockaded; and the beasts of burden, which carried the baggage, came up to the camp in perfect security. Titus himself encamped about a quarter of a mile from the wall, near the tower Psephina; another part of the army near the tower called Hippicus, at the same distance; the tenth legion kept its station near the Mount of Olives.

Jerusalem, at this period, was fortified by three walls, in all those parts where it was not surrounded by abrupt and impassable ravines; there it had but one. Not that these walls stood one within the other, each in a narrower circle running round the whole city; but each of the inner walls defended one of the several quarters into which the city was divided; or, it might be almost said, one of the separate cities. Since the days in which David had built his capital on the rugged heights of Sion, great alterations had taken place in Jerusalem. That eminence was still occupied by the upper city; but in addition, first, the hill of Moriah was taken in, on which the temple stood; then Acra, which was originally, although a part of the same ridge, separated by a deep chasm from Moriah. This chasm was almost entirely filled up, and the top of Acra leveled by the Asmonean princes, so that Acra and Moriah were united, though on the side of Acra the temple presented a formidable front, connected by several bridges or causeways with the lower city. To the south the height of Sion, the upper city, was separated from the lower by a ravine, which ran right through Jerusalem, called the Tyropeon, or Valley of the Cheesemongers; at the edge of this ravine, on
both sides, the streets suddenly broke off, though the walls in some places must have crossed it, and it was bridged in more than one place. To the north extended a considerable suburb called Bezetha, or the new city.

The first, or outer wall, encompassed Bezetha. Agrippa I. had intended, as it has been mentioned, to make this wall of extraordinary strength; but he had desisted from the work on the interference of the Romans, who seem to have foreseen that this refractory city would hereafter force them to take arms against it. Had this wall been built according to the plan of Agrippa, the city, in the opinion of Josephus, would have been impregnable. This wall began at the tower of Hippicus, which stood, it seems, on a point at the extreme corner of Mount Zion; it must have crossed the western mouth of the Valley Tyropea, and run directly north to the tower of Psephini, proved clearly by D’Anville to have been what was called, during the crusades, Castel Pisano. The wall then bore toward the monument of Helena, ran by the royal cavern to the Fuller’s monument, and was carried into the Valley of Kedron, or Jehosaphat, where it joined the old, or inner wall, under the temple. The stones were thirty-five feet long, so solid as not easily to be shaken by battering engines, or undermined. The wall was seventeen and a half feet broad. It had only been carried to the same height by Agrippa, but it had been hastily run up by the Jews to thirty-five feet. On its top stood battlements three and a half feet, and pinnacles five and three-quarters, so that the whole was nearly forty-five feet high.

The second wall began at a gate in the old or inner one, called Gennath, the gate of the gardens; it intersected the lower city, and having struck northward for some distance, turned to the east and joined the north-west corner of the tower of Antonia. The Antonia stood at the north-west corner of the temple, and was separated from Bezetha by a deep ditch, which probably protected the whole northern front of the temple, as well as of the Antonia.

The old or inner wall was that of Sion. Starting from the south-western porticoes of the temple, to which it was united, it ran along the ridge to the Tyropeon, passing first the Xystus,
then the council house, and abutted on the tower Hippicus, from whence the northern wall sprang. The old wall then ran southward through Bethso to the gate of the Essenes, all along the ridge of the valley of Hinnom, above the pool of Siloam, then eastward again to the pool of Solomon, so on through Ophla, probably a deep glen; it there joined the eastern portico of the temple. Thus there were, it might seem, four distinct towns, each requiring a separate siege. The capture of the first wall only opened Bezetha, the fortifications of the northern part of the temple, the Antonia and the second wall still defended the other quarters. The second wall forced, only a part of the lower city was won; the strong, rock-built city of Antonia and the temple on one hand, and Sion on the other, were not the least weakened.

The whole circuit of these walls was guarded with towers, built of the same solid masonry with the rest of the walls. They were thirty-five feet broad and thirty-five feet high, but above this height were lofty chambers, and above those again upper rooms, and large tanks to receive the rain water. Broad flights of steps led up to them. Ninety of these towers stood in the first wall, fourteen in the second, and sixty in the third. The intervals between the towers were about three hundred and fifty feet. The whole circuit of the city, according to Josephus, was thirty-three stadia—rather more than four miles. The most magnificent of all these towers was that of Psephina, opposite to which Titus encamped. It was one hundred and twenty-two and one-half feet high, and commanded a noble view of the whole territory of Judea, to the border of Arabia, and to the sea; it was an octagon. Answering to this was the tower Hippicus, and following the old wall, stood those of Phasaelis and Mariamne, built by Herod, and named after his wife and his brother and friend. These were stupendous, even as works of Herod. Hippicus was square, forty-three and three-quarter feet each way. The whole height of the tower was one hundred and forty feet, the tower itself fifty-two and one-half, a deep tank, or reservoir, thirty-five, two stories of chambers forty-three and three-fourths, battlements and pinnacles eight and three-fourths. Phasaelis was a solid square of seventy feet. It was surrounded by a portico seventeen and
one-half feet high, defended by breastworks and bulwarks, and
above the portico was another tower, divided into lofty cham-
bbers and baths. It was more richly ornamented than the rest
with battlements and pinnacles, so that its whole height was
above one hundred and sixty-seven feet. It looked from a dis-
tance like the tall Pharos of Alexandria. This stately palace
was the dwelling of Simon. Mariamne, though not equal in
elevation, was more luxuriously fitted up. It was built of solid
wall thirty-five feet high, and the same width; on the whole,
with the upper chambers, it was about seventy-six and three-
quarter feet high. These lofty towers appeared still higher
from their situation. They were built on the old wall, which
ran along the steep brow of Sion. The masonry was perfect;
they were built of white marble, cut in blocks thirty-five feet
long, seventeen and one-half wide, eight and one-fourth high,
so fitted that the towers seemed hewn out of the solid quarry.

Such was the strength of the city which Titus surveyed from
the surrounding heights, if with something like awe at its im-
pregnable strength, with still greater wonder and admiration
at its unexampled magnificence; for within these towers stood
the palace of the kings, of the most extraordinary size and
splendor. It was surrounded by a wall thirty-five feet high,
which was adorned by towers at equal distances, and by spa-
cious barrack-rooms, with one hundred beds in each. It was
paved with every variety of rare marble; timbers of unequalled
length and workmanship supported the roofs. The chambers
were countless, adorned with all kinds of figures, the richest
furniture, and vessels of gold and silver. There were numerous
cloisters, of columns of different orders, the squares within of
beautiful verdure; around were groves and avenues, with foun-
tains and tanks, and bronze statues pouring out the water.
There were likewise large houses for tame doves. Much of
this magnificence, however, had already run to waste and ruin
during the conflict within the city. The beautiful gardens
were desolated, the chambers plundered. A fire that had
originated in the Antonia, had crossed over to the palace and
injured a considerable part, even the roofs of the three towers.
The fortress Antonia stood alone on a high and precipitous
rock near ninety feet high, at the north-west corner of the
temple. It was likewise a work of Herod. The whole face of the rock was fronted with smooth stone for ornament, and to make the ascent so slippery as to be impracticable; round the top of the rock there was first a low wall, rather more than five feet high. The fortress was seventy feet in height. It had every luxury and convenience of a sumptuous palace, or even of a city; spacious halls, courts, and baths. It appeared like a vast square tower, with four other towers at the corner; three of them between eighty and ninety feet high; that at the corner next to the temple above one hundred and twenty. From this the whole temple might be seen, and broad flights of steps led down into the northern and western cloister or porticoes of the temple, in which during the Roman government their guard was stationed.

High above the whole city rose the temple, uniting the commanding strength of a citadel with the splendor of a sacred edifice. According to Josephus the esplanade on which it stood had been considerably enlarged by the accumulation of fresh soil, since the days of Solomon, particularly on the north side. It now covered a square of a furlong each side. Solomon had faced the precipitous sides of the rock on the east, and perhaps the south, with huge blocks of stone, the other sides likewise had been built up with perpendicular walls to an equal height. These walls in no part were lower than three hundred cubits, five hundred and twenty-five feet; but their whole height was not seen excepting on the eastern and perhaps the southern sides, as the earth was heaped up to the level of the streets of the city. Some of the stones employed in this work were seventy feet square.

On this gigantic foundation ran on each front a strong and lofty wall without, within a spacious double portico or cloister fifty-two and a half feet broad, supported by one hundred and sixty-two columns, which supported a cedar ceiling of the most exquisite workmanship. The pillars were entire blocks hewn out of solid marble, of dazzling whiteness, forty-three and three-fourths feet high. On the south side the portico or cloister was triple.

This quadrangle had but one gate to the east, one to the north, two to the south, four to the west; one of these led to
the palace, one to the city, one at the corner to the Antonia, one down toward the gardens.

The open courts were paved with various inlaid marbles. Between this outer court of the Gentiles, and the second court of the Israelites ran rails of stone, but of beautiful workmanship, rather more than five feet high. Along these at regular intervals, stood pillars with inscriptions in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; warning all strangers and Jews who were unclean, from entering into the holy court beyond. An ascent of fourteen steps led to a terrace seventeen and a half feet wide, beyond which arose the wall of the inner court. This wall appeared on the outside seventy feet, on the inside forty-three and three-fourths; for besides the ascent of fourteen steps to the terrace, there were five more up to the gates. The inner court had no gate or opening to the west, but four on the north, and four on the south, two to the east, one of which was for the women, for whom a part of the inner court was set apart—and beyond which they might not advance; to this they had access likewise by one of the northern, and one of the southern gates, which were set apart for their use. Around this court ran another splendid range of porticoes or cloisters; the columns were quite equal in beauty and workmanship, though not in size, to those of the outer portico. Nine of these gates, or rather gateway towers, were richly adorned with gold and silver, on the doors, the door-posts, and the lintels. The doors of each of the nine gates were fifty-two and a half feet high, and half that breadth. Within, the gateways were fifty-two and a half feet wide and deep, with rooms on each side, so that the whole looked like lofty towers; the height from the base to the summit was seventy feet. Each gateway had two lofty pillars twenty-one feet in circumference. But that which excited the greatest admiration was the tenth, usually called the beautiful gate of the temple. It was of Corinthian brass of the finest workmanship. The height of the beautiful gate was eighty-seven and a half, its doors seventy feet. The father of Tiberias Alexander had sheeted these gates with gold and silver; his apostate son was to witness their ruin by the plundering hands and fiery torches of his Roman friends. Within this quadrangle there was a farther separation, a low wall which divided the priests from the
Israelites; near this stood the great brazen altar. Beyond, the
temple itself reared its glittering front. The great porch or
propyleon, according to the design of the last, or Herod's
temple, extended to a much greater width than the temple
itself; in addition to the former width of one hundred and five
feet, it had two wings of thirty-five each, making in the whole
one hundred and seventy-five. The great gate of this last quad-
rangle, to which there was an ascent of twelve steps, was called
that of Nicanor. The gateway tower was one hundred and
thirty-two and a half feet high, forty-three and a half wide; it
had no doors, but the frontispiece was covered with gold, and
through its spacious arch was seen the golden gate of the temple,
glittering with the same precious metal, with large plates of
which it was sheeted all over. Over this gate hung the cele-
brated golden vine. This extraordinary piece of workmanship
had bunches, according to Josephus, as large as a man. The
Rabbins add, that, "like a true natural vine, it grew greater
and greater; men would be offering, some gold to make a leaf;
some a grape, some a bunch; and these were hung up upon it,
and so it was increasing continually."

The temple itself, excepting in the extension of the wings
of the propyleon, was probably the same in its dimensions and
distribution with that of Solomon. It contained the same holy
treasures, if not of equal magnificence, yet by the zeal of suc-
cessive ages, the frequent plunder, to which it had been exposed,
was constantly replaced; and within, the golden candlestick
spread out its flowering branches, the golden table supported the
shew-bread, and the altar of incense flamed with its costly per-
fume. The roof of the temple had been set all over on the
outside with sharp golden spikes, to prevent the birds from set-
tling and defiling the roof; and the gates were still sheeted
with plates of the same splendid metal. At a distance, the
whole temple looked literally like "a mount of snow, fretted
with golden pinnacles."

Looking down upon its marble courts, and on the temple
itself, when the sun rose above the Mount of Olives, which it
directly faced, it was impossible, even for a Roman, not to be
struck with wonder, or even for a stoic, like Titus, not to betray
his emotion. Yet this was the city, which in a few mouths
was to lie a heap of undistinguished ruins; and the solid temple itself, which seemed built for eternity, not "to have one stone left upon another."

Surveying all this, Titus, escorted by a strong guard of horse, rode slowly round the city; but if thoughts of mercy occasionally entered into a heart, the natural humanity of which seems to have been steeled during the whole course of the siege, the Jews were sure to expel them again, by some new indication of their obstinate ferocity. As he passed along, Nicanor, an intimate friend of the emperor, was so imprudent as to venture near the walls with Josephus, to parley with the besieged; he was answered by an arrow through the right shoulder. Titus immediately ordered the suburbs to be set on fire, and all the trees to be cut down to make his embankments. He determined to direct his attack against the part of the outer wall, which was the lowest, on account of the buildings of Bezetha not reaching up to it, near the tomb of John the high-priest. As the approaches were made, and the day of assault visibly drawing near, the people began to have some cessation of their miseries, as their worst enemies, those within the gates, were employed against the Romans; and they looked forward to a still further release when the Romans should force the city.

Simon, it has been before stated, had ten thousand of his own men, and five thousand Idumeans; John six thousand; two thousand four hundred remained under the command of Eleazar. The cautious John would not venture forth himself from his lair in the temple, not for want of valor or animosity against the enemy, but from a suspicion of Simon; but his men went forth to fight in the common cause. The more open and indefatigable Simon was never at rest; he mounted all the military engines, taken from Cestius, on the walls; but they did little damage, as his men wanted skill and practice to work them. But they harassed the Roman workmen, by stones and missiles from the walls, and by perpetual sallies. Under their penthouses of wicker work, the Romans labored diligently; the tenth legion distinguished itself, and having more powerful engines, both for the discharge of arrows and of stones, than the others, not merely repelled those who sallied, but threw stones, the weight of a talent, a distance of two furlongs, upon
the walls. The Jews set men to watch the huge rocks, which came thundering down upon their heads. They were easily visible from their extreme whiteness (this, it seems, must have been at night) the watchmen shouted aloud in their native tongue. The bolt is coming; on which they all bowed their heads and avoided the blow. The Romans found out this, and blackened the stones, which, now taking them unawares, struck down and crushed not merely single men, but whole ranks.

Night and day the Romans toiled; night and day, by stratagem and force, the Jews impeded their progress. When the works were finished, the engineers measured the space to the walls with lead and line, thrown from the engines, for they dared not approach nearer. Having first advanced the engines, which discharged stones and arrows, nearer the wall, so as to cover the engineers, Titus ordered the rams to play. At three different places they began their thundering work; the besieged answered with shouts, but shouts of terror. It became evident that nothing less than a united effort could now repel the foe. Simon proclaimed an amnesty to all John's followers who would descend to man the wall. John, though still suspicious, did not oppose their going, so the two parties fought side by side from the walls with emulous valor, striving to set the engines on fire by discharging combustibles from above; others sallied forth in troops, tore the defenses from the engines, and killed the engineers. Titus, on his side, was indefatigable; he posted horsemen and bowmen in the intervals between the machines to repel the assailants. So the formidable machines called heliopolis—the taker of cities—pursued undisturbed their furious battering. At length a corner tower came down, but the walls stood firm, and offered no practicable breach.

Whether awed by this circumstance, or weary with fighting, the Jews on a sudden seemed to desist from their furious sallies. The Romans were dispersed about the works and intrenchments. Suddenly, through an unperceived gate, near the tower of Hippicus, the whole united force of the besieged came pouring forth with flaming brands to set the machines on fire. They spread on to the edge of the intrenchments. The Romans gathered hastily, but Jewish valor prevailed over Roman discipline. The besiegers were put to flight, and then a terri-
ble conflict took place about the engines, which had all been fired, but for the manful resistance of some Alexandrians, who gave Cæsar time to come up with his horse. Titus killed twelve men with his own hand, and the rest at length sullenly retreated; one Jew was taken prisoner, and crucified—the first instance of that unjustifiable barbarity—before the walls. John, the captain of the Idumeans, was shot by an Arab, during a parley with a Roman soldier; he was a man of courage and prudence, and his death was greatly lamented. Exhausted with the conflict of the day, the Roman army retired to repose. There was a total silence throughout the vast camp, broken only by the pacing of the sentinel, when suddenly a tremendous crash seemed to shake the earth, and the crumbling noise of falling stones continued for a few moments. The legionaries started to arms, and, half naked, looked through the dim night, expecting every instant to see the gleaming swords and furious faces of their enemies glaring upon them. All was still and motionless. They stood gazing upon each other, and hastily passed the word; and as their own men began to move about, they mistook them for the enemy, and were well nigh seized with a panic flight. The presence of Titus re-assured them, and the cause of the alarm soon became known. They had built three towers upon their embankment, nearly ninety feet high; one of them had fallen with its own weight, and given rise to the confusion.

These towers did the most fatal damage to the Jews. Beyond the range of arrows from their height, from their weight they were not to be overthrown, and being plated with iron, would not take fire. From the tops of these the men showered continually every kind of missile, till at length the defenders retired from the walls, and left the battering engines to perform their work undisturbed. There was one of these helotoleis, or battering engines, called by the Jews themselves Nico, the Victorious, for it beat down everything before it. Nico did not cease to thunder day and night, till at length the wall began to totter.

The Jews, exhausted by fatigue, and harassed with passing the night far from their own houses within the city, began to grow careless and indifferent about the suburb; and at once,
abandoning their posts, retreated to the second wall. The Romans entered Bezetha, and threw down a great part of the wall. Titus took up a position, near what was called the Camp of the Assyrians, stretching as far as the brook Cedron, and he immediately gave orders for the attack of the second wall. Here the conflict became more terrible than ever; the party of John defended the Antonia and the northern cloister of the temple; that of Simon, the rest of the wall to a gate, through which an aqueduct passed to the tower Hippicus. The Jews made perpetual sallies, and fought with the most dauntless courage. Without the wall the Roman discipline in general prevailed, and they were driven back; from the walls, on the other hand, they had manifest advantage. Both parties passed the night in arms—the Jews from fear of leaving their walls defenseless—the Romans, in constant dread of a surprise. At dawn the battle began again. On the one hand, Simon acted the part of a gallant commander, and his influence and example excited his men to the most daring exploits; on the other, the desire of speedily putting an end to the war, the confidence in their own superior discipline, the assurance that the Roman arms were irresistible, the pride of their first success—above all, the presence of Titus, kept up the stubborn courage of the assailants. Longinus, a Roman knight, greatly distinguished himself, by charging singly into a whole squadron of the Jews; he killed two men, and came safely off. But the Jews were entirely reckless of their own lives, and sacrificed them readily if they could but kill one of their enemies. Before long, the great heliopolis began to thunder against the central tower of the wall. The defenders fled in terror, except a man named Castor, and ten others. At first, these men lay quiet; but as the tower began to totter above their heads, they rose and stretched out their arms in an attitude of supplication. Castor called on Titus by name, and entreated mercy. Titus ordered the shocks of the engine, and the discharge of arrows, to cease, and gave Castor permission to speak. Castor expressed his earnest desire to surrender, to which Titus replied, that he would the whole city were of the same mind, and inclined honorably to capitulate. Five of Castor's men appeared to take his part; the other five, with savage cries to reproach them for
their dastardly baseness. A fierce quarrel seemed to ensue. In the meantime, the attack was entirely suspended, and Castor sent secret notice to Simon that he would amuse the emperor some time longer. In the meantime, he appeared to be earnestly expostulating with the opposite party, who stood upon the breastworks, brandishing their swords, and at length, striking their own bosoms, seemingly fell dead. The Romans, who did not see very distinctly from below, were amazed at what they supposed the desperate resolution of the men, and even pitied their fate. In the meantime, Castor was wounded in the nose by an arrow, which he drew out, and showed it indignantly to Caesar, as if he had been ungenerously treated. Titus sternly rebuked the man who had shot it, and desired Josephus to go forward and parley with Castor. But Josephus knew his countrymen too well, and declined the service. Upon this, one Æneas, a deserter, offered his services. Castor called him to come near to catch some money, which he wished to throw down. Æneas opened the folds of his robe to receive it, and Castor immediately leveled a huge stone at his head; it missed Æneas, but wounded a soldier near him. Caesar, furious at having been thus tricked, ordered the engines to be worked more vigorously than ever. Castor and his men set the tower on fire, and when it was blazing, appeared to leap boldly into the flames; in fact, they had thrown themselves into a subterraneous passage, which led into the city.

The fifth day the Jews retreated from the second wall, and Titus entered that part of the lower city, which was within it, with one thousand picked men. The streets of the wool sellers, the braziers, and the clothiers, led obliquely to the wall.

Instead of throwing down the walls and burning as he went on, Titus, with a view of gaining the people, issued orders that no houses should be set on fire, and no massacre committed. He gave out that he was desirous of separating the cause of the people from that of the garrison, that to the former he would readily restore all their property. The fierce insurgents hailed this as a sign of weakness, threatened all the people with instant death if they stirred, slew without mercy every one who uttered a word about peace, and then fell furiously on the Romans. Some fought on the houses; some from the
walls; some along the narrow streets; others, sallying from the upper gates, fell on the camp behind. The guards who were upon the walls leaped down, and totally abandoned their companions within the newly-conquered part of the city. All was confusion; those who reached the wall were surrounded, and looked in vain for succor from their associates without, who had enough to do to defend their own camp. The Jews increased every instant in numbers; they knew every lane and alley of the city, they appeared on every side, and started up where they were least expected. The Romans could not retreat, for the narrowness of the breach would only allow them to retire very slowly. Titus, at last, came to their assistance, and by placing archers at the ends of the lanes and streets, kept the assailants back, and at last brought off most of his men; but they had totally lost the fruits of their victory.

This success raised the spirits of the besieged to the highest pitch of elevation; they thought that whenever the Romans should venture again into the streets, if, indeed, they would be rash enough to do so, they would be repelled with the same loss and disgrace. But they thought not of the secret malady that was now beginning to sap their own strength—the want of provisions. As yet, indeed, though many were absolutely perishing with hunger, as these were only the disaffected populace, they rather rejoiced at being rid of the burden than deplored the loss. As for the breach, they manned it boldly, and made a wall of their own bodies, fighting for three days without intermission. On the fourth, they were forced to retire, and Titus, entering the wall a second time, threw down the whole northern part of it, and strongly garrisoned the towers toward the south.

Two walls had fallen, but still the precipitous heights of Sion, the impregnable Antonia and the stately temple, lowered defiance on the invaders. Titus determined to suspend the siege for a few days, in order to allow time for the terror of his conquests to operate on the minds of the besieged, and for the slow famine to undermine their strength and courage. He employed the time in making a magnificent review of all his troops, who were to receive their pay in view of the whole city. The troops defiled slowly, in their best attire, with their arms
taken out of their cases, and their breastplates on; the cavalry leading their horses, accoutered in the most splendid trappings. The whole suburbs gleamed with gold and silver. The Romans beheld the spectacle with pride, the Jews with consternation. The whole length of the old wall, the northern cloisters of the temple, every window, every roof, was crowded with heads, looking down, some with stern and scowling expressions of hate and defiance; others, in undisguised terror, some emaciated with famine, others heated with intemperance. The sight might have appalled the boldest; but the insurgents knew that they had offended too deeply to trust to Roman mercy, and that nothing remained but still to contend with the stubborn obstinacy of desperation. For four days this procession continued defiling beneath the walls; on the fifth, as no overtures for capitulation were made, Titus gave orders to recommence the siege. One part of the army was employed to raise embankments against the Antonia, where John and his followers fought; the rest against the monument of John the high-priest, on part of the wall defended by Simon. The Jews had now learned, by long practice, the use of their military engines, and plied them from their heights with tremendous effect. They had three hundred scorpions, for the use of darts, and forty ballistas, which threw enormous stones. Titus used every means to induce them to surrender, and sent Josephus to address them in their native language. Josephus, with some difficulty, found a place from whence he might be heard, and, at the same time, be out of arrow-shot.

Whether his prudence marred the effect of his oratory or not, by his own statement, he addressed to them a long harangue. He urged their own interest in the preservation of the city and temple, the unconquerable power of the Romans, their mercy in offering terms of capitulation, and he dwelt on the famine which had begun to waste their strength. Neither the orator himself, nor his topics, were very acceptable to the fierce Zealots. They scoffed at him, reviled him, and hurled their darts against his head. Josephus then reverted to the ancient history of the nation; he urged that the Jewish people had never yet relied on such defenders, but even on their God. Such was the trust of Abraham, who did not resist when Necho, the
Pharaoh of Egypt, took away his wife Sarah! The orator seems here to have reckoned on the ignorance of his audience. He then recounted first the great deliverances, then the great calamities of the nation, and proceeded in a strain of vehement invective, little calculated to excite anything but furious indignation in the minds of the Zealots. They, as might be expected, were only more irritated. The people by his account, were touched by his expostulations; probably their miseries and the famine argued more powerfully to their hearts; they began to desert in numbers. Some sold their property at the lowest price, others swallowed their more valuable articles, gold and jewels, and when they fled to the Romans, unloaded themselves of their precious burdens. Titus allowed them to pass unmolested. The news of their escape excited many others to follow their example, though John and Simon watched every outlet of the city, and executed without mercy all they suspected of a design to fly. This too was a convenient charge, by which they could put to death as many of the more wealthy as they chose.

In the meantime, the famine increased, and with the famine the desperation of the insurgents. No grain was exposed for public sale; they forced open and searched the houses; if they found any, they punished the owners for their refusal; if none was discovered, they tortured them with great cruelty for concealing it with such care. The looks of the wretched beings were the marks by which they judged whether they had any secret store or not. Those who were hale and strong were condemned as guilty of concealment; they passed by only the pale and emaciated. The wealthy secretly sold their whole property for a measure of wheat, the poorer for one of barley, and shrouding themselves in the darkest recesses of their houses devoured it unground; others made bread, snatched it half-baked from the embers, and tore it with their teeth. The misery of the weaker was aggravated by seeing the plenty of the stronger. Every kind feeling, love, respect, natural affection were extinct through the all-absorbing want. Wives would snatch the last morsel from husbands, children from parents, mothers from children; they would intercept even their own milk from the lips of their pining babes. Even the most scanty
supply of food was consumed in terror and peril. The marauders were always prowling about. If a house was closed, they supposed that eating was going on, they burst in and squeezed the crumbs from the mouths and the throats of those who had swallowed them. Old men were scourged till they surrendered the food, to which their hands clung desperately; and even were dragged about by the hair, till they gave up what they had. Children were seized as they hung upon the miserable morsels they had got, whisked around and dashed upon the pavement. Those who anticipated the plunderers, by swallowing every atom, were treated still more cruelly, as if they had wronged those who came to rob them. Tortures, which can not be related with decency, were employed against those who had a loaf or a handful of barley. Nor did their own necessities excuse these cruelties; sometimes it was done by those who had abundance of food, with a deliberate design of husbanding their own resources. If any wretches crept out near the Roman posts to pick up some miserable herbs or vegetables, they were plundered on their return; and if they entreated, in the awful name of God, that some portion at least might be left them of what they had obtained at the hazard of their lives, they might think themselves well off if they escaped being killed, as well as pillaged.

Such were the cruelties exercised on the lower orders by the satellites of the tyrants; the richer and more distinguished were carried before the tyrants themselves. Some were accused of treasonable correspondence with the Romans; others with an intention to desert. He that was plundered by Simon was sent to John; he that had been stripped by John was sent to Simon; so by turns, they, as it were, shared the bodies, and drained the blood of the citizens. Their ambition made them enemies; their common crimes united them in friendship. They were jealous if either deprived the other of his share in some flagrant cruelty; and complained of being wronged if excluded from some atrocious iniquity.

The blood runs cold and the heart sickens at these unexampled horrors; and we take refuge in a kind of desperate hope that they have been exaggerated by the historian; those which follow, perpetrated under his own eyes by his Roman
friends, and justified under the all-extenuating plea of necessity, admit of no such reservation—they must be believed in their naked and unmitigated barbarity. Many poor wretches, some few of them insurgents, but mostly the poorest of the people, would steal down the ravines by night to pick up whatever might have served for food. They would, most of them, willingly have deserted, but hesitated to leave their wives and children to be murdered. For these, Titus laid men in ambush; when attacked, they defended themselves; as a punishment, they were scourged, tortured, and crucified before the walls; and in the morning, sometimes five hundred, sometimes more, of these miserable beings were seen writhing on the crosses before the walls. This was done because it was thought unsafe to let them escape and to terrify the rest. The soldiers added ridicule to their cruelty; they would place the bodies in all kinds of ludicrous postures; and this went on till room was wanting for the crosses and crosses for the bodies.

These executions produced a contrary effect to that which was contemplated. The Zealots dragged the relatives of the deserters, and all they suspected as inclined toward peace, up to the walls and bade them behold those examples of Roman mercy. This checked the desertion, excepting in those who thought it better to be killed at once than to die slowly of hunger. Titus sent others back to Simon and John, with their hands cut off, exhorting them to capitulate, and not to force him to destroy the city and the temple. It can not be wondered, that as Titus went round the works, he was saluted from all parts, in contempt of the imperial dignity, with the loudest and bitterest execrations against his own name and that of his father.

At this time, a son of the king of Comimagene, called Antiochus Epiphanes, a name of ominous sound to Jerusalem, joined the Roman camp with a chosen band of youths, dressed and armed in the Macedonian fashion. He expressed his wonder at the delay of the Romans in assaulting the wall. Titus gave him free leave to make the attempt, which he did with great valor but with little success, notwithstanding his vaunting; for though he escaped, all his men were severely mutilated and wounded by the besieged.
After seventeen days' labor, on the 27th or 29th of May, the embankments were raised in four separate places, that of the fifth legion began near the pool of the Sparrows; that of the twelfth about thirty-five feet further off; that of the tenth on the north, near the pool of the Almond Trees, and that of the fifteenth on the east, near the monument of John. All was prepared; the engines mounted, and the troops stood awaiting the assault, when suddenly the whole ground between the embankments and the wall was seen to heave and roll like a sea. Presently, thick masses of smoke came curling heavily up, followed by dim and lurid flames; the whole then sank, the engines and the embankments rolled down together into the fiery abyss, and were either buried or consumed. John had undermined the whole, piled below an immense quantity of pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles, set fire to the wooden supports and thus destroyed the labors of seventeen days.

The Jewish captains were rivals in valor as in guilt. Two days after, Simon, on his side, made a desperate attack on the engines, which had already begun to shake the walls. Thebhas, a Galilean, Megassar, formerly an attendant on Mariammene, and a man of Adiabene, the son of Nebat, called Chagirias (the lame), rushed fiercely out with torches in their hands. These men were the bravest as well as the most cruel of the Zealots. They were not repelled till they had set fire to the helepoleis. The Romans crowded to extinguish the fire, the Jews from the walls, covered their men, who, though the iron of the engines was red hot, would not relax their hold. The fire spread to the other works, and the Romans encompassed on all sides by the flames, retreated to their camp. The Jews followed up their success, and, all fury and triumph, rushed upon the trenches, and assailed the guards. By the Roman discipline it was death to desert such a post. The guards stubbornly resisted, and were killed in numbers. The scorpions and ballistæ of the Romans rained a shower of mortal missiles, but the Jews, utterly regardless of defending themselves, still pushed fiercely on, swarm after swarm pouring out of the city, so that Titus, who had been absent reconnoitering the Antonia, in order to find a new spot to fix his engines, found the whole army besieged and even wavering. He charged with his men
resolutely against the Jews, who turned round and faced his attack. Such was the dust and noise, that no one could see, hear, or distinguish friend from foe. The event of the contest left the Romans dispirited by the loss of their battering train, and with little hope of taking the city with the ordinary engines that remained.

Titus summoned a council of war; three plans were discussed, to storm the city immediately, to repair the works and rebuild the engines, or to blockade and starve the garrison to surrender. The last was preferred, and the whole army set to work upon the trench, each legion and each rank vying with the rest in activity. The trench ran from the "Camp of the Assyrians," where Titus was encamped, to the lower part of Bezetha, along the valley of Cedron, and the ridge of the Mount of Olives, to a rock called Peristereon, at the mouth of the valley of Siloam, and a hill which hangs over Siloe, thence to the west to the valley of the Fountain, thence ascending to the sepulcher of the high-priest Ananias, round the mountain where Pompey's camp was formerly pitched, by a village called that of Erebinth, or Pulse, then turned eastward again and joined the camp. The whole work was within a furlong of five miles. It was surmounted by thirteen garrison towers, and was entirely finished in three days.

It can scarcely be doubted, but that there must have been, within the walls of Jerusalem, many so closely connected with the Christians as to be well acquainted with the prophetic warning which had induced that people to leave the fated city. With what awful force must the truth of the disbelieved or disregarded words have returned to their remembrance, when their enemies had thus literally "cast a trench about them, and compassed them round, and kept them in on every side." But the poor and the lowly would have little time to meditate even on such solemn considerations; for the instant effect of this measure was, to increase the horrors of the famine so far that whole families lay perishing with hunger. The houses were full of dying women and children, the streets with old men gasping out their last breath. The bodies remained unburied, for either the emaciated relatives had not strength for the melancholy duty, or, in the uncertainty of their own lives, neg-
lected every office of kindness or charity. Some, indeed, died in the act of burying their friends, others crept into the cemeteries, lay down on a bier, and expired. There was no sorrow, no wailing; they had not strength to moan; they sat with dry eyes, and mouths drawn up into a bitter smile. Those who were more hardy looked with envy on those who had already breathed their last. Many died, says the historian, with their eyes still steadily fixed on the temple. There was a deep and heavy silence over the whole city, broken only by the robbers as they forced open houses to plunder the dead, and in licentious sport dragged away the last decent covering from their bodies; they would even try the edge of their swords on the dead. The soldiers, dreading the stench of the bodies, at first ordered them to be buried at the expense of the public treasury; as they grew more numerous, they were thrown over the walls into the ravines below.

Titus, as he went his rounds, saw these bodies rottng, and the ground reeking with gore wherever he trod; he groaned, lifted up his hands to heaven, and called God to witness that this was not his work. The Roman camp, in the meantime, was abundantly supplied; and Titus commanded timber to be brought from a distance, and recommenced his works in four places against the Antonia.

One crime remained of which the robbers had not yet been guilty, and that Simon now hastened to perpetrate. The high-priest, Matthias, a man of feeble character, had passively submitted to all the usurpations of the robber leaders. He it was who admitted Simon to counterpoise the party of John. Matthias was accused, whether justly or not, of intelligence with the Romans; he was led out and executed in the sight of the Romans, with his three sons, the fourth had made his escape. The inoffensive old man only entreated that he might be put to death first; this was denied him, and his sons were massacred before his face, by Ananus the son of Bamad, the remorseless executioner of Simon's cruelties. Ananias the son of Masambaal, Aristeus the secretary of the Sanhedrin, and fifteen of its members, were put to death at the same time. The father of Josephus was thrown into prison, and all access to him strictly forbidden. Josephus himself had a narrow escape; he was
struck on the head by a stone, and fell insensible. The Jews made a vigorous sally to make themselves masters of his body, but Titus sent troops to his rescue, and he was brought off, though with difficulty. The rumor of his death spread through the city, and reached his mother in her prison; his speedy appearance under the walls re-assured his friends, and was quickly imparted to his afflicted parents.

The murder of the high-priest, and of the Sanhedrin, at last excited an attempt to shake off the yoke of the tyrants. One Judas, the son of Judas, conspired with ten others to betray one of the towers to the Romans. They offered to surrender it, but the Romans, naturally suspicious, hesitated. In the meantime, Simon, as vigilant as he was cruel, had discovered the plot, the conspirators were put to death in the sight of the Romans, and their bodies tumbled from the walls. Still desertion became more frequent; some threw themselves from the walls, and fled for their lives; others, under pretense of issuing forth to skirmish, got within the Roman posts. Many of these famished wretches came to a miserable end. When they obtained food, they ate with such avidity as was fatal to their enfeebled frames; few had self-control enough to accustom their stomachs by degrees to the unusual food. Others perished from another cause. A man was seen searching his excrements for some gold which he had swallowed and voided. A report spread through the camp that all the deserters had brought off their treasures in the same manner. Some of the fierce Syrian and Arabian allies set on them and cut open their living bodies in search of gold; two thousand are said to have been killed in this way during one night. Titus was indignant at the horrid barbarity; he threatened to surround the perpetrators, and to cut down their whole squadrons. The number of offenders alone restrained him from inflicting summary justice. He denounced instant death against any one detected in such a crime; but still the love of gold was, in many instances, stronger than the dread of punishment, and that which was before done openly, was still perpetrated secretly.

John, the Zealot, at this time committed an offense in the opinion of the devout Jews, even more heinous than his most horrible cruelties, that of sacrilege; he seized and melted the
treasures of the temple, and even the dishes and vessels used in the service. Probably with revengeful satisfaction, he began with the offerings of the Roman emperors. He openly declared that the holy treasures ought to assist in supporting a holy war. He distributed, also, to the famished people, the sacred wine and oil, which were used and drank with the greatest avidity. For this offense, the historian Josephus, has reserved his strongest terms of horror and execration; "for such abominations, even if the Romans had stood aloof, the city would have been swallowed by an earthquake, or swept away by a deluge, or would have perished, like Sodom, in a tempest of fire and brimstone."

But by his own account, such calamities would have been as tender mercies to the present sufferings of the Jews. A deserter, who had at one time been appointed to pay for the interment of the dead at a particular gate, stated, that from the 14th of April, when the siege began, to the first of July, one hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty bodies had been buried at the public charge, or thrown from the walls, not including those interred by their friends. Others said that six hundred thousand of the poorer people had perished; that when they could no longer bury them, they shut them up in some of the larger houses, and left them there. A measure of wheat was selling for a talent, and the people were taking the very dung heaps for sustenance. Yet still, though dead bodies actually impeded the way of the defenders to the walls, and though the city, like one vast sepulcher, seemed to exhale a pestilential stench, with unbroken resolution which might have become better men, the soldiers both of John and Simon went sternly trampling over dead bodies as over the senseless pavement, and manned the walls with that wild desperation which familiarity with death is apt to engender.

The Romans, in the meantime, labored hard at their military engines. There was great scarcity of timber; they were obliged to bring it from a considerable distance, so that not a tree was left standing within above ten miles of the city; all the delicious gardens, the fruitful orchards, the shady avenues, where, in their days of peace and happiness, the inhabitants of the devoted city had enjoyed the luxury of their delicious climate, the temperate
days of spring, and the cool summer nights, were utterly destroyed. It was a lamentable sight to behold the whole gay and luxuriant suburban region turned to a frightful solitude.

At length, the tall and fearful engines stood again menacing the walls. Both the Jews and the Romans looked at them with apprehension; the Jews, from experience of their tremendous power; the Romans, from the conviction that if these were burned, from the total want of timber, it would be impossible to supply their places. Josephus confesses that at this period the Roman army was exhausted and dispirited; while their desperate enemies, notwithstanding the seditions, famine, and war, were still as obstinately determined as ever, and went resolutely and even cheerfully to battle. Before the engines could be advanced against the walls, the party of John made an attempt to burn them, but without success; for their measures were ill-combined; their attack feeble and desultory. For once, the old Jewish courage seemed to fail; so that, advancing without their customary fury, and finding the Romans drawn up in disciplined array, the engines themselves striking down their most forward men, they were speedily repelled, and the helepoleis advanced to the wall, amid showers of stones and fire, and every kind of missile. The engines began to thunder, and the assailants, though sometimes crushed by the stones that were hurled upon them from above, locked their shields over their heads and worked at the foundation with their hands and with crow-bars, till at length they got out four large stones. Night put an end to the conflict.

During the night, the wall suddenly fell in with a terrific noise; for it happened to stand over that part which John had formerly undermined in order to destroy the enemy's engines. But when the Romans rushed in the morning to the breach, they found a second wall, which John, with true military foresight, had built within, in case of such an emergency. Still this wall was newly made, and comparatively weak. Titus assembled the officers of the army, and made them an energetic address; in which, among other topics, he urged the manifest interference of divine providence in their favor, in the unexpected falling of the wall. They listened in silence, till at length a common soldier, a Syrian, named Sabinus, a man of great
courage, but slender make, and very dark complexion, volunteered to lead a forlorn hope. He threw his shield over his head, grasped his sword, and advanced deliberately to the wall. Only eleven men had courage to follow him. Javelins, weapons of all kinds, and huge stones, came whizzing and thundering around him. Some of his companions were beaten down; but, though covered with darts, he still persisted in mounting, till the Jews, panic-stricken at his boldness, and supposing that he was followed by many more, took to flight. He had actually reached the top of the wall, when his foot slipped and he fell. The Jews turned and surrounded him. He rose on his knees, still made a gallant defense, wounding many of the enemy; and at length expired, buried under a thousand spears. Of the eleven, three reached the top of the wall, and were killed by stones; eight were carried back wounded, to the camp. This was on the third of July. Two days after, at the dead of night, twenty soldiers of the guard, with a standard bearer of the fifth legion, two horsemen and a trumpeter, crept silently up the breach, surprised and slew the watch, and gave orders to the trumpeter to blow with all his might. The rest of the sentinels, without waiting to see the number of assailants, fled in terror. Titus, directly he heard the sound of the trumpet, armed his men and scaled the Antonia. The Jews fled on all sides, some fell into the mines which John had dug under the Roman embankments; but Simon and John, uniting all their forces, made a resolute effort to defend the entrance to the temple.

A fierce battle ensued, with spears and javelins; the troops of both parties were so mingled and confused that no man knew where he was. The narrow passages were crowded with the dead, so that those engaged were obliged to scramble over heaps of bodies and of armor to get at each other. At length, after ten hours' hard fighting, Titus, contented with the possession of the Antonia, recalled his men. But a Bithynian centurion, named Julian, of uncommon strength and skill in the use of his weapons, sprang forward from the side of Titus, where he was standing, and singly charged the Jews with such extraordinary resolution, that they fled on all sides; and Julian forced his way, committing dreadful slaughter as he went on, up to a corner of the inner court of the temple. Unfortunately his shoes
were full of nails, and slipping upon the smooth pavement, he fell with his armor clattering around him. The fugitives turned upon him. A loud shout of terror arose from the Romans in the Antonia, answered by a fierce and exulting cry from the Jews. They surrounded the gallant Julian, and though he covered himself with his shield, and repeatedly struggled to rise, he was overpowered by numbers. Still, however, his breastplate and helmet protected the vital parts, till at length, his limbs having been hewn off, he received a mortal wound, and fell dead. The Jews, to the great grief of Caesar, dragged the body into the temple, and again drove back the Romans into the Antonia.

It was now the 5th of July. Titus commanded that the fortress of Antonia should be razed to the ground. He had heard the daily sacrifice was now intermitted, from want of persons to make the offering; and understanding the deep impression made on all the Jews by the suspension of that rite, he determined to make another attempt on their religious feelings. Josephus was sent to offer free egress to John, if he would come forth to fight, that the temple might escape defilement. Josephus placed himself so as to be heard by all the Jews, and communicated, in the Hebrew language, the offers of Titus. John replied in language of the fiercest bitterness, imprecating curses on the head of the renegade Josephus, and concluded, that "he feared not the taking of the city; for it was the City of God." Josephus broke out into a vehement invective; but neither his words, nor the tears, nor sobs, by which he was interrupted, had the slightest effect on John or his soldiers; they rushed out and endeavored to seize him. Some few, however, were moved.

There were some men of distinction, who, from time to time, had seized an opportunity of desertion. Among these were Joseph and four chief-priests; three sons of Ishmael, the high-priest; four of Matthias; one of the other Matthias, whom Simon put to death, with three of his sons. Titus had received the fugitives with kindness, promised them his protection, and sent them to Goplini. These men were sent for, and, with Joseph, attempted to persuade the people, if not to capitulate, at least to spare the temple from inevitable defilement
and ruin. But all in vain; the sacred gates were blocked up with ballistas and catapults. The peaceful temple, with its marble courts and gilded pinnacles, assumed the appearance of a warlike citadel. Its courts were strewn with the dead—men with swords reeking with the blood of the enemy, or even of their countrymen, rushed to and fro along the holy place, or even the Holy of Holies. Even the Roman soldiers, it is said, shuddered at the profanation. Titus tried a last remonstrance. "You have put up a barrier," he said, "to prevent strangers from polluting your temple. This the Romans have always respected; we have allowed you to put to death all who violated its precincts. Yet ye defile it yourselves with blood and carnage. I call on your gods—I call on my whole army—I call on the Jews who are with me—I call on yourselves—to witness that I do not force you to this crime. Come forth, and fight in any other place, and no Roman shall violate your sacred edifice." But John and his Zealots suspected (it might be with justice) the magnanimity of Titus, and would not surrender a place, the strength of which was their only trust. Perhaps they have had still a fanatic confidence, that, reeking as they were with blood, steeped to the lips in crime, they were still the chosen people of Jehovah; and that yet, even yet, the power which smote Pharaoh, and Sennacherib, and the enemies of the Maccabees, would reveal Himself in irresistible terror.

Titus, finding all his offers of mercy rejected, determined on a night attack; as the whole army could not make the assault on account of the narrowness of the approaches, thirty men were picked from each hundred, tribunes appointed over each one thousand, and Cerealis chosen to command the whole. Titus himself announced, that he would mount a watch-tower which belonged to the Antonia, in order that he might witness and reward every act of individual bravery. They advanced, when night was three parts over, but found the enemy on the watch. The battle began to the advantage of the Romans, who held together in compact bodies, while the Jews attacked in small troops or singly. In the blind confusion of the night, among the bewildering shouts on all sides, many fell upon each other, and those who were repelled were mistaken for the assailants, and killed by their own men; so that the Jews lost more by
their own sword than by the foe. When day dawned, the combat continued on more even terms; after eight hours' contest, though the Romans were thus fighting as in a theater, in view of the emperor, they had not gained a foot of ground; and the battle ceased, as it were, by common consent.

In the meantime, the Romans had leveled part of the Antonia, and made a broad way, by which they could bring their engines to bear on the temple. They erected their embankments, though with great difficulty, from the scarcity of timber, against four places of the outer court; one opposite the north-east corner of the inner court, one against a building between the two northern gates, one against the western, and another against the northern cloisters. The indefatigable Jews, in the meantime, gave them no rest; if the cavalry went out to forage, and let their horses loose to feed, the Jews would sally out in squadrons and sur- prise them. They made one desperate assault on the outposts, near the Mount of Olives, in open day; and, but for a charge of cavalry on their flank, had almost succeeded in forcing the wall. In this contest, a horseman, named Pedanius, stooped down, caught up a Jew, with all his armor, carried him by main strength, and threw him down before the feet of Titus. Titus admired the strength of Pedanius, and ordered the captive to be put to death.

Overborne, exhausted, famine-stricken, still the Jews fought, inch by inch; and, according to the historian, sternly sacrificed, as it were, their own limbs, cutting off every foot that the enemy had taken, as if to prevent the progress of the disease. They set on fire the portico which led from the Antonia to the temple, and made a breach of between twenty and thirty feet. Two days after, the Romans, in their turn, set fire to the cloister, and burned above twenty feet more. The Jews looked on calmly, and allowed the flame to spread, till the whole space between the Antonia and the temple was cleared.

But if the holy precincts were thus to perish by fire, they determined that they should not fall unavenged. Along the whole western cloisters they filled the space between the beams and the roof with dry wood, sulphur, and bitumen; they then retreated from the defense as if quite exhausted. The more prudent of the assailants suspected some stratagem, but many im-
mediately applied the scaling ladders and mounted boldly to the roof. At that instant the Jews below set fire to the train; the flames rushed roaring and blazing up among the astonished assailants. Some flung themselves down headlong into the city, others among the enemy; there they lay bruised to death, or with broken limbs; many were burned alive, others fell on their own swords. In vain they looked to their companions below, in vain they beheld the sorrow of Cæsar himself, who, though they had acted without orders, commiserated their fate. Escape or succor were alike impossible; a few on the broader part of the roof fought valiantly, and died to a man with their arms in their hands. The fate of a youth named Longinus, created general interest—the Jews offered to spare his life if he would go down and surrender; on the other hand, his brother Cornelius, from below, entreated him not to disgrace the Roman character—the youth stabbed himself to the heart. One, Artorius, escaped by a singular stratagem; he called on one of his comrades, and offered to leave him his whole property if he would catch him as he fell. The man came below, Artorius jumped down, crushed his friend to death in his fall, and escaped unhurt. Thus a great part of the western cloister was burned, the Romans set fire to that of the north, and laid it in ashes so far as the north-east corner, near Cedron.

In the meantime, the famine continued its fearful ravages. Men would fight even the dearest friends, for the most miserable morsel. The very dead were searched, as though they might conceal some scrap of food. Even the robbers began to suffer severely; they went prowling about like mad dogs, or reeling like drunken men, from weakness; and entered and searched the same houses twice or thrice in the same hour. The most loathsome and disgusting food was sold at an enormous price. They gnawed their belts, shoes, and even the leathern coats of their shields; chopped hay and shoots of trees sold at high prices. Yet, what were all these horrors to that which followed? There was a woman of Lýrea, from the village of Bethezob, Mary, the daughter of Eleazar. She possessed considerable wealth when she took refuge in the city. Day after day, she had been plundered by the robbers, whom she had provoked by her bitter imprecations. No one, however, would mercifully put an end
to her misery, and her mind maddened with wrong, her body preyed upon by famine, she wildly resolved on an expedient which might gratify at once her vengeance and her hunger. She had an infant that was vainly endeavoring to obtain some moisture from her dry bosom—she seized it, cooked it, ate one-half, and set the other aside. The smoke and the smell of food soon reached the robbers—they forced her door, and with terrible threats commanded her to give up what she had been feasting on. She replied, with horrible indifference, that she had carefully reserved her good friends a part of her meal—she uncovered the remains of her child. The savage men stood speechless, at which she cried out, with a shrill voice, "Eat, for I have eaten—be ye not more delicate than a woman, more tender-hearted than a mother—or, if ye are too religious to touch such food, I have eaten half already, leave me the rest." They retired, pale and trembling with horror—the story spread rapidly through the city, and reached the Roman camp, where it was first heard with incredulity, afterward with the deepest commiseration. How dreadfully must the words of Moses have fixed themselves upon the minds of all those Jews who were not entirely unread in their holy writings: "The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter; and toward her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear; for she shall eat them for want of all things, secretly in the siege and straitness wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates."

The destruction of the outer cloisters had left the Romans master of the great courts of the Gentiles; on the 8th of August, the engines began to batter the eastern chambers of the inner court. For six previous days the largest and the most powerful of the battering rams had played upon the wall; the enormous size and compactness of the stones had resisted all its efforts; other troops at the same time endeavored to undermine the northern gate, but with no better success; nothing therefore remained but to fix the scaling ladders, and storm the cloisters. The Jews made no resistance to their mounting the walls; but as soon as they reached the top hurled them down
headlong, or slew them before they could cover themselves with their shields. In some places they thrust down the ladders, loaded with armed men, who fell back and were dashed to pieces on the pavement. Some of the standard bearers had led the way, they also were repelled, and the Jews remained masters of the eagles. On the side of the Romans fell many distinguished soldiers; on that of the Jews, Eleazar, the nephew of Simon. Repulsed on all hands from the top of the wall, Titus commanded fire to be set to the gates.

In meantime, Ananus of Emmaus, the bloody executioner of Simon, and Archelaus son of Magadat, deserted to the Romans. Titus at first intended to put them to death, but afterward relented. No sooner had the blazing torches been applied to the gates than the silver plates heated, the wood kindled, the whole flamed up and spread rapidly through to the cloisters. Like wild beasts environed in a burning forest, the Jews saw the awful circle of fire hem them in on every side, their courage sunk, they stood gasping, motionless, and helpless; not a hand endeavored to quench the flames, or stop the silent progress of the conflagration. Yet still fierce thoughts of desperate vengeance were brooding in their hearts. Through the whole night and the next day, the fire went on consuming the whole range of cloisters. Titus at length gave orders that it should be extinguished; and the way through the gates leveled for the advance of the legionaries. A council of war was summoned, in which the expediency of destroying the magnificent building was solemnly discussed. It consisted of six of the chief officers of the army; among the rest, of Tiberius Alexander, whose offerings had formerly enriched the splendid edifice. Three of the council insisted on the necessity of destroying forever this citadel of a mutinous people; it was no longer a temple, but a fortress, and to be treated like a military stronghold. Titus inclined to milder counsels; the magnificence of the building had made a strong impression upon his mind, and he was reluctant to destroy what might be considered as one of the wonders of the Roman Empire. Alexander, Fronto, and Cerealis concurred in this opinion, and the soldiers were ordered to do all they could to arrest the flames. But higher councils had otherwise decreed, and the temple of Jerusalem was to be
forever obliterated from the face of the earth. The whole of the first day after the fire began, the Jews from exhaustion and consternation remained entirely inactive. The next, they made a furious sally from the eastern gate against the guards who were posted in the outer court. The legionaries locked their shields together and stood the brunt of the onset; but the Jews still came pouring forth in such overbearing multitudes, that Titus himself was forced to charge at the head of some cavalry, and with difficulty drove them back into the temple.

It was the 10th of August, the day already darkened in the Jewish calendar by the destruction of the former temple by the king of Babylon; it was almost passed. Titus withdrew again into the Antonia, intending the next morning to make a general assault. The quiet summer evening came on; the setting sun shone for the last time on the snow-white walls, and glistening pinnacles of the temple roof. Titus had retired to rest; when suddenly a wild and terrible cry was heard, and a man came rushing in, announcing that the temple was on fire. Some of the besieged, notwithstanding their repulse in the morning, had sallied out to attack the men who were busily employed in extinguishing the fires about the cloisters. The Romans not merely drove them back, but entering the sacred space with them, forced their way to the door of the temple. A soldier, without orders, mounting on the shoulders of one of his comrades, threw a blazing brand into a gilded small door on the north side of the chambers, in the outer building or porch. The flames sprung up at once. The Jews uttered one simultaneous shriek, and grasped their swords, with a furious determination of revenging and perishing in the ruins of the temple. Titus rushed down with the utmost speed; he shouted, he made signs to his soldiers to quench the fire; his voice was drowned, and his signs unnoticed, in the blind confusion. The legionaries either could not or would not hear; they rushed on, trampling each other down in their furious haste, or, stumbling over the crumbling ruins, perished with the enemy. Each exorted the other, and each hurled his blazing brand into the inner part of the edifice, and then hurried to his work of carnage. The unarmed and defenseless people were slain in thousands; they lay heaped, like sacrifices, round the altar; the
steps of the the temple ran with streams of blood, which washed down the bodies that lay about.

Titus found it impossible to check the rage of the soldiery; he entered with his officers and surveyed the interior of the sacred edifice. The splendor filled them with wonder; and, as the flames had not yet penetrated to the Holy Place, he made a last effort to save it, and, springing forth, again exhorted the soldiers to stay the conflagration. The Centurion Liberalis endeavored to force obedience with his staff of office; but even respect for the emperor gave way to the furious animosity against the Jews, to the fierce excitement of battle, and the insatiable hope of plunder. The soldiers saw everything around them radiant with gold, which shone dazzlingly in the wild light of the flames; they supposed that incalculable treasures were laid up in the sanctuary. A soldier, unperceived, thrust a lighted torch between the hinges of the door; the whole building was in flames in an instant. The blinding smoke and fire forced the officers to retreat, and the noble edifice was left to its fate.

It was an appalling spectacle to the Romans. What was it to the Jew? The whole summit of the hill which commanded the city blazed like a volcano. One after another the buildings fell in with a tremendous crash, and were swallowed up in the fiery abyss. The roofs of cedar were like sheets of flame; the gilded pinnacles shone like sparks of light; the gate-towers sent up tall columns of flame and smoke. The neighboring hills were lighted up; and dark groups of people were seen watching in horrible anxiety the progress of the destruction; the walls and heights of the upper city were crowded with faces—some pale with the agony of despair—others scowling unavailing vengeance. The shouts of the Roman soldiery, as they ran to and fro, and the howling of the insurgents who were perishing in the flames, mingled with the roaring of the conflagration and the thundering sound of falling timbers. The echoes of the mountains replied, or brought back the shrieks of the people on the heights; all along the walls sounded screams and wailings; men who were expiring with famine rallied their remaining strength to utter a cry of anguish and desolation.

The slaughter within was even more dreadful than the spec-
tacle without. Men and women, old and young, insurgents and priests, those who fought and those who pleaded for mercy, were hewn down in indiscriminate carnage. The number of the slain exceeded that of the slayers. The legionaries had to clamber over heaps of dead to carry on the work of extermination. John, at the head of some of his troops, cut his way through, first into the outer court of the temple, afterward into the upper city. Some of the priests upon the roof wrecked off the gilded spikes, with their sockets of lead, and used them as missiles against the Romans below. Afterward they fled to a part of the wall about fourteen feet wide; they were summoned to surrender; but two of them—Mair, son of Belga, and Joseph, son of Dalai—plunged headlong into the flames. No part escaped the fury of the Romans. The treasuries, with all their wealth of money, jewels, and costly robes—the plunder which the Zealots had laid up—were totally destroyed. Nothing remained but a small part of the outer cloister, in which about six thousand unarmed and defenseless people, with women and children, had taken refuge. These poor wretches, like multitudes of others, had been led up to the temple by a false prophet, who had proclaimed that God commanded all the Jews to go up to the temple, where He would display His almighty power to save His people. The soldiers set fire to the building; every soul perished.

For during all this time, false prophets, suborned by the Zealots, had kept the people in a state of feverish excitement, as though the appointed Deliverer would still appear. They could not; indeed, but remember the awful, the visible signs which had preceded the siege, the fiery sword, the armies fighting in the air, the opening of the great gate, the fearful voice within the sanctuary—"Let us depart;" the wild cry of Jesus, son of Ananus—Wo, wo to the city, which he had continued from the government of Albinus to the time of the siege, when he suddenly stopped, shrieked out—Wo to myself, and was struck dead by a stone. Yet the undying hopes of fierce fanaticism were kept alive by the still renewed prediction of that Great One, who would at this time arise out of Judea, and assume the dominion of the world. This prophecy the flattering Josephus declared to be accomplished in the
Roman Vespasian; but more patriotic interpreters, still, to the last, expected to see it fulfilled in the person of the conquering Messiah, who would reveal Himself in the darkest hour, wither the Roman legions with one word, and then transfer the seat of empire from the capital to Sion.

The whole Roman army entered the sacred precincts, and pitched their standards among the smoking ruins; they offered sacrifice for the victory, and with loud acclamations saluted Titus as emperor. Their joy was not a little enhanced by the value of the plunder they had obtained, which was so great that gold fell in Syria to half its former value. The few priests were still on the top of the walls to which they had escaped. A boy, emaciated with hunger, came down on a promise that his life should be spared. He immediately ran to drink, filled his vessel, and hurried away to his comrades with such speed that the soldiers could not catch him. Five days afterward the priests were starved into surrender; they entreated for their lives, but Titus answered, that the hour of mercy was passed; they were led to execution.

Still the upper city held out; but Simon and John, disheartened by the capture of the temple, demanded a conference. It was granted, and Titus stationing himself at the western verge of the hill, addressed them through an interpreter. He offered to spare their lives on the condition of instant surrender. John and Simon demanded free egress with their wives and children, promising to evacuate the city, and depart into the wilderness. The terms were rejected, and Titus vowed the unsparing extermination of the whole people; his troops had immediate license to plunder and burn Acra. The archives, the council house, the whole of Acra and Ophla were instantly set on fire. The insurgents took possession of the palace, where, from its strength, the people had laid up much of their wealth; they drove the Romans back, and put to death eight thousand four hundred of the people who had taken refuge there, and plundered all the treasures; they took two Roman soldiers alive. One they put to death and dragged his body through the city. The other, pretending to have something to communicate to Simon, was led before him, but as he had nothing to say, he was made over to one Ardala to be put to death. He was led forth
with his hands bound, and his eyes bandaged, to be killed in
the sight of the Romans, but while the Jew was drawing his
sword, he contrived to make his escape. Titus, unwilling to
punish him with death after he had thus escaped, but wishing
to show that it was unworthy of a Roman soldier to be taken
alive, had him stripped of his armor, and dismissed him with
disgrace. The next day the Romans entirely cleared the lower
city, and set the whole on fire. The insurgents cooped up in
the upper city, lay in ambush near the outlets, and slew every
one who attempted to desert. Their great trust was in the sub-
terranean passages, in which they hoped to lie hid.

On the 20th of August, Cæsar at length raised his mounds
against the steep cliffs of the upper city; he had the greatest
difficulty in obtaining timber. But at last his works were
ready in two places, one opposite the palace, the other near the
Xystus. The Idumean chieftains now endeavored secretly to
make their terms. Titus reluctantly consented; but the vigi-
lant John detected the plot, threw the leaders into prison, and
intrusted the wall to more trusty soldiers. Still the guards
could not prevent desertion; though many were killed, yet
many escaped. The Romans, weary of the work of slaughter,
spared the people, but sold all the rest as slaves; though they
bore but a low price, the market being glutted, and few pur-
chasers found; forty thousand were thus spared, the number
sold as slaves was incalculable. About the same time, a priest,
named Jesus, son of Thebuth, obtained his life on condition of
surrendering some of the treasures of the temple which he had
secured, two candlesticks, tables, goblets, and vessels of pure
gold, as well as the curtains and the robes of the high priests.
Another, who had been one of the treasurers, showed a place
where the vests and girdles of the priests were concealed, with
a great quantity of purple and scarlet thread, and an immense
store of cinnamon, cassia, and other spices.

Eighteen days elapsed before the works were completed; on
the 7th of September, the engines were advanced to batter
down the last bulwark of the besieged. Some did not await
the conflict but crept down into the lower city, others shrunk
into the subterranean passages, others more manfully endeav-
ored to beat down the engineers. The Romans advanced in
the pride of victory, the Jews were weary, famine-stricken, disheartened. A breach was speedily made, some of the towers fell, the leaders did not display their customary valor and conduct; they fled on all sides. Some who were accustomed to vaunt the most loudly, now stood pale, trembling, inactive; others endeavored to break through the Roman works and make their escape. Vague rumors were spread abroad that the whole western wall had fallen, that the Romans were in the city; the men looked around for their wounded leaders; they neither saw their active figures hurrying about in the thickest of the fray, nor heard their voices exciting them to desperate resistance. Many threw themselves on the ground and bitterly lamented their fate. Even John and Simon, instead of remaining in the three impregnable towers, where nothing but famine could have reduced them, descended into the streets, and fled into the valley of Siloam. They then made an attempt to force their way through the wall; but their daring and strength seemed alike broken, they were repulsed by the guard, dispersed, and at length crept down into the subterranean vaults.

The Romans ascended the wall with shouts of triumph at a victory so much beyond all hope, easy and bloodless; they spread through the streets slaying and burning as they went. In many houses where they expected rich plunder, they found nothing but heaps of putrid bodies, whole families who had died of hunger; they retreated from the loathsome sight and insufferable stench. But they were not moved to mercy toward the living; in some places the flames were actually retarded or quenched with streams of blood: night alone put an end to the carnage. When Titus entered the city, he gazed with astonishment at the massy towers, and recognized the hand of God in a victory which had thus made him master of such fortresses without a struggle. The multitudes of prisoners who pined in the dungeons where they had been thrown by the insurgents, were released. The city was ordered to be razed excepting the three towers, which were left as standing monuments of the victory.

The soldiers themselves were weary of the work of slaughter, and orders were issued to kill only those who resisted. Yet the old and infirm, as unsalable, were generally put to death.
The rest were driven into a space of the temple, called the Court of the Women. There a selection was made; the noted insurgents were put to death, excepting some of the tallest and most handsome, who were reserved to grace the triumph of Titus. Of the rest, all above seventeen years were sent to Egypt to work in the mines, or distributed among the provinces to be exhibited as gladiators in the public theaters, and in combats against wild beasts. Twelve thousand died of hunger—part from want or neglect of supplies, part obstinately refusing food. During the whole siege, the number killed was eleven hundred thousand, that of prisoners was ninety-seven thousand. In fact, the population, not of Jerusalem alone, but that of the adjacent districts—many who had taken refuge in the city, more who had assembled for the feast of unleavened bread—had been shut up by the sudden formation of the siege.

Yet the chief objects of their vengeance, the dauntless Simon son of Gioras, and John the Gischalite, still seemed to baffle all pursuit. The Roman soldiers penetrated into the subterranean caverns; wherever they went they found incalculable treasures, and heaps of dead bodies—some who had perished from hunger, others from their wounds, many by their own hands. The close air of the vaults reeked with the pestilential effluvia; most recoiled from these pits of death; the more rapacious went on, breathing death for the sake of plunder. At length, reduced by famine, John and his brethren came forth upon terms of surrender; his life was spared; a singular instance of lenity, if indeed his conduct had been so atrocious as it is described by his rival Josephus. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and finally sent to Italy.

Many days after, towards the end of October, when Titus had left the city, as some of the Roman soldiers were reposing amid the ruins of the temple, they were surprised by the sudden apparition of a man in white raiment, and with a robe of purple, who seemed to rise from the earth in silent and imposing dignity. At first they stood awe-struck and motionless; at length they ventured to approach him; they encircled him and demanded his name. He answered, "Simon the son of Gioras; call hither your general." Terentius Rufus was speedily summoned, and to him the brave, though cruel, defender of Jeru-
salem surrendered himself. On the loss of the city, Simón had leaped down into one of the vaults, with a party of miners, hewers of stone, and iron workers. For some distance they had followed the natural windings of the cavern, and then attempted to dig their way out beyond the walls; but their provisions, however carefully husbanded, soon failed, and Simon determined on the bold measure of attempting to overawe the Romans by his sudden and spectral appearance. News of his capture was sent to Titus; he was ordered to be set apart for the imperial triumph.

Thus fell and forever, the metropolis of the Jewish State. Other cities have risen on the ruins of Jerusalem, and succeeded, as it were, to the inalienable inheritance of perpetual siege, oppression, and ruin. Jerusalem might almost seem to be a place under a peculiar curse; it has probably witnessed a far greater portion of human misery than any other spot upon the earth.

Terentius Rufus, or Turnus Rufus (as his name appears in the Rabbinical traditions, ever coupled with the most rancorous hatred, and confounded with the no less obnoxious T. Annius Rufus, the governor of Judea in the time of Hadrian), executed the work of desolation, of which he was left in charge, with unrelenting severity. Of all the stately city—the populous streets, the palaces of the Jewish kings, the fortresses of her warriors, the temple of her God—not a ruin remained, except the tall towers of Phasaelis, Mariamne and Hippicus, and part of the western wall, which was left as a defense for the Roman camp. Titus, having distributed praises and rewards to his army, and offered sacrifice to his gods, had departed. Wherever he went, miserable gangs of captives were dragged along, to glut the eyes and ears of the conquerors by their sufferings in those horrible spectacles, which are the eternal disgrace of the Roman character. At Cesarea Philippi, two thousand five hundred were slain in cold blood, either in combats with wild beasts, or fighting as bands of gladiators. This was in honor of the birthday of his brother Domitian—an appropriate celebration for such an event. Vespasian's birthday was also commemorated at Berytus, with the same horrible festivities. One act of mercy alone, toward the Jewish race, marked the journey of Titus.
The inhabitants of Antioch, incited by a Jewish apostate, Antiochus, the son of the first man among the Jews in the city, had cruelly persecuted his brethren. This apostate had accused his kindred of a design of setting fire to the whole city. For this, many were burned alive, and the whole community threatened with destruction. An accidental fire happened afterward to take place, which was again laid to the charge of the Jews. In short, the whole Grecian population was so exasperated against the Jews, that they petitioned Titus for their expulsion from the city, or at least to cancel their privileges. Titus at first gave no answer, but afterward, on his return from the Euphrates, he refused their demands in these affecting words: "The country of the Jews is destroyed—thither they can not return; it would be hard to allow them no home to which they can retreat—leave them in peace." As he passed from Antioch to Alexandria, he surveyed the ruins of Jerusalem, and is said to have been touched with pity at the total desolation of that splendid city. For this work of havoc, for the destruction of near a million and a half of human lives, and the reduction of above one hundred thousand to the most cruel servitude, Titus was considered as entitled to a splendid triumph. If the numbers in Josephus can be depended on, the fearful catalogue of those who lost their lives or their liberty in this exterminating war and its previous massacres, stands as follows:

BEFORE THE WAR UNDER VESPASIAN.

At Jerusalem, killed by Florus................................. 3,600
At Cesarea................................................................... 20,000
At Scythopolis.......................................................... 13,000
At Ascalon.............................................................. 2,500
At Ptolemais............................................................ 2,000
At Alexandria............................................................ 50,000
At Damascus............................................................ 10,000
At Joppa................................................................. 8,400
Upon the Mountain Asamon...................................... 2,000
The Battle near Ascalon............................................. 10,000
The Ambuscades...................................................... 8,000

129,500
DURING THE WAR IN GALILEE AND JUDEA.

At Japha.................................................. 15,000
On Gerizim............................................... 11,800
At Jotapata.............................................. 40,000
At Joppa.................................................. 4,200
At Tarichea.............................................. 6,500
At Gamala................................................ 9,000
At Gischala.............................................. 6,000
In Idumea................................................. 10,000
At Gerasa............................................... 1,000
Near the Jordan......................................... 15,000

118,300

At Jerusalem............................................. 1,100,000

AFTER THE FALL OF JERUSALEM.

At Macherus............................................. 1,700
At Jardies................................................ 3,000
At Masada............................................... 960
In Cyrene............................................... 3,000

8,660

Total killed........................................... 1,358,460

PRISONERS.

In Gischala.............................................. 2,200
Near the Jordan........................................ 2,500
At Jerusalem.......................................... 97,000

101,700

The loss in many skirmishes and battles—that of Itabyrium for instance—is omitted, as we have not the numbers; besides the immense waste of life from massacre, famine, and disease, inseparable from such a war, in almost every district. The number of prisoners is only given from two places besides Jerusalem.

Nothing could equal the splendor of the triumph which Vespasian shared with his son Titus, for their common victories. Besides the usual display of treasures, gold, silver, jewels, purple vases, the rarest wild beasts from all quarters of the globe, there were extraordinary pageants, three or four stories high, representing, to the admiration and delight of those civilized savages, all the horrors and miseries of war, beautiful countries.
laid waste; armies slain, routed, led captive; cities breached by military engines, stormed, laid waste with fire and sword; women wailing; houses overthrown; temples burning; and rivers of fire flowing through regions no longer cultivated or peopled, but blazing far away into the long and dreary distance. Among the spoils, the golden table, the seven-branched candlestick, and the Book of the Law, from the temple of Jerusalem, were conspicuous.

The triumph passed on to the capital, and there paused to hear that the glory of Rome was completed by the insulting and cruel execution of the bravest general of the enemy. This distinction fell to the lot of Simon the son of Gioras. He was dragged along to a place near the Forum, with a halter round his neck, scourged as he went, and there put to death.

The antiquary still endeavors to trace, among the defaced and mouldering reliefs of the arch raised to Titus, "The delight of humankind," and which still stands in the Forum of Rome, the representation of the spoils taken from the temple of Jerusalem—the golden table and candlestick, the censors, the silver trumpets, and even the procession of captive Jews.

CHAPTER XIII.

TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

It might have been expected that all hopes of resistance, even among the most stubborn of the Jews, would have been buried under the ruins of the capital; that after the fall of Jerusalem, with such dreadful misery and carnage, every town would at once have opened its gates, and laid itself at the mercy of the irresistible conqueror. Yet, when Lucillius Bassus came to take the command of the Roman army, he found three strong fortresses still in arms—Herodion, Masada, and Macherus, beyond the Jordan, relying on its impregnable position, defied all the power of the enemy. Macherus stood on the summit of a
lofty crag, surrounded on all sides by ravines of enormous depth, which could not easily be crossed, and could not possibly be filled up.

One of these ravines, on the western side, ran down a distance of nearly eight miles, to the Dead Sea. Those to the north and south were less deep, but not less impassable: on the east the hollow was one hundred and seventy-five feet to the bottom, beyond which arose a mountain which faced Macherus. The town had been built and strongly fortified by Alexander Janneus, as a check upon the Arabian freebooters. It was a place of great beauty, as well as strength, adorned with noble palaces, and amply supplied with reservoirs of water. Bassus determined to form the siege on the eastern side; the garrison took possession of the citadel, and forced the strangers, who had taken refuge there from all quarters, to defend the lower town. Many fierce conflicts took place under the walls; the garrison sometimes surprising the enemy by the rapidity of their sallies; sometimes, when the Romans were prepared for them, being repulsed with great loss. There happened to be a young man named Eleazar, of remarkable activity and valor, who greatly distinguished himself in these attacks, being always the first to charge and the last to retreat, often by his single arm arresting the progress of the enemy, and allowing his routed compatriots time to make good their retreat. One day, after the battle was over, proudly confident in his prowess and in the terror of his arms, he remained alone without the gates, carelessly conversing with those on the wall. Rufus, an Egyptian serving in the Roman army, a man of singular bodily strength, watched the opportunity, rushed on him, and bore him off, armor and all, to the Roman camp. Bassus ordered the captive to be stripped, and scourged in the sight of the besieged. At the sufferings of their brave champion the whole city set up a wild wailing. Bassus, when he saw the effect of his barbarous measure, ordered a cross to be erected, as if for the execution of the gallant youth. The lamentations in the city became more loud and general. Eleazar's family was powerful and numerous. Through their influence it was agreed to surrender the citadel, on condition that Eleazer's life should be spared. The strangers in the lower town attempted to cut
their way through the posts of the besiegers; a few of the bravest succeeded; of those who remained seventeen hundred perished. The treaty with the garrison was honorably observed.

Bassus proceeded to surround the forest of Jardes, where a vast number of fugitives had taken refuge; they attempted to break through, but were repulsed, and three thousand put to the sword. During the course of these successes Bassus died, and Flavius Silva immediately marched against Masada, the only place which still held out. Masada was situated on the south-western side of the Dead Sea. Like the other hill fortresses of Palestine, it stood on a high rock, girt with precipitous chasms, the sides of which a goat could scarcely clamber. It was accessible only by two narrow and very difficult paths, from the east and from the west. On the east, a path, or rather a rocky stair, led up from the shore of the Dead Sea, called the Serpent, from its winding and circuitous course. It ran along the verge of frightful precipices, which made the head giddy to look down; it was necessary to climb step by step; if the foot slipped, instant death was inevitable. After winding in this manner nearly four miles, the path opened on a level space, on which Masada stood, in the midst of a small and highly cultivated plain of extraordinary beauty and fertility. The city was girt with a wall nearly a mile in circuit. The wall was twenty-two feet high, fourteen broad, and had thirty-seven lofty towers.

Besides this wall, Masada had a strong and magnificent palace, with sixty towers, built by Herod, on the western cliff, and connected by an underground way with the citadel. The western ascent was commanded in its narrowest part by an impregnable tower.

The city was amply supplied with excellent water, and with provisions of all kinds, wine, oil, vegetables, and dates. According to the strange account of Josephus, the air of Masada was such a temperature, that, although some of these fruits had been laid up for a hundred years, since the time of Herod, they were still sound and fresh. There were likewise armories, sufficient to supply ten thousand men, with great stores of unwrought iron, brass, and lead. In fact, Masada had been the fortress which Herod the Great had always looked to as a place of security, either in case of foreign invasion, or the revolt of his
own subjects. The town was now as strongly manned as fortified. Eleazar, the commander, was a descendant of Judas the Galilean, and inherited the principles of his ancestors in their sternest and most stubborn fanaticism. To yield to a foreign dominion was to him and his zealous associates the height of impiety; death was far preferable to a treacherous dereliction of the sovereignty of God. They acted to the end, up to their lofty tenets.

Silva, having blockaded the town, so that none could make their escape, seized a point of rock, called the White Promontory, to the westward. There he erected his works, a mound three hundred and fifty feet high, and above that a second bank of enormous stones; and at length he brought a battering ram to bear upon the walls. After long resistance, a breach was made; but the besieged had run up another wall within, of great timbers laid parallel with each other in two separate rows, the intervening space being filled with earth; this sort of double artificial wall was held together by transverse beams, and the more violently it was battered it became more solid and compact by the yielding of the earth. Silva ordered his men to throw lighted brands upon it; the timbers speedily kindled, and the whole became a vast wall of fire. The north wind blew the flames into the faces of the besiegers, and the Romans trembled for their own works and engines. On a sudden, the wind shifted to the south, the flames burned inward, and the whole fell down, a heap of smoldering ashes. The Romans withdrew to their camp, to prepare for the attack on the next morning, and stationed strong and vigilant outposts to prevent the flight of the garrison. But Eleazar was not a man either himself to attempt flight or to permit others to follow so disasterly a course. He assembled his followers in the palace, and reminded them that the time was now come when they must vindicate to the utmost their lofty principles. God had evidently abandoned His people; the fall of Jerusalem, the ruin of the temple, too sadly proved this. The sudden change of the wind on the day before, distinctly announced that they too were deserted by His protecting providence. Still it was better to fall into the hands of God, than of the Roman; and he proposed that they should set the city on fire, and perish together,
with their wives unviolated, their children yet free from captivity, on that noble funeral pile.

His men gazed on each other in wonder. Some were kindled at once with his enthusiasm; others thought of their wives and children, and tears were seen stealing slowly down their hardy cheeks. Eleazar saw that they were wavering, and broke out in a higher and more splendid strain. He spoke of the immortality, the divinity of the soul; its joyful escape from its imprisonment in its mortal tenement. He appealed to the example of the Indians, who bear life as a burden, and cheerfully throw it off. Perhaps with still greater effect he dwelt on the treatment of the conquered by the Romans, the abuse of women, the slavery of children, the murderous scenes in the amphitheatres. "Let us die," he ended, "unenslaved; let us depart from life in freedom with our wives and children. This our law demands, this our wives and children entreat; God himself has driven us to this stern necessity; this the Romans dread above all things, lest we should disappoint them of their victory. Let us deny them the joy and triumph of seeing us subdued, and rather strike them with awe at our death, and with enforced admiration of our indomitable valor."

He was interrupted by the unanimous voice of the multitude, vying with each other in eagerness to begin on the instant the work of self-devotion. On their intoxicated spirits no softer feelings had now the slightest effect. They embraced their wives, they kissed their children even with tears, and, at the moment, as though they had been the passive instruments of another's will, they stabbed them to the heart. Not a man declined the murderous office. But they thought that they should wrong the dead if they survived them many minutes. They hastily drew together their most valuable effects, and heaping them up, set fire to these sumptuous funeral piles. Then, ten men having been chosen by lot as the general executioners, the rest, one after another, still clasping the lifeless bodies of their wives and children, held up their necks to the blow. The ten then cast lots, nine fell by each other's hands, the last man, after he had carefully searched whether there was any more work for him to do, seized a lighted brand, set fire to
the palace, and then with resolute and unflinching hand, drove the sword to his own heart.

One old woman, another female who was a relation of Eleazar, and distinguished for her learning, and five children, who had crept into an underground cavern, were all that escaped; nine hundred and sixty perished. The next morning the Romans advanced to the wall in close array, and with the greatest caution. They fixed the scaling ladders, mounted the wall, and rushed in. Not a human being appeared; all was solitude and silence; and the vestiges of fire all around filled them with astonishment. They gave a shout—as they were wont when they drove the battering ram—as if to startle the people from their hiding-places. The two women and the five children came creeping forth. The Romans would not believe their story, till, having partially extinguished the fire, and made their way into the palace, and not without admiration beheld this unexampled spectacle of self-devotion.

Thus terminated the final subjugation of Judea. An edict from the emperor, to set up all the lands for sale, had been received by Bassus. Vespasian did not pursue the usual policy of the Romans, in sharing the conquered territory among military colonists. He reserved to the military treasury the whole profits of the sale. Only eight hundred veterans were settled in Emmaus, about seven and a half miles from Jerusalem. At the same time, another edict was issued for the transfer of the annual capitation tax of two drachms, paid by the Jews in every quarter of the world for the support of the temple worship, to the fund for the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which, as Gibbon observes, “by a remarkable coincidence, has been consumed by the flames of war about the same time with the temple of Jerusalem.” Thus the Holy Land was condemned to be portioned out to strangers, and the contributions for the worship of the God of Abraham levied for the maintenance of an heathen edifice.

Yet, though entirely extinguished in Judea, the embers of the war still burned in more distant countries. Some of the Assassins (the Sicarii) fled to Egypt, and began to display their usual turbulence, putting to death many of the more influential Jewish residents, who opposed their seditious designs, and
exciting the rest to revolt. The Jews assembled in council, and
determined to put down these dangerous enemies to their peace
by seizing and delivering them up to the Romans. Six hun-
dred were immediately apprehended; a few who fled to the
Thebaia were pursued and captured. But the spirits of these
men were still unsubdued; the most protracted and excruciat-
ing torments could not induce one of them, not even the ten-
derest boy, to renounce his creed, or to own Caesar as his lord.
On the news of this commotion, Vespasian sent orders that the
temple of Onias in Heliopolis should be closed. Lupus, the
prefect, obeyed the order, took away part of the treasures, and
shut up the temple. The edict was executed with still greater
rigor by Paulinus, the successor of Lupus, who entirely stripped
the treasury, and made the way to the temple impassable.

The last of these fanatics, having endangered the peace of
Cyrene, had almost involved in his own fate the few distin-
guished Jews who had escaped the ruin of their country. A
certain turbulent weaver of Cyrene, named Jonathan, pre-
tended to supernatural signs and visions, and led a multitude
of the lower orders into the desert. The chief Jews denounced
him to Catullus, the governor of the Pentapolis. Troops of
horse were sent out, the deluded multitude brought back, and
the impostor, after having long baffled their search, was appre-
hended. Before the tribunal of the governor this man accused
many of the chief Jews as accomplices in his plot. Catullus
listened with greedy ears to his charges, and even suggested
the names of those whom he was anxious to convict. On the
evidence of Jonathan and a few of his comrades, a man named
Alexander, and Bernice his wife, who had been on bad terms
with Catullus, were seized and put to death. Three thousand
more shared their fate; their property was confiscated to the
imperial treasury. Jonathan also denounced as the secret in-
stigators of this revolt some of the Jews of the highest rank
who resided in Rome; among the rest, Josephus, the historian.

Catullus came to Rome with his witnesses; Vespasian or-
dered a strict investigation, the event of which was the excul-
pation of the accused, and the condemnation of Jonathan, who
was first scourged, and then burned alive. Catullus escaped
animadversion; but Josephus, who spares no opportunity of
recounting the judgments of Providence on his own personal enemies, gives a frightful picture of his end. He was seized with a dreadful malady of body and mind. Racked with remorse of conscience, he would rave and scream out that he was environed by the ghosts of those whom he had murdered; he would then leap out of bed, and writhe and roll on the ground as though on the rack, or burning alive in the flames. At length his entrails fell out, and death put an end to his agonies.

CHAPTER XIV.

BARCOCHAB.

The political existence of the Jewish nation was annihilated; it was never again recognized as one of the states or kingdoms of the world. Judea was sentenced to be portioned out to strangers—the capital was destroyed—the temple demolished—the royal house almost extinct—the high-priesthood buried under the ruins of the temple. Our history has lost, as it were, its center of unity; we have to trace a despised and obscure race in almost every region of the world, and connect, as we can, the loose and scattered details of our story.

According to the Jewish tradition, the Sanhedrin escaped the general wreck. Before the formation of the siege, it had followed Gamaliel, its Nasi, or Prince, to Jabne (Jamnia). Simeon, the son and successor of Gamaliel, had gone up to the passover; he was put to death. Rabban Jochanan ben Zacci, after having labored in vain to persuade the people to peace, made his escape to the camp of Titus, and afterward became Nasi at Jamnia. It was Rabban Jochanan, who, on the awful night when the great eastern gate of the temple flew open of its own accord, quoted the ominous words of the Prophet Zachariah—Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars. He escaped the fury of the Zealots by being laid
out on a bier, as dead, and carried forth by his scholars, R. Joshua and R. Eliezer. Gamaliel, the son of Simeon, likewise escaped the fate of his father. With the permission of Titus he followed Jochanan to Jamnia, and afterward succeeded him in the presidency.

The Jews, though looked upon with contempt, as well as detestation, were yet regarded, during the reign of Vespasian and his immediate successors, with jealous watchfulness. A garrison of eight hundred men occupied the ruins of Jerusalem, to prevent the reconstruction of the city by the fond and religious zeal of its former inhabitants. The Christian Hegesippus relates that Vespasian commanded strict search to be made for all who claimed descent from the house of David, in order to cut off, if possible, all hopes of the restoration of the royal house, or of the Messiah, the confidence in whose speedy coming still burned with feverish excitement in the hearts of all faithful Israelites. This barbarous inquisition was continued in the reign of Domitian; nor did the rest of the nation escape the cruelties which desolated the empire under the government of that sanguinary tyrant. The tax of two drachms, levied according to the rescript of Vespasian, for the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was exacted with unremitting rigor; and, if any persons denied their Judaism, the most indecent means were employed against persons of age and character to ascertain the fact. Suetonius, the historian, had seen a public examination of this nature before the tribunal of the procurator. Still, it may be doubted whether these persecutions, which, perhaps, were chiefly directed at the Judaizing Christians, oppressed the Jewish people very heavily in their native land. It is impossible, unless communities were suffered to be formed, and the whole race enjoyed comparative security, that the nation could have appeared in the formidable attitude of resistance which it assumed in the time of Hadrian.

The reign of Nerva gave a brief interval of peace to the Jews with the rest of the world; but in that of Trajan either the oppressions of their enemies, or their own mutinous and fanatic disposition, drove them into revolt, as frantic and disastrous as that which had laid the city and temple in ashes. In every quarter of the world, in each of their great settlements,
in Babylonia, Egypt, and Cyrene, and in Judea, during the sovereignty of Trajan and his successor, the Jews broke out into bold and open rebellion—not without considerable successes—and were finally subdued, only after an obstinate struggle and enormous loss of life.

The wise and upright Trajan was not superior to the intolerant religious policy of his predecessors. From the memorable letter of Pliny, it is manifest that the existing laws, though not clearly defined, were rigid against all who practised foreign superstitions. It is by no means improbable that its descent from Judaism, of which Christianity was long considered a modification, tended to increase the hostility against the unoffending Christians, which their rapid progress had excited. If, even under a man of the temper and moderation of Pliny, and by the express rescript of the emperor, all the Christians obtained, was not to be "hunted out with the implacable zeal of an inquisitor;" if scenes like those, so strikingly described in the acts of the martyrdom of Ignatius, were by no means unfrequent; we may fairly conclude that the odious Jews, under worse governors, or where the popular feeling was not repressed by the strong hand of authority, would be liable to perpetual insult, oppression and persecution. The Rabbinical traditions are full of the sufferings of the people during this melancholy period, but they are so molded up with fable, that it is difficult to decide whether they rest on any groundwork of truth. This, however, is certain, that, during the war of Trajan with Parthia, when the Roman legions were probably withdrawn from the African provinces and a few feeble garrisons alone remained to maintain the peace, intelligence was received that the Jews of Egypt and Cyrene had taken arms, and were perpetrating the most dreadful atrocities against the Greek inhabitants of these districts. The cause of this insurrection is unknown; but when we remember the implacable animosities of the two races, which had been handed down as an inheritance for centuries, it is by no means surprising, that directly the coercive authority of the Roman troops was withdrawn, a violent collision would take place. Nor is it improbable that the Greeks, who had been suffering grievous exactions from a Roman governor, might take up their old quarrel, and,
in the absence of the Romans, endeavor to indemnify themselves by the plunder of their more industrious, perhaps more wealthy, neighbors. On which side hostilities began, we know not; but the Jews, even if they only apprehended an attack, had horrible reminiscences of recent disasters, or traditions, not very remote, of the days of Caligula; and might, not unnaturally, think that there was wisdom in endeavoring to be the first in the field; and that it was better to perish with arms in their hands, than stand still, as in former times, to be tamely pillaged and butchered. All Egypt, both Alexandria and the Thebais, with Cyrene, arose at once. In Egypt the Jews had at first some success; but the Greeks fell back on Alexandria, mastered the Jews within the city, and murdered the whole race. Maddened by this intelligence, as well as by the memory of former cruelties, the Jews of Cyrene, headed by Lucuas and Andrew, by some supposed, though improbably, two names of the same individual, swept all over lower Egypt, where they were joined by a host of their countrymen, and penetrated into the Thebais, or even further, and exacted the most dreadful retribution for the present and the past. Horrid tales were told of the atrocities they committed—some of their rulers they sawed asunder from head to foot; they flayed their bodies, and clothed themselves with their skins, twisted their entrails, and wore them as girdles, and anointed themselves with blood. We are even told that this people, so scrupulous in the refusal of all unclean food, nevertheless feasted on the bodies of their enemies. With barbarity, for which they could quote better precedent, they are said to have thrown them to wild beasts, and forced them to fight on the theaters as gladiators. Two hundred and twenty thousand fell before their remorseless vengeance. Whether these cannibal atrocities were true or not, that they should be propagated and credited shows the detestation in which the race was held. Lupus, the Roman governor, meanwhile, without troops, sat an inactive spectator of this devastation; while Lucuas, the Jewish leader, is reported to have assumed the style and title of king.

The flame spread to Cyprus, where the Jews were numerous and wealthy. One Ortemio placed himself at their head; they rose and massacred two hundred and forty thousand of their
fellow-citizens; the whole populous city of Salamis became a desert. The revolt in Cyprus was first suppressed; Hadrian, afterward emperor, landed on the island, and marched to the assistance of the few inhabitants who had been able to act on the defensive. He defeated the Jews, expelled them from the island, to whose beautiful coasts no Jew was ever permitted to approach. If one were accidentally wrecked on the inhospitable shore, he was instantly put to death. Martius Turbo was sent by sea, for the purpose of expedition, with a considerable force of horse and foot, to the coast of Cyrene. As far as the campaign can be traced, it seems that he marched against Andrew, and, after much hard fighting, suppressed the insurrection in that province, and then turned upon Egypt, where Lucuas still made head. Lucuas, according to a tradition preserved by Abulfuragi, attempted to force his way by the isthmus of Suez; and some, at least, of his followers found their way to Palestine. The loss of the Jews, as might be expected, was immense; their own traditions report, that as many fell in this disastrous war, as originally escaped from Egypt under Moses—six hundred thousand men.

Cyprus was scarcely subdued, and the war was still raging in Egypt, when tidings arrived that the Jews of Mesopotamia were in arms. Probably the eastern Jews had found that, by the conquests of Trajan, they had changed masters for the worse. Under the Parthian kings they had lived in peace, unmolested in their religion, sometimes making proselytes of the highest rank—in the case of Izaes—of kings themselves; and they were oppressed by no exclusive taxation. The Jews of Africa and Syria might have looked with repining envy on their more prosperous brethren in Babylonia; the scene of the great captivity was now become the only dwelling of Jewish peace and Jewish independence; while the land of milk and honey flowed with the bitter streams of servitude and persecution. Even if the Babylonian Jews did not, as gratitude and policy would equally have urged, during the war between Rome and her eastern rival, manfully take arms in favor of their protectors against the enemies and oppressors of their race; if they left the armies of Parthia to fight their own battles, and quietly waited to be transferred to the conqueror; yet, when they were
Insurrection in Egypt.

included, by the victories of Trajan, within the pale of Roman oppression—visited in their turn by that fierce soldiery which had trampled on the ruins of Jerusalem—made liable, perhaps, to a capitation tax for the maintenance of a heathen temple; it was by no means surprising if they endeavored to shake off the galling and unwonted yoke. Their insurrection was soon suppressed by the vigor of Lucius Quietus, a man of Moorish race, and considered the ablest soldier in the Roman army. The commission of Quietus was not only to subdue, but to expel the Jews from the whole district. The Jews defended themselves with obstinate courage, and though overpowered, still remained in Mesopotamia. The immediate appointment of L. Quietus to the government of Judea, seems to intimate some apprehension of commotions in that province, which might be kept down by the terrors of his name. In the next year (A. C. 117) Trajan died, and Hadrian ascended the throne. For the Mesopotamian Jews alone this was a fortunate occurrence; for as the prudent Hadrian abandoned all the conquests of his predecessor in the East, and re-established the Euphrates as the boundary of the Roman Empire, they fell again under the milder dominion of their ancient sovereigns. The new emperor was not likely to entertain very favorable sentiments towards his Jewish subjects. He had been an eye-witness of the horrible scenes which had desolated the lovely island of Cyprus; he had seen the voluptuous Italian groves reeking with blood, or unwholesome with the recent carnage of their inhabitants; the gay and splendid cities reduced to the silence of desolation.

It is not improbable that the same mischief might seem to be brooding in Palestine. An edict was issued tantamount to the total suppression of Judaism; it interdicted circumcision, the reading of the Law, and the observation of the Sabbath. It was followed by a blow, if possible, more fatal; the intention of the emperor was announced, to annihilate at once all hopes of the restoration of the Holy City, by the establishment of a Roman colony in Jerusalem, and the foundation of a temple, dedicated to Jupiter, on the site of their fallen temple. A town had probably risen by degrees out of the ruins of Jerusalem, where the three great towers and a part of the western wall had
been left as a protection to the Roman garrison; but the formal establishment of a colony implied the perpetual alienation of the soil, and its legal appropriation to the stranger. The Jews looked on in dismay, with anguish, with secret thoughts of revenge, at length with hopes of immediate and splendid deliverance. It was an opinion, deeply rooted in the hearts of all faithful Israelites, that in the darkest hour of the race of Abraham, when his children were at the extreme point of degradation and wretchedness, that even then the arm of the Lord would be revealed, and the expected Messiah would make His sudden and glorious appearance. They were now sounding the lowest depth of misery. They were forbidden, under penalties sternly enacted and rigidly enforced, to initiate their children into the chosen family of God. Their race was in danger of becoming extinct; for even the blood of Abraham would little avail the uncircumcised. Their city was not merely a mass of ruins, inhabited by the stranger, but the Pagans were about to make their permanent residence upon the site of Sion, and a temple to a Gentile idol to usurp the place of the Holy of Holies.

At this momentous period it was announced that the Messiah had appeared. He had come in power and in glory; his name fulfilled the great prophecy of Baalam. Barcochab, the son of the star, was that star which was to "arise out of Jacob." Wonders attended upon his person; he breathed flames from his mouth, which no doubt would burn up the strength of the proud oppressor and wither the armies of the tyrannical Hadrian. Above all, the greatest of the Rabbins, the living oracle of divine truth, whose profound learning was looked up to by the whole race of Israel, acknowledged the claims of the new Messiah, and openly attached himself to his fortunes; he was called the standard bearer of the son of the star. Rabbi Akiba was said not to be of the pure blood of Israel, but descended (such is the Rabbinical genealogy) from Sisera, the general of Jabin, king of Tyre, by a Jewish mother. Forty years he had lived a simple shepherd, tending the flocks of a rich citizen of Jerusalem, named Calba Sheva. Love made him the wisest of his age. He became enamored of his master's daughter; the wealthy Jew rejected the indigent shepherd, who was an alien from the race of Israel. But the lovers were secretly married,
and Akiba left his bride immediately, and spent twelve years in study, under the tuition of R. Eliezer, and R. Joshua. He returned, it is said, with twelve thousand disciples. But the unrelenting father had disinherited his daughter. They lived in the greatest penury; and she bore her first child on a bed of straw. Akiba went back for twelve years more to the seat of learning. He returned again, followed by twenty-four thousand disciples; and the father, at length appeased or overawed by the fame of his son-in-law, broke his vow of implacable resentment, and bestowed on them sufficient property to enable them to live in splendor. A thousand volumes would not contain the wonderful things which Akiba did and said. He could give a reason for the use of the most insignificant letter of the Law; and, it is boldly averred, that God revealed more to him than he did to Moses. He first committed the traditions to writing, and thus laid the ground-work for the celebrated Mishna, or Comment on the Law. A striking story is told of Akiba. His great maxim was, "that everything is ordained of heaven for the best." With this axiom on his lips, he was riding with some of his followers near the ruins of Jerusalem. They burst into tears at the melancholy sight; for, to heighten their grief, they beheld a jackal prowling upon the hill of the temple. Akiba only observed, that the very successes of the idolatrous Romans, as they fulfilled the words of the prophets, were grounds of loftier hopes for the people of God. The end of these lofty hopes must have severely tried the resignation of Akiba. He was yet in the zenith of his fame, though now nearly one hundred and twenty years old, the period of life to which his great prototype, Moses, attained; indeed, his biographers have rather conformed his life to that model; he is said also by some to have been the head of the Sanhedrin, when Barcochab, or Coziba, announced his pretensions as the Messiah. Akiba had but newly returned from a visit, or from a flight, to his Mesopotamian brethren; and whether the state of affairs at Nahardea and Nisibis had awakened his hopes and inflamed a noble jealousy, which induced him to risk any hazard to obtain equal independence for his brethren in Judea; or whether there was any general and connected plan for the reassertion of Jewish liberty, he threw himself at once into the party of the heaven-inspired insurgent. "Behold," said the
boary enthusiast, in an assembly of the listening people, "the Star that is come out of Jacob; the days of the redemption are at hand." "Akiba," said the more cautious R. Johanan, "the grass will spring from thy jaw-bone, and yet the son of David will not have come." The period of the first appearance of the pretended Messiah is by no means certain, even his real name is unknown; he is designated only by his title, Barcochab, the Son of the Star, which his disappointed countrymen, in their bitterness, changed to Barcosba, the Son of a Lie. He is said to have been a robber; he had learned a trick of keeping lighted tow, or straw in his mouth, which was the secret of his breathing flames, to the terror of his enemies, and the unbounded confidence of his partisans. He seems to have been a man of no common vigor and ability; but unhappily, this second Jewish war had no Josephus, and the whole history of the campaigns, where the Jews manifestly gained great advantages, and in which the most able general of Rome, Severus, found it expedient to act on the defensive, and reduce the province rather by blockade and famine, than by open war, can only be made out from three short chapters of Dio Cassius, occasional brief notices in other authors, and the legends of the Talmud. Lucius Quetius, the able conqueror of Mesopotamia, suspected of ambitious designs on the Empire, had been deprived, first of his kindred Moorish troops, then of his province, and finally of his life. By a curious concidence, the Roman commander, to whom the final demolition of Jerusalem had been committed by Titus, bore the name of Terentius Rufus. The Prefect in Palestine, at the commencement of the revolt, under Barcochab, was T. Anniius, or Tynnius, called by the Rabbins Tyrannus, or Turnus Rufus, the wicked. Thus the two men, who were the objects of the deepest detestation to the Jews, are perpetually confounded. Rufus is said by the command of Hadrian, to have driven the plow over the ruins of Jerusalem. At the first threatening of the revolt, probably after the visit of Hadrian to the East, in the year 130 (A. C.), Rufus poured all the troops at his command into Judea; he seized and imprisoned Akiba; but either his forces or his abilities were unequal to the crisis. The Romans could not believe that with the memory of the former war still on the lips of the fathers of the present genera-
tion, the Jews would provoke the danger of a second exterminating conflict. But for some time the insurgents had been busily employed in laying up stores of arms. By degrees they got possession of all the strong heights, raised walls and fortifications, dug or enlarged subterranean passages and caverns, both for retreat and communication, and contrived, by holes from above, to let light and air into those secret citadels, where they deposited their arms, held their councils, and concealed themselves from the vigilance of the enemy. Multitudes crowded openly, or stole in secret to range themselves under the banner of the Messiah. Native Jews and strangers swelled his ranks. It is probable that many of the fugitives from the insurgents in Egypt and Cyrene, had found their way to Palestine, and lay hid in caves and fastnesses. Even many who were not Jews, for the sake of plunder and the license of war, united themselves with the rebels. No doubt some of the Mesopotamian provinces came to the aid of their brethren. The whole Jewish race throughout the world was in commotion; those who dared not betray their interest in the common cause openly, did so in secret, and perhaps some of the wealthy Jews in the remote provinces privately contributed from their treasures. Barcochab, if we may believe the Rabbins, found himself at the head of two hundred thousand, a statement somewhat invalidated by the addition, that there was not a soldier, who could not, putting his horse at full speed, tear up a cedar of Lebanon by the roots. Those who had denied or disguised their circumcision, hastened to renew that distinguished mark of their Israelish descent, and to entitle themselves to a share in the great redemption. The Christians alone stood aloof, and would lend no ear, nor pay respect, to the claims of another Messiah; a man of robbery and bloodshed, of earthly pretensions, and the aspirant founder of a temporal kingdom. Barcochab is reported to have revenged himself by the most cruel persecutions on those most dangerous opponents to his claim as the Messiah.

The first expedition of Barcochab was to make himself master of the ruins of Jerusalem. As we have before observed, probably some sort of rude town had grown up amid the wreck of the city. Pious pilgrims, no doubt, stole in secret to pay their adorations on the sacred hill; and some would think it
worth while to venture all hazards, if their last remains might repose within the circuits of the Holy City. With what triumph must they have crowded to the same spot, when the conquering banner of the Messiah was unfolded; for here Barcochab openly assumed the name of king, and is said to have issued coins with his superscription, and with the year of the freedom of Jerusalem as the date. Still the Jews avoided a battle in the open field. Turnus Rufus revenged himself with the most unrelenting cruelties on the defenseless. According to Eusebius, he put to death thousands of men, women, and children. But the obstinate courage and activity of the Jews was unbroken; they pursued their deliberate system of defense, so that, on the arrival of the famous Julius Severus to take the command, they were in possession of fifty of the strongest castles, and nine hundred and eighty-five villages. But Severus had learned the art of war against desperate savages in Britain. He turned their own policy against the insurgents. He ventured on no general battle with an enemy now perhaps grown to an overwhelming force; but he attacked their strongholds in detail, cut off their supplies, and reduced them to the greatest distress by famine. Yet the Romans experienced, on their side, considerable losses; for Hadrian, whether with the army or in the neighborhood, did not adopt the customary form in his dispatches to the senate: "I rejoice if all is well with you and your children; with myself and the army all is well." In Jerusalem the insurgents were disheartened and confounded by the sudden falling in of the vast subterranean vaults where, according to tradition, the remains of Solomon were buried. It was reported that this had been the treasure-house as well as the sepulcher, of the Jewish kings, and stories were current that John Hyrcanus and Herod successively violated the cemeteries, and enriched themselves with their spoils. Now their sudden fall not only made the Hill of Sion insecure, but was considered as of awful omen. The Romans, probably after a hard contest, made themselves masters of Jerusalem, and razed every building that remained to the ground; it was then, perhaps, if not before, that the plow was passed by Rufus over the devoted ground.

At length, the discipline of the Roman troops, and the con-
Siege of Bither.

summate conduct of Severus, brought the war nearly to a close. The strong city of Bither alone remained, the metropolis and citadel of the insurgents. The situation of this city is not certainly known; it is placed by Eusebius near Beth-horon, by others near the sea. How long Bither stood out after the siege was actually formed, is equally uncertain. When affairs began to wear a gloomy aspect (thus write the Rabbins) Eliezer, the son of Hamadia, enjoined the besieged to seek their last resource, prayer to the God of their fathers. All day long the zealous Rabbi was on his knees. As long as he prayed, like Moses during the battle with the Amalekites in the desert, so long the Jews assumed new courage, and fought with unconquerable fury. A Samaritan undertook to silence by treachery the devout and prevailing Rabbi. He stole up to him where he was kneeling in prayer on a conspicuous eminence, and whispered some indistinct words in his ear. The vigilant Barcochab demanded what was the object of his message. The Rabbi could not answer. The Samaritan, after long pretended reluctance, declared that it was an answer to a secret message confided to him by the Rabbi, about capitulation. Barcochab commanded the Rabbi to be executed on the spot. This barbarous measure alienated and dispirited his followers. Bither was at length stormed, Barcochab was killed, and his head carried in triumph to the Roman camp. It was again on the fatal 9th of Ab (August), the anniversary of the double destruction of Jerusalem, that Bither fell; it was razed to the ground.

Of the massacre the Rabbins tell frightful stories, but their horror is mitigated by their extravagance. More are said to have fallen at Bither than escaped with Moses from Egypt. The horses waded up to their bits in carnage. Blood flowed so copiously, that the stream carried stones weighing four pounds into the sea, according to their account, forty miles distant. The dead covered eighteen square miles, and the inhabitants of the adjacent region had no need to manure their ground for seven years. A more trustworthy authority, Dio Cassius, states that during the whole war the enormous number of five hundred and eighty thousand fell by the sword, not including those who perished by famine, disease, and fire. The whole of Judea
was a desert, wolves and hyenas went howling along the streets of the desolate cities. Those who escaped the sword were scarcely more fortunate; they were reduced to slavery by thousands. There was a great fair held under a celebrated terebinth, which tradition had consecrated as the very tree under which Abraham had pitched his tent. Thither his miserable children were brought in droves, and sold as cheap as horses. Others were carried away and sold at Gaza; others transported to Egypt. The account of the fate of Rabbi Akiba is singularly characteristic. He was summoned for examination before the odious Turnus Rufus. In the middle of his interrogations, Akiba remembered that it was the hour of prayer. He fell on his knees, regardless of the presence of the Roman, and the pending trial for life and death, and calmly went through his devotions. In the prison, while his lips were burning with thirst, he nevertheless applied his scanty pittance of water to his ablutions. The barbarous Roman ordered the old man to be flayed alive, and then put to death. The most furious persecution was commenced against all the Rabbins, who were considered the authors and ringleaders of the insurrection. Chananias the son of Theradion was detected reading and expounding the Law; he was burned with the book he was reading. It was forbidden to fill up the number of the great synagogue or Sanhedrin; but Akiba, just before his death, had named five new members; and Judah the son of Bava secretly nominated others in a mountain glen, where he had taken refuge. Soldiers were sent to surprise Judah; he calmly awaited their coming, and was transfixed by three hundred spears.

Hadrian, to annihilate forever all hopes of the restoration of the Jewish kingdom, accomplished his plan of founding a new city on the site of Jerusalem, peopled by a colony of foreigners. The city was called Ælia Capitolini; Ælia after the prænomen of the emperor, Capitolini as dedicated to the Jupiter of the Capitol. An edict was issued, prohibiting any Jew from entering the city on pain of death, or even approaching its environs, so as to contemplate even at a distance its sacred height. More effectually to keep them away the image of a swine was placed over the gate leading to Bethlehem. The more peaceful Chris-
tians were permitted to establish themselves within the walls, and Ælia became the seat of a flourishing church and bishopric.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PATRIARCH OF THE WEST, AND THE PRINCE OF THE CAPTIVITY.

For the fourth time the Jewish people seemed on the brink of extermination. Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Titus, Hadrian, had successively exerted their utmost power to extingush, not merely the political existence of the state, but even the separate being of the people. It might have appeared impossible that anything like a community should again revive within Palestine; still more so, that the multitudes of Jews scattered over the whole face of the world, should maintain any correspondence or intelligence, continue a distinct and unmingled race, or resist the process of absorption into the general population, which is the usual fate of small bodies of strangers, settled in remote and unconnected regions. In less than sixty years after the war under Hadrian, before the close of the second century after Christ, the Jews present the extraordinary spectacle of two regular and organized communities; one under a sort of spiritual head, the Patriarch of Tiberias, comprehending all of Israelitish descent who inhabited the Roman Empire; the other under the Prince of the Captivity, to whom all the eastern Jews paid their allegiance. Gibbon has briefly stated the growth of the former of these principalities with his usual general accuracy, as regards facts, though the relation is colored by his usual sarcastic tone, in which the bitter antipathy of his school to the Jewish race is strongly marked:

"Notwithstanding these repeated provocations, the resentment of the Roman princes expired after the victory; nor were their apprehensions continued beyond the period of war and
danger. By the general indulgence of polytheism, and by the mild temper of Antoninus Pius, the Jews were restored to their ancient privileges, and once more obtained the permission of circumcising their children, with the easy restraint that they should never confer on any foreign proselyte that distinguishing mark of the Hebrew race. The numerous remains of that people, though they were still excluded from the precincts of Jerusalem, were permitted to form and to maintain considerable establishments both in Italy and in the provinces, to acquire the freedom of Rome, to enjoy municipal honors, and to obtain at the same time, an exemption from the burdensome and expensive offices of society. The moderation or the contempt of the Romans gave a legal sanction to the form of ecclesiastical police which was instituted by the vanquished sect. The patriarch, who had fixed his residence at Tiberias, was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, to exercise a domestic jurisdiction, and to receive from his despised brethren an annual contribution. New synagogues were frequently erected in the principal cities of the empire; and the Sabbaths, the fasts, and the festivals, which were either commanded by the Mosaic Law, or enjoined by the traditions of the Rabbins, were celebrated in the most solemn and public manner. Such gentle treatment insensibly assuaged the stern temper of the Jews. Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest, they assumed the behavior of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcilable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of over-reaching the idolaters in trade; and they pronounced secret and ambiguous imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom.”

* According to the false Josephus, Taebo, the grandson of Esau, conducted into Italy the army of Æneas, King of Carthage. Another colony of Idumeans, flying from the sword of David, took refuge in the dominions of Romulus. For these, or for other reasons of equal weight, the name of Edom, was applied by the Jews to the Roman Empire—Gibbon’s note. The false Josephus is a romancer of very modern date, though some of these legends are probably more ancient. It may be worth considering whether many stories in the Talmud are not history, in a figurative disguise, adopted from prudence. The Jews might dare to say many things of Rome, under the significant appellation of Edom,
Reign of Antoninus.

It was not long before the Rabbins, who had been hunted down with unrelenting cruelty, began to creep forth from their places of concealment; the death of Hadrian, in a few years after the termination of the war, gave them courage, not merely to make their public appearance, but openly to re-establish their schools and synagogues. The first pious care of the Rabbins was to obtain permission to perform funeral rites for their brethren; this indulgence was long celebrated by a thanksgiving in their daily prayers; their next, to obtain an abrogation of the persecuting edicts. For this purpose Simon Ben Jochai, and a youth of great promise, was sent to Rome. This journey is adorned with the customary fables. They obtained the favor of the emperor by a miraculous cure of his sick daughter. It is certain, however, that Antoninus issued an edict which permitted the Jews to perform the rite of circumcision; but, as though he apprehended that the religion of this despised people might still make proselytes, they were forbidden to initiate strangers into the family of Israel.

The Rabbinical dominion gradually rose to greater power; the schools flourished. Perhaps in this interval the great synagogue, or Sanhedrin, had its other migrations, from Osha to Shepharam, from Shepharam to Bethsbaaram, from Bethsbaaram to Sephoris, and finally to Tiberias, where it fixed its pontifical throne, which maintained its supremacy for several centuries. Tiberias, it may be remembered, was a town built by Herod Antipas, over an ancient cemetery, and therefore abominated by the more scrupulous Jews, as a dwelling of uncleanness. But the Rabbins soon obviated this objection. Simon Ben Jochai, by his cabalistic art, discovered the exact spot where the burial-place had been; this was marked off, and the rest of the city declared, on the same unerring authority, to be clean. Here then, in this noble city, on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, the Jewish pontiff fixed his throne; the Sanhedrin, if it had not, as the Jews pretend, existed during all the reverses of the nation, was formally re-established. Simon, the son and heir of Gamaliel, was acknowledged as the

which they feared to utter publicly. Later and more ignorant ages took literally, and, perhaps, embellished, what was intelligible among the generation to which it was addressed.
Patriarch of the Jews, and Nasi, or President of the Sanhedrin. R. Nathan was the Abbeth-din; and the celebrated R. Meir the Hachim, or Head of the Law. In every region of the West, in every province of the Roman Empire, the Jews of every rank and class submitted, with the utmost readiness, to the sway of their spiritual potentate. His mandates were obeyed, his legates received with honor, his supplies levied without difficulty, in Rome, in Spain, in Africa. At a somewhat later period, probably about the reign of Alexander Severus, the Christian writer, Origen, thus describes the power of the Jewish Patriarch. "Even now, when the Jews are under the dominion of Rome, and pay the didrachm, how great, by the permission of Cæsar, is the power of their Ethnarch! I myself have been a witness that it is little less than that of a king; for they secretly pass judgments according to their law; and some are capitaly condemned—not with open and acknowledged authority, but with the connivance of the emperor. This I have learned, and am fully acquainted with, by long residence in their country."

Here, then, it may be well to take a survey of these dominions of the western patriarch, to ascertain, as far as possible, the origin and condition of the different settlements of Jews in Europe, Western Asia, and Africa, the constitution of their societies, and the nature of the authority exercised by the supreme pontiff.

It will have been seen, in many incidental notices, that long before the dissolution of the Jewish State, before the promulgation of Christianity, this people were widely dispersed over the whole face of the globe. The events of the Jewish history in Palestine tended to increase, rather than diminish the number of those who were either dragged away as captives, or sought peace and security from the devastation of their native land in the less troubled provinces of the empire. Even where they suffered most through their own turbulent disposition, or the enmity of their neighbors, they sprang again from their undying stock, however it might be hewn by the sword, or seared by the fire. Massacre seemed to have no effect in thinning their ranks; and, like their forefathers in Egypt, they still multiplied under the most cruel oppression. In Egypt and
Jews of Asia Minor.

Cyrene, indeed, they had experienced the greatest losses, but on the visit of Hadrian to Alexandria, he found the city and country still swarming with Jews. The origin and history of the Egyptian, as well as the Syrian Jews, has been already traced. The Jews of Asia Minor owed their first establishment to Antiochus the Great, who settled great numbers in the different cities in that region. From Asia Minor they probably spread to Greece, and to the islands. The clearest notion of their numbers in all this part of the world, including Galatia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, may be found from the narrative of the apostolic journeys. Whatever city Paul enters, he seems to find a synagogue, and a number of his countrymen, many of whom were powerful and opulent. We need only name the cities of Ephesus, Laodicea, Pergamus, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth. It is probable that in Asia Minor, and in Alexandria, the later Jews first generally adopted their commercial habits; but their condition was much more secure in the former country than among the fiery inhabitants of the factious Egyptian city. Many public decrees are extant, not only of the Roman authorities, particularly Julius Caesar, which secure important privileges to the Jewish residents in Asia Minor, but likewise local ordinances of the different cities, Pergamus, Halicarnassus, Laodicea, Ephesus, and Miletus, highly favorable to these foreign denizens, and seeming to show that the two races lived together on terms of perfect amity. In some of the occurrences of the Acts of the Apostles, the Jews in those times appear a considerable and influential, by no means the proscribed and odious race which they were held in other quarters. The public decrees usually gave them the title of Roman citizens, a privilege to which many of the Jews (the well-known instance of St. Paul will occur to every one) had undoubtedly attained. It was their great object to obtain exemption from military service. In other times they do not seem to have objected to enroll themselves in the armies of their rulers. Some are said to have been in Alexander's army; and an improbable story is told, by a doubtful authority, Hecataeus, of their refusing and obtaining exemption from being employed in building an idolatrous temple in Babylon.
The origin of the Jews in Italy, or rather in Rome, is very obscure. It is usually ascribed to the vast number of slaves brought to the capital by Pompey, after his conquest of Jerusalem. These slaves were publicly sold in the markets; yet if we are to believe Philo, they were emancipated almost without exception by their tolerant masters, who were unwilling to do violence to their religious scruples. Is it not more probable, that there were some, if not many, opulent commercial Jews already in Rome, who, with their usual national spirit, purchased to the extent of their means, their unhappy countrymen, and enabled them to settle in freedom in the great metropolis? They had a sort of council or house of judgment, which decided all matters of dispute. To this, no doubt, either in the synagogue or law court attached to it, St. Paul expected to give an account of his conduct. The numbers of the Jews in Rome were doubtless much increased, but their respectability, as well as their popularity, much diminished, by the immense influx of the most destitute as well as the most unruly of the race, who were swept into captivity by thousands after the fall of Jerusalem.

Of their establishment in the other provinces in the Roman Empire, we have no certain information. In the middle ages, the most extraordinary fables were invented concerning their first settlement in Germany, France, and Spain. Those relating to the latter country may serve as a specimen. There they claimed descent from maritime adventurers in the time of Solomon, or from a part of their race transported to that country when Nebuchadnezzar conquered Spain. Hebrew derivations were found for many of the Spanish cities, which proved to the satisfaction even of later antiquaries, the early settlement of the Jews in that region; forgetting entirely the close affinity of the Phœnician and Punic dialects with the Hebrew, and the successive occupation of at least maritime Spain, by these kindred nations. In fact, the Jews spread with the dominion of the Roman arms, part as slaves, part as freemen, with commercial objects, or seeking only a safe and peaceful settlement. Some, no doubt, obtained their livelihood by reputable traffic or industry, and attained to opulence; others were adventurers, more unscrupulous as to the means by which they obtained
their subsistence. The heathen could not but look with something of the interest excited by wonder on this strange, unso-
cial, and isolated people, who dwelt among them, and yet were not of them. While the philosopher despised the fanaticism which he could not comprehend, the populace mingled something like awe with their dislike. The worse and more desti-
tute of the race probably availed themselves of this feeling; many half impostors and half enthusiasts gained their livelihood by working on the superstitious terrors of the people, who were never more open to deception than in this age of comparative improvement. The empire swarmed with Jewish wonder-
workers, mathematicians, astrologers, or whatever other name or office they assumed or received from their trembling hearers.

Yet in some points all of Hebrew blood, rich and poor, high and low, concurred; in their faithful attachment to their syna-
gogue, their strict subordination to their religious teachers, and through their synagogue and teachers to the great spiritual head of their community, the Patriarch of Tiberias. Wherever Jews resided, a synagogue might be, and usually was, formed. Every synagogue was visited in turn by the Legate of the Pa-
triarch. These legates were called apostles; the office probably existed before the fall of Jerusalem; the apostle collected the contributions for the temple. They had authority to regulate all the differences which might arise, and to receive the revenue of the Patriarch. Every year a proclamation was made by sound of trumpet, in every synagogue, commanding the pay-
ment of the tribute; its final day of settlement was on the last day of May. On the return of these legates, they informed the Patriarch of the state of the synagogues, assisted him as coun-
sellors, and held a distinguished rank among the people. The early Christians accuse the Jews of having sent messengers throughout the world, for the purpose of anathematizing them in their synagogues, and uttering a solemn curse upon the name of Jesus Christ. It is by no means unlikely that these legates received instructions to warn all the faithful Israelites against the detested innovation, and to counteract by every means in their power the progress of the new religion. No doubt the rapid growth of Christianity tended to strengthen the power of the synagogue, by constantly keeping alive the vigilance and
inflaming the zeal of the more steadfast and ardent adherents to the Law. Indeed the point which mitigates our compassion for the sufferings of the Jews, is the readiness with which they joined the heathen in the persecution of the Christians. Too often the Jews, though themselves eating the bitter bread of slavery, and instructed in the best school for the humerer feelings, adversity, were seen rejoicing at the stake of the expiring Christian. In the beautiful description of the death of Polycarp, there is a frightful incident of the Jews howling around the body of the holy martyr.

The worship of the synagogue, with its appendant school or law court, where lectures were given, and knotty points of the Law debated, became the great bond of national union, and has continued, though the monarchical center of unity in Tiberias, disappeared in a few centuries, to hold together the scattered nation in the closest uniformity. The worship of the synagogue is extremely simple. Wherever ten Jews were found; there a synagogue ought to be formed. The Divine presence, the invisible Shechinnah, descends not but where ten are met together; if fewer, the Divine Visitant was supposed to say, “Wherefore come I, and no one is here?” It was a custom, therefore, in some of the more numerous communities, to appoint ten “men of leisure,” whose business it was to form a congregation. The buildings were plain; in their days of freedom it was thought right that the house of prayer to God, from its situation or its form, should overtop the common dwellings of man; but in their days of humiliation, in strange countries, the lowly synagogue, the type of their condition was content to lurk undisturbed in less conspicuous situations. Even in Palestine the synagogues must have been small, for Jerusalem was said to contain four hundred and sixty, or four hundred and eighty—the foreign Jews from the different quarters of the world, seem each to have had their separate building, where they communicated in prayer with their neighbors and kindred. Such were the synagogues of the Alexandrians, the Cyrenians, and others. Besides the regular synagogues, which were roofed, in some places they had chapels or oratories, open to the air, chiefly perhaps where their worship was not so secure of protection from the authorities; these were usually in retired and
picturesque situations, in groves or on the sea-shore. In the dis-
tribution of the synagogue, some remote resemblance to the
fallen temple was kept up. The entrance was from the east;
in the center stood an elevated tribune or rostrum, in the place
of the great altar, where they only permitted sacrifice, and if
from an humble and contrite heart, doubtless most acceptable
to their Almighty Father, prayer was constantly offered, and
the book of the Law was read. At the west end stood a chest,
in which the book was laid up, making the place, as it were,
the humble Holy of Holies, though now no longer separated by
a veil, nor protected by the Cherubim or Mercy Seat. Particu-
lar seats, usually galleries, were railed off for the women.

The chief religious functionary in the synagogue, was called
the angel, or bishop. He ascended the tribune, repeated or
chanted the prayers, his head during the ceremony being cov-
ered with a veil. He called the reader from his place, opened
the book before him, pointed out the passage, and overlooked
him, that he read correctly. The readers, who were three in
number on the ordinary days, seven on the morning of the Sab-
bath, five on festivals, were selected from the body of the people.
The Law of course was read, and the prayers likewise repeated,
in the Hebrew language. The days of public service in the
synagogue, were the Sabbath, the second and fifth days of the
week, Monday and Thursday. There was an officer in the
synagogues out of Palestine, and probably even within its bor-
ders, called an interpreter, who translated the Law into the
vernacular tongue, usually Greek in the first case, or Syro-Chal-
dic in the latter. Besides the bishop, there were three elders,
or rulers of the synagogue, who likewise formed a court or con-
sistory for the judgment of all offenses. They had the power
of inflicting punishment by scourging; from Origen's account,
the Patriarch of Tiberias had assumed the power of life and
death. But the great control over the public mind lay in the
awful sentence of excommunication. The anathema of the
synagogue cut off the offender from the Israel of God; he be-
came an outcast of society. The first process, usually, was the
censure; the name and the offense of the delinquent were read
for four succeeding Sabbaths, during which he had time to
make his peace with the congregation; at the end of that
period the solemn Niddui, or interdict, was pronounced, which for thirty days separated the criminal from the hopes and the privileges of Israel. For more heinous offenses, and against contumacious delinquents, the more terrific Cherem, or the still more fatal Shamnata, the excommunication, was proclaimed. The Cherem inflicted civil death; but on due repentance and reparation for the crime, the same authority which denounced might repeal the Cherem—the absolved offender was restored to life. But no power could cancel the irrevocable Shamnata. Some indeed have doubted whether the last sentence was ever pronounced, or even was known to the Law. Prudence would certainly have advised the disuse of a practice which might drive the desperate offender to seek that consolation in another faith which was irrevocably denied him in his own; the church would have opened its gates to receive him who was doomed to perpetual exile from the synagogue. The sentence of excommunication was couched in the most fearful phrases. The delinquent was excommunicated, anathematized, accursed, by the book of the Law, by the ninety-three precepts, by the malediction of Joshua against Jericho, by that of Elisha against the children who mocked him, and so on, through all the terrific threatenings of the ancient Law and history. He was accursed by the mysterious names of certain spirits of deadly power. He was accursed by heaven and earth, by the seraphim, and by the heavenly orbs. "Let nothing good come out of him, let his end be sudden, let all creatures become his enemy, let the whirlwind crush him, the fever and every other malady, and the edge of the sword smite him, let his death be unforeseen, and drive him into outer darkness." Excommunication, as we said, inflicted a civil death; how far, at least in the milder form, it excluded from the synagogue seems not quite clear. But no one except his wife and children might approach the moral leper—all others must avoid him the distance of a toise. If there be a dead body in his house, no one enters it; if a child be born, the father must circumcise it. Public detestation was not appeased by death. No one mourned him who died excommunicated; his coffin was stoned, and a heavy slab was placed over his remains by the hands of justice, either as a mark of infamy, or to prevent him from rising again at the last
Rabbinical Authority.


day. No doubt these spiritual terrors were often abused by the
domineering Rabbi; but it is as little to be questioned that they
exercised a high moral influence. The excommunication smote
the adulterer, or the unnatural father, who, in their striking lan-
guage, more cruel then the ravens, neglected the children whom
God had given.

The influence of the Rabbins was not grounded on the public
services of religion alone. The whole course of education was
committed to their care, or at least to their superintendence.
In all those interesting epochs of domestic life in which the
heart is most open to impressions of reverence and attachment,
the Rabbi, even where the ancient Levite had no office, had
made himself an indispensable part of the ceremony. When
the house rejoiced in the birth of a man-child, though circum-
cision was not necessarily performed in the synagogue, nor was
the operator usually of that order, yet ill-omened and unblessed
was the eighth-day feast which was not graced by the presence
of a Rabbi. In marriages the Rabbi joined the hands, pledged
the cup, and pronounced the seven prayers of benediction over
the wedded pair. The Rabbi attended the sick, and consoled
him with the assurance of the certain resurrection of all faith-
ful Israelites to their exclusive Paradise; and attended at the
interment of the dead. Nor was this all; by degrees the whole
life of the Jew was voluntarily enslaved to more than brahmin-
ical or monkish minuteness of observance.

Every day and every hour of the day, and every act of every
hour, had its appointed regulations, grounded on distorted texts
of Scripture, or the sentences of the wise men, and artfully
molded up with the national reminiscences of the past, or their
distinctive hopes of the future, the divine origin of the Law,
the privileges of God's chosen people, the restoration to the
Holy City, the coming of the Messiah. The Jew with his
early prayer was to prevent the rising sun; but more blessed
he who encroached upon the night to lament, before the dawn,
the fate of Jerusalem. His rising from his bed, his manner of
putting on the different articles of dress, the disposition of his
fringed tallith, his phylacteries on his head and arms, his ablu-
tions, his meals, even the calls of nature were subjected to
scrupulous rules—both reminding him that he was of a pecu-
liar race, and perpetually reducing him to ask the advice of the wise men, who alone could set at rest the trembling and scrupulous conscience. Nor was it enough that the all-seeing eye of God watched with jealous vigilance the minutest acts of His people; Rabbinical authority peopled the air with spirits of beneficent or malign aspect; the former might be revolted by the least uncleanness, the latter were ever ready to take advantage of every delinquency. The wise men alone were well acquainted with the nature, the orders, the powers, or the arts of these mysterious beings, and thus a new and unbounded field was opened for their interference. Such was the character of the Rabbinical dominion as it was gradually, though perhaps not as yet perfectly, developed. Such, for this dominion now assumed a monarchical form, was the kingdom of the Patriarch of Tiberias; in its boundaries as extensive as that of Rome, and founded on the strongest basis, the blind and zealous attachment of its subjects.

Before long the Sanhedrin of that city began to assume a loftier tone; their edicts were dated as from Jerusalem, their school was called Sion. But into this spiritual court, as into that of more splendid and worldly sovereigns, ambition and intrigue soon found their way. The monarch could not brook any constitutional limitation to his state or authority; the subordinate officers, the aristocracy of this singular state, were eager to usurp upon the throne. The first collision was on the all-important point of etiquette. No sooner was Simon son of Gamaliel quietly seated in the Patriarchate, than he began to assert or enlarge his prerogative. His Ab-beth-din, R. Nathan, and his Hachim, R. Meir, enjoyed a larger share of his state than he was willing to concede. When any one of these heads of the spiritual senate entered, the whole assembly was accustomed to rise, and to remain standing till he was seated. This equality of respect was galling to the pride of Simon; he determined to vindicate the superior dignity of his chair, and took an opportunity of moving, in the absence of the parties concerned, that the whole assembly should rise only on the entrance of the Patriarch, on that of the Ab-beth-din two rows, on that of the Hachim only one. The next time that R. Nathan and R. Meir made their appearance, this order
was observed. The degrading innovation went to their hearts. They dissembled their resentment, but entered into a secret conspiracy to dethrone or to humiliate the unconstitutional despot. "He," said R. Meir, "who can not answer every question which relates to the word of God, is not worthy to preside in the great Sanhedrin. Let us expose his ignorance, and so compel him to abdicate. Then you shall be Patriarch, and I your Ab-beth-din." In secret council they framed the most intricate and perplexing questions to confound the despot. Happily for him their conversation was overheard by a learned and friendly member of the Sanhedrin, who began to discuss in a loud tone, so as to be heard by Simon in a neighboring chamber, the points on which it was agreed to attack and perplex the overbearing Patriarch. At the next sitting, the rebels, Nathan and Meir, advanced to the charge with their formidable host of difficulties. To their confusion, Simon, forewarned, repulsed them on all points, and unraveled with the utmost readiness, the most intricate questions. Simon triumphed, the rebellious Ab-beth-din and Hachim were expelled from the Sanhedrin. But still they kept up the war, and daily assailed the Patriarch with a new train of difficulties for which they required written answers. At length the civil contest ended through the intervention of the more moderate. The ex-Ab-beth-din and ex-Hachim were re-instated; but on the momentous point whether the whole Sanhedrin rose on their entrance, or only two rows, we deeply regret that we must leave the reader in the same lamentable ignorance with ourselves.

Not content, or rather flushed with this advance toward unlimited monarchy in his own dominions, the high-minded Simon began to meditate schemes of foreign conquest. The independence or equality of the head of the Babylonian community haunted him, as that of the Patriarch of Constantinople did the early popes, and a cause of quarrel, curiously similar to that about the time on which Easter was to be kept, speedily arose. The schools of Babylonia and Palestine fell into an open schism concerning the calculation of the paschal feast. Simon determined to assert the superiority of the Patriarchate of Tiberias over his disobedient brethren. The scene is in the highest degree characteristic. It must, however, be premised, that it is
by no means certain at what time the princes of the captivity commenced their dynasty. In the following story Ahia appears as the head of the community; but probably the prince had not yet obtained the influence, or assumed the state, which, during the first fifty years of the third century, distinguished the Jewish sovereign of the East. Hananiah, who taught at Nahar-pakod, and Judah Ben Bethuriah, were the most eminent of the learned teachers in the schools of Babylon, and to humble their pride, and bring them into subordination to the seat of learning in Tiberias, was the great object of the mission which was dispatched by the patriarch. The two legates were furnished with three letters. They delivered the first to Hananiah, which bore the superscription, "To your Holiness." Delighted with their recognition of a title considered of high importance, Hananiah courteously inquired the reason of their coming. "To learn your system of instruction." Still more flattered, Hananiah received the ambassadors with the utmost cordiality, and commended them to the people as worthy of every honor, both as descendants of the high-priest (for the Patriarch of Tiberias claimed his lineage from Aaron), and for their own personal merit. When the treacherous legates had secured their ground in the good opinion of the people, they began to controvert the judgments of Hananiah, to animadvert on his opinions, and to lessen him by every means in the public estimation. Hananiah, enraged at this abuse of his kindness, summoned a second assembly of the people, and denounced the legates as traitors and ignorant men. The people replied: "That which thou hast built, thou canst not so soon pull down; the hedge which thou hast planted, thou canst not pluck up without injury to thyself." Hananiah demanded their objections to his system of instruction. They answered: "Thou hast dared to fix intercalations and new moons, by which great inconformities have arisen between the brethren in Babylonia and Palestine." "So did Rabbi Akiba," said Hananiah, "when in Babylon." "Akiba," they rejoined, "left not his like in Palestine." "Neither," cried the desperate Rabbi, "have I left my equal in Palestine." The legates produced their second letter, which ran in these mysterious words: "That which thou bestest a kid, is grown up a strong-horned
goat;" it meant that the Sanhedrin, which he had left without power, had regained all its authority. Hananiah was struck dumb. R. Isaac, one of the deputies saw his time; he mounted the tribune from which the Law was usually read. "These," he said, naming them, "are the holy days of God—these the holy days of Hananiah!" An indistinct murmur ran through the synagogue. R. Nathan, the second deputy, arose and read the verse of Isaiah—"Out of Sion goeth forth the Law, and the word of God from Jerusalem." Then, with a bitter intonation, "Out of Babylon goeth forth the Law, the word of God from Nahar-pakod."

The assembly was in an uproar. "Alter not the word of God," was the universal cry. The legates followed up their advantage and produced their third letter, which threatened excommunication against the factious opponents of their authority. They added these emphatic words: "The learned have sent us, and commanded us thus to say: If he will submit, well; if not, utter at once the interdict. So likewise set the choice before our brethren in foreign parts. If they will stand by us, well; if not, let them ascend their high places; let Ahin build them an altar, and Hananiah (he was of Levitical descent) sing at the sacrifice, and let them at once set themselves apart and say, we have no portion in the Israel of God." From all sides an instantaneous cry arose, "Heaven preserve us from heresy, we have still a portion in the Israel of God." The authority of the Sanhedrin in Tiberias was universally recognized. Judah Ben Bethuriah, as well as Hananiah, was forced to bow to the yoke; and till the political separation of the Babylonian from the Western Jews, on the restoration of the Persian monarchy, for the province had now been again brought under the Roman dominion by the conquests of Verus, the Patriarch of Tiberias maintained his uncontested supremacy over the whole Jewish commonalty.

But before we describe the re-establishment of the Rech-Gluttha, or Prince of the Captivity, in all the state and splendor of an oriental sovereign, far outshining, at least in pomp, his rival sovereign in Tiberias, we return to the West to trace the history of the Palestinian Jews, as connected with that of their Roman masters. During all the latter conflicts with Rome, the
Samaritans had escaped by quiet submission the miseries which had so perpetually fallen on their more unruly brethren; they had obtained the right of Roman citizenship for their fidelity. Though they sarcastically denominated them "the proselytes of the Lions," yet they would inhabit the same city, sleep in the same house, eat at the same table, and even partake of animals which they had killed. This unusual mildness rested on the authority of R. Akiba, and seems to strengthen the suspicion that it was grounded on policy, and that the enterprising rabbi had laid a deliberate scheme of uniting in one league all who claimed Jewish descent. But this amity between the two hostile sects was but transient. One rabbi declared it was better to use water for an offering than Samaritan wine. Another, in their own city, openly accused them of worshiping idols on Gerizim; he hardly escaped with his life. Political circumstances increased the jealousies, which at last broke out in open hostilities, and opportunities occurred in which they might commit mutual acts of violence, without the interference of the ruling powers.

In one of the great contests for the empire, they espoused opposite parties. The Samaritans, unfortunately for themselves, were on the losing side. The edict of Antonine was re-enacted, though still with its limitation against circumcising proselytes. The Jews were permitted to undertake the tutelage of pagans, which shows that they had still the privileges of Roman citizenship, and they were exempt from burdens incompatible with their religion. Still they were interdicted from approaching the walls of the Holy City, and their general condition is thus described by Tertullian, who wrote during the reign of Severus: "Dispersed and vagabond, exiled from their native soil and air, they wander over the face of the earth, without a king, either human or divine; and even as strangers they are not permitted to salute with their footsteps their native land."

The Jews and Christians contest the honor of having furnished a nurse to the fratricide son of Severus, Caracalla. If this tyrant indeed sucked the milk of Christian gentleness, his savage disposition turned it to gall. According to the Rabbinical legends, he was so attached to his Jewish playmates, as
to have shed tears when one of them was whipped by order of
the emperor. Indeed, for several reigns, Judaism might boast
its influence on the imperial throne.

In the meantime, the patriarchal throne had been ascended
by the most celebrated of the Rabbinical sovereigns; Jehuda,
sometimes called the Nasi or Patriarch, sometimes the Holy,
sometimes emphatically the Rabbi, succeeded his father, Simon,
son of Gamaliel. Jehuda is said to have been born on the day
on which R. Akiba died; an event predicted, according to his
admirers, in the verse of Solomon: *One sun ariseth, and one
sun goeth down.* Akiba was the setting—Jehuda the dawning
sun. He was secretly circumcised, in defiance of the law of
Hadrian. His whole life was of the most spotless purity; hence
he was called the Holy, or the Holiest of the Holy. R. Jehuda
was the author of a new constitution to the Jewish people. He
embodied in the celebrated Mischna, or Code of traditional
Law, all the authorized interpretations of the Mosaic Law, the
traditions, the decisions of the learned, and the precedents of
the courts or schools.

In the meantime, the rival throne in Babylonia, that of the
Prince of the Captivity, was rapidly rising to the state and
dignity which perhaps did not attain its perfect height till un-
der the Persian monarchs. There seems to have been some ac-
knowledged hereditary claim in R. Houa, who now appears as
the Prince of the Captivity, as if his descent from the house of
David had been recognized by the willing credulity of his breth-
ren. At least, if any reliance is to be placed on a speech at-
tributed to R. Jehuda, that if R. Houa were to make his ap-
pearance, he should do homage to him; a submission which
would not, it may be thought, have been extorted from the Pa-
triarch of Tiberias, even the modest and humble R. Jehuda,
unless general opinion had invested the rival chieftain with
some peculiar sanctity. The Prince of the Captivity might re-
call in his splendor, particularly during his inauguration, some
lofty reminiscences of the great Jewish monarchy, under the
ancestors from whom he claimed his descent, the holy David
and the magnificent Solomon, though affectingingly mingled with
allusions to their present state of degradation. The ceremo-
nial of his installation is thus described. The spiritual heads
of the people, the masters of the learned schools, the elders, and the people, assembled in great multitudes within a stately chamber, adorned with rich curtains, in Babylon, where, during his days of splendor, the Resch-Glutha fixed his residence. The prince was seated on a lofty throne. The heads of the schools of Sura and Pumbeditha on his right hand and left. These chiefs of the learned men then delivered an address, exhorting the new monarch not to abuse his power; he was called to slavery rather than to sovereignty, for he was prince of a captive people. On the next Thursday he was inaugurated by the laying on of hands, and the sound of trumpets and acclamations. He was escorted to his palace with great pomp, and received magnificent presents from all his subjects. On the Sabbath, all the principal people ascended before his house; he placed himself at their head, and, his face covered with a silken veil, proceeded to the synagogue. Benedictions and hymns of thanksgiving announced his entrance. They then brought him the Book of the Law, out of which he read the first line; afterward he addressed the assembly, with his eyes closed out of respect. He exhorted them to charity, and set the example by offering liberal alms to the poor. The ceremony closed with new acclamations, and prayers to God that, under the new prince, he would be pleased to put an end to their calamities. The prince gave his blessing to the people; and prayed for each province that it might be preserved from war and famine. He concluded his orisons in a low voice lest his prayer should be repeated to the jealous ears of the native monarchs; for he prayed for the restoration of the kingdom of Israel, which could not rise but on the ruins of their empire. The prince returned to his palace, where he gave a splendid banquet to the chief persons of the community. After that day he lived in a sort of stately oriental seclusion, never quitting his palace except to go to the schools of the learned, where, as he entered, the whole assembly rose and continued standing till he took his seat. He sometimes paid a visit to the native sovereign in Babylon (Bagdad). This probably refers to a somewhat later period. On these great occasions his imperial host sent his own chariot for his guest; but the Prince of the Captivity dared not accept the distinction; he walked in hum-
Prince of the Captivity.

ble and submissive modesty behind the chariot. Yet his own state was by no means wanting in splendor; he was arrayed in cloth of gold; fifty guards marched before him; all the Jews who met him on the way paid their homage, and fell behind into his train. He was received by the eunuchs, who conducted him to the throne, while one of his officers as he marched slowly along, distributed gold and silver on all sides. As the prince approached the imperial throne, he prostrated himself on the ground, in token of vassalage. The eunuchs raised him, and placed him on the left hand of the sovereign. After the first salutation, the prince represented the grievances or discussed the affairs of his people.

The court of the Resch Glutha is described as equally splendid; in imitation of his Persian master, he had his officers, counselors, and cup-bearers. Rabbins were appointed as satraps over the different communities. This state, it is probable, was maintained by a tribute raised from the body of the people, and substituted for that which in ancient times was paid for the temple in Jerusalem. His subjects in Babylonia were many of them wealthy. They were husbandmen, shepherds, and artisans. The Babylonian garments were still famous in the West, and probably great part of that lucrative manufacture was carried on by the Jews. Asinai and Asilai, it will be recollected, were weavers. It is said, indeed, in the usual figurative style, of a Jew merchant in Babylon, that he had a thousand vessels on the sea, and a thousand cities on land. They prided themselves on their learning as well as their wealth. Though the Palestinian Jews affected to speak with contempt of Babylonian wisdom, yet in general estimation the schools of Nehardea, Sura, and Pumbeditha, might compete with Sepphoris and Tiberias.

Whether the authority of the Prince of the Captivity extended beyond Babylonia and the adjacent districts, is uncertain. The limits of Persia form an insuperable barrier to our knowledge; and almost all the rest of Asia, during this period, is covered, as it were, with impenetrable darkness. Many Jews were no doubt settled in Arabia. Mahomet found them both numerous and powerful, and a Jewish dynasty had long sat on one of the native thrones; but this subject will come under our
notice when we consider the influence of the progress of Mahometanism, as connected with the history of the Jews. All other accounts of oriental Jews, at this early period, are so obscure; so entirely or so nearly fabulous, that they may wisely be dismissed; but there is one curious point, which, as it seems to rest on better evidence, demands more particular notice—the establishment of a Jewish colony in China, if not anterior, certainly immediately subsequent, to the time of our Lord. This singular discovery was made known to Europe by the Jesuit missionaries; but, unfortunately, the Father Gozani, who had the best opportunity of obtaining accurate information both as to their history and the manuscripts of the Law which they possessed, was ignorant of the Hebrew language. It was inferred from their tradition, in our opinion somewhat hastily, that Jews had been settled in the country two hundred and forty-nine years before the Christian era. More authentic statements fixed their introduction into the empire toward the close of the reign of Mingti, of the dynasty of Han, who reigned from 58 to 75 A. C. They were originally seventy sings or families, and settled in the cities of Nimpo, Ning-hiu, Hamptcheu, Peking, and Caifongfou. Only seven remained in the middle of the seventeenth century; all in the latter city, the capital of Honan. They came from Si-yu, the west country, and their Hebrew language betrayed evident signs of corruption from the introduction of Persian words. They could not have been of the earlier dispersion, for they had the book of Ezra, and highly revered his name. They knew nothing, or at least had preserved no knowledge of Christ or his religion. They were employed in agriculture and traffic. They had cultivated learning with success; and some of them, as it was attested by extant inscriptions, had been highly honored with the imperial favor, and had attained the rank of mandarins. One of these inscriptions, bearing date in 1515, praises the Jews for their integrity and fidelity, in agricultural pursuits, in traffic, in the magistracy, and in the army, and their punctual observance of their own religious ceremonies; it assures them of the emperor’s high esteem. They paid great respect to the name of Confucius; and after the Chinese customs preserved the memory of their fathers, with religious reverence,
on tablets inscribed with their names; in other respects they were strict Jews; they observed the Sabbath, lighting no fire, and preparing their food on the preceding day; they practiced circumcision on the eighth day; they intermarried only among themselves. They believe, according to the Jesuit, in purgatory, hell, paradise, the resurrection, and the last judgment; in angels, cherubim, and seraphim. They neither make, nor attempt to make, proselytes. Their sacred edifice (a remarkable fact) resembles much more the temple than the modern synagogue. It is situated in an open space, among pavilions or avenues of trees. It consists of a nave and two aisles; the center is divided into a holy place, and a Holy of Holies, which is square without and circular within; here are deposited the books of the Law, and the sacred chamber is only entered by the chief priest. The chief priest is not distinguished by any splendor of apparel, only by a red belt of silk, which passes over his right and under his left shoulder. They chant the sacred Scripture and their prayers, as Father Gozani had heard the Jews in Italy. They entertain distinct though remote hopes of the coming of the Messiah. Such, in a brief outline, is the history of one branch of this extraordinary people; thus in the eastern as well as the western extremity of the old world, resisting the common laws by which nations seem to be absorbed into each other. However opposite the institutions, the usages, the manners of the people among whom they dwell; whether the government be mild or intolerant; the Jews, equally inflexible and unsocial, maintain their seclusion from the rest of mankind. The same principles operate on the banks of the Yellow River, and on those of the Tiber or the Seine; the Jew, severed for ages from all intercourse with his brethren, amid the inaccessible regions of the Celestial empire, in most respects, remains as he would have been if he had continued to inhabit the valleys of Palestine, under the constant and immediate superintendence of the national chief of his religion, the Patriarch of Tiberias.
CHAPTER XVI.

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

The middle of the third century beheld all Israel thus incorporated into two communities, under their Papacy and their Caliphate; the great events which succeeded during the five following centuries, to the end of the seventh, or the middle of the eighth, which operated so powerfully on the destinies of the whole world, in the east as well as in the west, could not but exercise an important influence over the condition, and in some respects, the national character of the Jews.

A temporary splendor was thrown around the Jewish name by the celebrity of Zenobia, the famous queen of Palmyra, who was of Israelitish descent. But the Jews of Palestine neither derived much advantage from the prosperity, nor suffered in the fall of that extraordinary woman. Her favorite, Paul of Samosata, seems to have entertained some views of attempting a union between Judaism and Christianity; both parties rejected the unnatural alliance. The Jews spoke contemptuously of the wise men who came from Tadmor; and Paul of Samosata, was rejected by the orthodox Church as an intractable heretic. On the formal establishment of Christianity, the more zealous Jews might tremble, lest the synagogue should be dazzled by the splendor of its triumphant competitor, and recognizing the manifest favor of the Divinity in its success, refuse any longer to adhere to an humiliated and hopeless cause; while the Christians, after having gained this acknowledged victory over Paganism, might not unreasonably expect that Judaism, less strongly opposed to its principles would relax its obstinate resistance, and yield at length, to the universally acknowledged dominion of the new faith.

At the same time, unhappy, the Church had lost, in a great degree, its most effective means of conversion—its miraculous powers, the simple truth of its doctrines, and the blameless lives
of its believers. It substituted authority, and a regular system of wonder-working, which the Jews, who had been less affected than might have been supposed by the miracles of our Lord and His Apostles, had no difficulty in rejecting, either as manifest impostures, or works of malignant and hostile spirits. A scene characteristic of the times is reported to have taken place in Rome; the legend, it will easily be credited, rests on Christian authority. A conference took place in the presence of Constantine and the devout Christians. Pope Sylvester, then at the height of his wonder-working glory, had already triumphed in argument over his infatuated opponents, when the Jews had recourse to magic. A noted enchanter commanded an ox to be brought forward; he whispered into the ear of the animal, which instantly fell dead at the feet of Constantine. The Jews shouted in triumph, for it was the Ham-sem-phorash, the ineffable name of God, at the sound of which the awe-struck beast had expired. Sylvester observed with some shrewdness, "As he who whispered the name must be well acquainted with it, why does he not fall dead in like manner?" The Jews answered with contemptuous exclamations—"Let us have no more verbal disputations, let us come to actions." "So be it," said Sylvester; "and if this ox comes to life at the name of Christ, will ye believe?" They all unanimously assented. Sylvester raised his eyes to heaven, and said with a loud voice—"if He be the true God whom I preach, in the name of Christ, arise, oh ox, and stand on thy feet." The ox sprang up, and began to move and feed. The legend proceeds, that the whole assembly was baptised. The Christians, by their own account, carried on the contest in a less favorable field than the city of Rome, and urged their conquests into the heart of the enemy's country. Constantine, by the advice of his mother Helena, adorned with great magnificence the city which had risen on the ruins of Jerusalem. It had become a place of such splendor, that Eusebius, in a transport of holy triumph, declared that it was the new Jerusalem, foretold by the prophets. The Jews were probably still interdicted from disturbing the peace, or profaning the soil of the Christian city, by entering its walls. They revenged themselves by rigidly excluding every stranger from the four great cities which they occupied; Dio Cæsarea (Sep-
phoris), Nazareth, Capernaum, and Tiberias. As it was the
ambition of the Jews to regain a footing in the Holy City, so
it was that of the Christians to establish a church among the
dwellings of the circumcised. This was brought about by a
singular adventure. Hillel had succeeded his father, Judah the
Second, in the Patriarchate. If we are to believe Epiphanius,
the Patriarch himself had embraced Christianity, and had been
secretly baptised on his death bed, by a bishop. Joseph, his
physician, had witnessed the scene, which wrought strongly
upon his mind. The house of Hillel, after his death, was kept
closely shut up by his suspicious countrymen; Joseph obtained
entrance, and found there the Gospel of John, the Gospel of
Matthew, and the Acts, in a Hebrew translation. He read and
believed. When the young Patriarch, another Judah (the
third), grew up, Joseph was appointed an apostle, or collector
of the Patriarchal revenue. It seems that Christian meekness
had not been imbibed with Christian faith, for he discharged
his function with unpopular severity. He was detected reading
the Gospel, hurried to the synagogue and scourged. The
bishop of the town (in Cilicia) interfered. But he was after-
ward seized again, and thrown into the Cydnus, from which
he hardly escaped with his life. This was not the wisest means
of recovering a renegade; Joseph was publicly baptised, rose high
in the favor of Constantine, and attained the dignity of Count of
the Empire. Burning with zeal—it is to be hoped not with
revenge—he turned all his thoughts to the establishment of
Christian churches in the great Jewish cities.

The laws of Constantine, with regard to the Jews, throw
more real light on their character and condition. The first of
these statutes appears to authenticate the early part of the his-
tory of Joseph, and was no doubt framed in allusion to his case.
It enacted, that if the Jews should stone, or endanger the life
of a Christian convert, all who were concerned should be
burned alive. This statute shows the still fiery zeal of the
Jews, and their authority within the walls of their own syna-
gogue; nor had they any right to complain, if proselytes to
the established faith should be protected from their violence
under the severest penalties. Another more intolerant statute
prohibited all Christians from becoming Jews, under the pain
of an arbitrary punishment; and six months before his death, a third decree was issued by Constantine, prohibiting Jews from possessing Christian slaves. There was another civil law, of great importance, affecting the Jews; they were constrained to take upon themselves certain public offices, particularly the decurionate, which from the facility with which the emperor and his predecessors had granted exemptions, had become burdensome. The Law however shows that the right of the Jews to Roman citizenship was fully recognized.

But still earlier than these statutes of Constantine, Spain, the fruitful mother and nurse of religious persecution, had given the signal for hostility toward the Jews, in a decree passed at the Council of Elvira (Iliberis) which is curious, as proving that the Jews were to a great extent, the cultivators of the soil in that country. It was a custom to mingle together at the festive entertainments given at the harvest home or other periods of rural rejoicing. The Jews were wont in devout humility to utter their accustomed grace before the feast, that the Almighty would, even in the land of the stranger, permit His rains, and dew, and sunshine, to fertilize the harvest. The Christians appear to have been offended at this apparently very innocent supplication. The decree of the council proscribed the meeting of the two races at these festivals, and prohibited the blessing of the Jew, lest, perhaps, he might render unavailing the otherwise powerful benedictions of the Church.

The increased severity of the laws enacted by Constantius, the son and successor of Constantine, indicates the still darkening spirit of hostility; but the Jews, unhappily, gave ample provocation to the authorities. The hot-headed Israelites of Alexandria mingled themselves in the factions of Arians and Athanasi ans, which distracted that restless city. They joined with the Pagans, on the side of the Arian bishop, and committed frightful excesses, burning churches, profaning them with outrage which Athanasius shrinks from relating, and violating consecrated virgins. An insurrection in Judea, which terminated in the destruction of Dio Cæsarea, gave another pretext for exaction and oppression. The Jews were heavily burdened and taxed; forbidden, under pain of death, from possessing Christian slaves, or marrying Christian women; and
the interdict of Hadrian, which prohibited their approach to
the Holy City, was formally renewed.

If then the Jews beheld with jealous alarm the rival religion
seated on the imperial throne, and the votaries of Jesus clothed
in the royal purple—if they felt their condition gradually be-
coming worse under the statutes of the new emperors—if they
dreaded still farther the aggressions on their prosperity, they
must have looked with no secret triumph to the accession of
Julian, the apostate from Christianity. Before long their ela-
tion was still further excited by a letter from the emperor, ad-
dressed to “his brother,” the patriarch, and the commonalty of
the Jews. Julian seemed to recognize the unity of God in
terms which might satisfy the most zealous follower of Moses.
He proceeded to denounce their oppressors, condescended to ex-
cuse his brother, annulled the unequal taxes with which they
were loaded, and expressed his earnest hope that on his return
from the Persian war, the great designs he had formed for their
welfare might be fully accomplished. The temporal as well as
the religious policy of Julian advised his conciliation with the
Jews. Could they be lured by his splendid promises to em-
brace his party, the Jews in Mesopotamia would have thrown
great weight into his scale, in his campaign against the Per-
sians; and in his design of depressing Christianity, it was im-
portant to secure the support of every opposite sect. Probably
with these views the memorable edict was issued for the re-
building of the temple on Mount Moriah, and the restoration
of the Jewish worship in its original splendor.

The whole Jewish world was in commotion; they crowded
from the most distant quarters to be present and assist in the
great national work. Their wealth was poured forth in lavish
profusion; and all who were near the spot and could not con-
tribute so amply, offered their personal exertions; blessed were
the hands that toiled in such a work, and unworthy was he of
the blood of Israel who would not unlock, at such a call, his
most secret hoards. Men cheerfully surrendered the hard-won
treasures of their avarice; women offered up the ornaments of
their vanity. The very tools which were to be employed, were,
as it were, sanctified by the service, and were made of the most
costly materials; some had shovels, mallets, and baskets of sil-
ver; and women were seen carrying rubbish in robes and mantles of silk. Men, blind from the womb, came forward to lend their embarrassing aid, and the aged tottered along the ways, bowed beneath the weight of some burden which they seemed to acquire new strength to support. The confidence and triumph of the Jews was unbounded; some went so far in their profane adulation as to style Julian the Messiah. The Christians looked on in consternation and amazement. Would the murderers of the Son of God be permitted to rebuild their devoted city, and the temple arise again from "the abomination of desolation?" Materials had now accumulated from all quarters, some say at the expense of the emperor; but that is not probable, considering the costly war in which he was engaged. Nor were the Jews wanting in ample resources; timber, stones, lime, burnt brick, clay, were heaped together in abundant quantities. Already was the work commenced; already had they dug down to a considerable depth, and were preparing to lay the foundations, when suddenly flames of fire came bursting from the center of the hill, accompanied with terrific explosions. The affrighted workmen fled on all sides; and the labors were suspended at once by this unforeseen and awful sign. Other circumstances are said to have accompanied this event; an earthquake shook the hill; flakes of fire, which took the form of crosses, settled on the dresses of the workmen and spectators; and the fire consumed even the tools of iron. It was even added that a horseman was seen careering among the flames, and that the workmen, having fled to a neighboring church, its doors, fastened by some supernatural force within, refused to admit them.

The discomfiture of the Jews was completed; and the resumption of their labors, could they have recovered from their panic, was forever broken off by the death of Julian. The emperor seems not to have reaped the advantages he expected from his attempt to conciliate the race of Israel. The Mesopotamian Jews, instead of joining his army, remained faithful to their Persian masters, and abandoned such of their cities as were not defensible. On his approach, one of these, Bithra, situated among the branches of the Euphrates, was set on fire by his soldiers, and burned to ashes. The apostate himself
Death of Julian.

fell—the Christian world beheld the vengeance of God—the Jew the extinction of all his hopes—in the early fate of this extraordinary man.

The short reign of Jovian, whose policy it was to reverse all the acts of his predecessor, was oppressive to the Jews—but it was only a passing cloud; Valens and Valentinian re-instated the Jews and their patriarch in their former rights; yet the state of the empire demanded the repeal of their most valuable privilege—exemption from the public services. “Even the clergy,” such is the curious argument of this edict, “are not permitted to consecrate themselves to the worship of God, without having previously discharged their duty to their country. He who would devote himself to God, must first find a substitute to undertake his share in the public offices.” The Jews could not complain, if, admitted to the protection and rights of Roman citizenship, they were constrained to perform its duties.

During the declining days of the Roman Empire, Christianity assumed a more commanding influence, and the Jews sometimes became a subject of contention between the Church and the throne. Protected by the emperor as useful and profitable subjects, they were beheld by the more intemperate churchmen with still increasing animosity. Maximus, a usurper, during his short reign, had commanded a synagogue, which had been wantonly burned in Rome, to be rebuilt at the expense of the community. Theodosius the Great renewed a similar edict, on a like occasion, and commanded the bishop of Callinicum, in Osdroene, to see the work carried into effect. The fiery zeal of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, broke out into a flame of indignation. He designated a synagogue as a dwelling of perfidy—a house of impiety—a receptacle of insanity—and concluded, in a tone of mingled pathetic expostulation and bitter invective: “This shall be the inscription of the edifice—‘A temple of ungodliness, built from the plunder of the Christians.’” Not content with addressing this letter to the emperor, who was then in Milan, he thundered against him from the pulpit. Theodosius had the weakness to yield to the daring churchman; the edict was recalled; and the Jews remained without a synagogue in that city, which, it may be observed,
was divided by half the empire from the diocese of Ambrose. In the meantime, the Patriarchate began to display manifest signs of decay. The Jews were seen before heathen tribunals, not only to decide their litigations with Christians, but as a court of appeal against the injustice of their own judicial authorities. Men excommunicated had recourse to Pagan judges, not always inaccessible to bribery, to enforce their reinstatement in the rights of the synagogue. A law of Theodosius was passed, which recognized the power of the Patriarchs to punish the refractory members of their own community. This law was confirmed under Arcadius and Honorius; the prefects were forbidden from interfering with the judicial courts of the Jewish primate. It should seem that in disputes with Christians, both parties were expected to appear before the ordinary tribunals. Another law was passed at this period, characteristic of the times. It enacted, that no Jew should be baptised without strict inquiry, and a sort of previous noviciate of good conduct.

The clouds of ignorance and barbarism, which were darkening over the whole world, could not but spread a darker gloom over the sullen national character of the Jews. The manner in which the contest was carried on with the church, was not calculated to enlighten their fanaticism; nor was it likely that while the world around them was sinking fast into unsocial ferocity of manners, they should acquire the gentleness and humanity of civilization. No doubt, the more intemperate members of the synagogue, when they might do it securely, would revenge themselves by insult or any other means of hostility in their power, against the aggressions of the church; though probably much would be construed into insult, which was not intended to give offense, it argues no great knowledge of the Jewish character, or indeed of human nature, to doubt but that great provocation was given by the turbulent disposition of the Israelites. It is a curious fact, and must have tended greatly to darken the spirit of animosity in the dominant church against the Jews, that whenever occasion offered, they sided with the Arian faction; while the Arians were in general more tolerant toward the worshipers of the undivided unity of God, than the Catholic church. In the religious factions in Alex-
andria, we have seen them espousing the part of the Arian bishop against Athanasius, and of all the sovereigns during this period, none were more friendly to the Jews than the Arian Gothic kings of Italy. It was about the commence-
ment of the fifth century, that great, probably not groundless offense was taken at the public and tumultuous manner in which the Jews celebrated the feast of Purim, and their de-
liverance under Esther. Not content with beating the benches of the synagogue with stones and mallets, and uttering the most dissonant cries each time the execrated name of Haman was pronounced, they proceeded to make a public exhibition of the manner in which the enemies of their nation might expect to be treated. They erected a gibbet, on which a figure, repre-
senting Haman, was suspended, and treated with every kind of indignity. Probably blasphemous expressions against all other Hamans might occasionally break forth. The Christians looked with jealous horror on that, which they construed into a profane, though covert, representation of the crucifixion. Sometimes, indeed, it is said, the gibbet was made in the form of a cross, with the body suspended upon it in like manner to that which was now becoming the universal object of adoration. No wonder if the two parties met in furious collision, and if the peace of the empire demanded the intervention of authority to put an end to these indecent scenes. By a law of Theodosius the Second, these festivals were prohibited.

In Macedonia, Dacia, and Illyria, these, or similar causes of contention, gave rise to violent tumults between the Jews and Christians. The synagogues were burned in many places. Theodosius commanded the prefect, Philip, to execute the law with the strictest impartiality—not to suffer the Jews to insult or show disrespect to the Christian religion, yet by no means to interfere with the free exercise of their own faith. In Syria these animosities led to still worse consequences. At a place called Inmesar, between Chalcis and Antioch, some drunken Jews began in the public streets to mock and blas-
pheme the name of Christ. They went so far as to erect a cross, and fastened a Christian boy to it, whom they scourged so unmercifully that he died. The offenders were justly pun-
ished with exemplary rigor; but the feud left a rankling hatred
in the hearts of the Christians. Some years after, they rose and plundered a synagogue in Antioch. The Roman governor espoused the cause of the Jews, this time the unoffending victims of wanton animosity; and by an ordinance of the emperor, the clergy were commanded to make restitution. But they found an advocate in the celebrated Simeon Stylites, so called from his passing his life on the top of a slender column sixty feet high. Theodosius could not resist the intercession of this saintly personage, to whom he wrote under the title of the "Holy Martyr in the air," earnestly soliciting his prayers. The order of restitution was annulled—the just prefect recalled. It is possible, however, that the synagogue in question may have been built in violation of a law of the empire, which prohibited the erecting any new edifices for Jewish worship.

We must revert to Alexandria, ever the most fatal scene of Jewish turbulence and Jewish calamity. Yet no calamity could induce this gain-loving people to abandon that great emporium of commerce. Rarely have we directed our attention to the city of Alexandria, but we have seen its streets flowing with the blood of thousands of Jews; at our next view we always find them re-established in immense numbers, and in inexhaustible opulence. To the old feuds between Greeks and Jews in this city, noted at all times for its fierce and mutinous spirit, had succeeded those of the different sects of Christians, and of the Christians, Pagans, and Jews. Even holy bishops were not superior to the violence which the fiery climate seemed to infuse into the veins of these "children of the sun." The records of the Alexandrian Church present, perhaps, the most unchristian page in Christian history. At this period the city was rent into factions on a subject all-important in those days—the merits of the dancers in the public exhibitions. These entertainments usually took place on the Jewish Sabbath, and on that idle day the theater was thronged with Jews, who preferred this profane amusement to the holy worship of their synagogue. Violent collisions of the different factions perpetually took place, which rarely terminated without bloodshed. Orestes, prefect of Alexandria, determined to repress these sanguinary tumults, and ordered his police
regulations to be suspended in the theater. Certain partisans of Cyril, the Archbishop, entered the theater with the innocent design, according to Socrates, on whose partial authority the whole affair rests, of reading these ordinances; among the rest, one Hierax, a low schoolmaster, a man conspicuous as an adherent of the archbishop, whom he was wont frequently to applaud by clapping his hands (the usual custom in the Church) whenever he preached. From what cause does not appear, but the Jews considered themselves insulted by his presence, and raised an outcry that the man was there only to stir up a tumult. Orestes, jealous of the archbishop, who had usurped on the civil authority, ordered Hierax to be seized and scourged. Cyril sent for the principal Jews, and threatened them with exemplary vengeance if they did not cause all tumults against the Christians to cease. The Jews determined to anticipate their adversaries; having put on rings of palm bark, that they might distinguish each other in the dark, they suddenly, at the dead of night, raised a cry of fire about the great church, called that of Alexander. The Christians rose, and rushed from all quarters to save the church. The Jews fell on them, and massacred on all sides. When the day dawned the cause of the uproar was manifest. The militant archbishop instantly took arms, attacked with a formidable force the synagogues of the Jews, slew many, drove the rest out of the city, and plundered their property.

The strong part which Orestes took against the archbishop, and his regret at the expulsion of the thriving and industrious Jews from the city, seem to warrant a suspicion that the latter were not so entirely without provocation. Both however, sent representations to the emperor; but, probably before he could interfere, the feud between the implacable prefect and the archbishop grew to a greater height. Cyril, it is said, on one occasion advanced to meet his adversary with the Gospel in his hand, as a sign of peace; but Orestes, suspecting probably that he had not much of its spirit in his heart, refused this offer of conciliation. There were certain monks who lived in the mountains of Nitria. These fiery champions of the Church seized their arms, and poured into the city to strengthen the faction of the patriarch. Emboldened by their presence, Cyril
Fall of the Patriarchate.

openly insulted Orestes—called him heathen, idoler, and many other opprobrious names. In vain the prefect protested that he had been baptised by Atticus, a bishop in Constantinople. A man named Ammonius, hurled a great stone at his head; the blood gushed forth, and his affrighted attendants dispersed on all sides. But the character of Orestes stood high with the inhabitants. The Alexandrian populace rose in defense of their prefect; the monks were driven from the city, Ammonius tortured and put to death. Cyril commanded his body to be taken up, paid him all the honors of a martyr, and declared that he had fallen a victim to his righteous zeal in the defense of the church. Even Socrates seems to shrink from relating this unchristian conduct of the patriarch. Cyril himself was ashamed, and glad to bury the transaction in oblivion. Before long, however, his adherents perpetrated a more inhuman deed even than the plunder and expulsion of the Jews; it must be related to show the ferocious character of their antagonists. There was a woman, named Hypatia, of great learning, and deeply versed in the platonic philosophy. She lived in great intimacy with Orestes, and was suspected of encouraging him in his hostility to the patriarch. This woman they seized, dragged her from her chariot, and, with the most revolting indecency, tore her clothes off, and then rent her limb from limb. By another account, Cyril himself is accused as having instigated, from jealousy of the fair platonist's numerous hearers, this horrible act. It is grievous to add, that through bribes and interest at the imperial court, the affair remained unpunished; nor do we hear that the Jews obtained either redress or restoration to their homes and property.

In the meantime, the Jewish patriarchate, after having exercised its authority for nearly three centuries, expired in the person of Gamaliel. Its fall had been prognosticated by many visible signs of decay and dissolution. The Jews, ever more and more dispersed, became probably a less influential part of the population in Palestine, at least they bore a less proportion to the scattered part of the people; the bonds of authority over the more remote communities gradually relaxed. A law of Honorius gave a signal blow to its opulence; it prohibited the exportation of the annual tribute from Rome, probably from
the western empire. Five years after, it is true, this law was repealed, and the patriarch resumed his rights; but the Jews were deprived by another statute, of the agency—an office, now apparently become lucrative, which their active habits of trade enabled them to fill with great advantage to themselves. At length, a law of Theodosius, which has been differently understood, either stripped the patriarch of the honorary title of prefect, which had been assigned to him by former emperors, and thus virtually destroyed his authority, or as some—inaccurately we conceive—suppose, expressly abolished the office. The crime imputed to the patriarch was his erecting new synagogues, in defiance of the imperial laws. At all events, Gamaliel—even if after this statute he maintained the empty name of patriarch—at his death had no successor, and this spiritual monarchy of the west was forever dissolved. It may be said that the dominion passed into the hands of the Rabbinical aristocracy.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE JEWS UNDER THE BARBARIAN KINGS AND THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS.

The irruption of the northern barbarians during the latter half of the fourth to about the end of the fifth century, so completely disorganized the whole frame of society, that the condition of its humblest members could not but be powerfully influenced by the total revolution in the government, in the possession of the soil, and in the social character of all those countries which were exposed to their inroads. The Jews were widely dispersed in all the provinces on which the storm fell—in Belgium, along the course of the Rhine—in such parts of Germany as were civilized—in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. Of their original progress into these countries, history takes no notice; for they did not migrate in swarms, or settle in large bodies,
but sometimes as slaves following the fortunes of their masters, sometimes as single enterprising traders, they traveled on and advanced as convenience or profit tempted, till they reached the verge of civilization. On them the successive inroads and conquests of the barbarians fell much more lightly than on the native inhabitants. Attached to no fixed residence, with little interest in the laws and usages of the different provinces, rarely incumbered with landed property, or with immovable effects, sojourners, not settlers, denizens rather than citizens, they could retreat, before the cloud burst, to the more secure and peaceful dwellings of their brethren, and bear with them the most valuable portion of their goods. True citizens of the world, they shifted their quarters, and found new channels for their trade as fast as the old were closed. But the watchful son of Israel fled to return again, in order that he might share in the plunder of the uncircumcised. Through burning towns and ravaged fields he traveled, regardless of the surrounding misery which enveloped those with whom he had no ties of attachment.

From the earliest period after Christianity assumed the reins of the empire, the possession of Christian slaves by the circumcised, had offended the dominant party. Constantine issued a severe law, which prohibited the Jews from having a Christian slave—but this law was either never executed or fell into disuse. A law of Honorius only prohibited the conversion of Christian slaves to Judaism, not interfering with, or rather fully recognizing, their right of property in their bondsmen. After the evil had grown, through the incessant barbaric wars, to a much greater magnitude, the Council of Orleans (A. C. 540) took the lead, but with great fairness and moderation, in the laudable attempt to alleviate its baneful effects on the religious as well as the temporal state of the slave. That assembly enacted, "That if a slave was commanded to perform any service, incompatible with his religion, and the master proceeded to punish him for disobedience, he might find an asylum in any church; the clergy of that church were on no account to give him up, but to pay his full value to the master." The fourth council of the same place (A. C. 541) goes further, "If a slave under such circumstances should claim the protection of any Christian, he is bound to afford it, and to redeem the slave at fair price."
Further, "Any Jew who makes a proselyte to Judaism, or takes a Christian slave to himself (probably as wife or concubine), or by the promise of freedom bribes one born a Christian to forswear his faith, and embrace Judaism, loses his property in the slave. The Christian who has accepted his freedom on such terms, shall not presume to fulfil the condition, for a born Christian who embraces Judaism, is unworthy of liberty." The first Council of Macon (A. C. 582) enacts, "That according to the laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, the conditions by which a Christian, either as a captive in war, or by purchase, has become slave to a Jew, must be respected. But since complaints have arisen, that Jews living in the great and small towns have been so shameless as to refuse a fair price for the redemption of such bondsmen, no Christian can be compelled to remain in slavery; but every Christian has a right to redeem Christian slaves at the price of twelve solidi (to such a price had human life fallen), either to restore them to freedom or to retain them as his own slaves; for it were unjust that those whom our Saviour has redeemed by his blood, should groan in the fetters of his persecutors." These laws produced little effect; for in the first place they calculated far beyond the character of the age, on the predominance of Christian charity over the love of lucre, both in the clergy and the laity. Besides, the whole administration of law had fallen into the worst disorder. Every province or district had its separate jurisdiction; no uniformity of system could prevail; and where the commonalty, many of the administrators of the law, and even the clergy, could neither write nor read, the written rescripts of councils were often but a dead letter. The fourth Council of Toledo (A. C. 638) recognized the practice of Jewish slave-dealing as in full force. The tenth at the same place (A. C. 656) complains that "even the clergy, in defiance of the law, sold captives to Jews and heathens." At the close of the sixth century, one of the wisest and most humane pontiffs filled the papal chair, Gregory the First. The Pope, in his pastoral letters alternately denounces, bewails, and by authoritative rebuke and appeal to the better feelings, endeavors to suppress this "cruel and impious" traffic which still existed in Italy, Sicily, and the south of France. He writes to Fortunatus, "that he has received an account that
a Jewish miscreant has built an altar, and forced or bribed his Christian slaves to worship upon it." The prefect was directed to inflict corporal chastisement on the offender, and to cause all the slaves to receive their freedom. The next year he writes to Venantius, bishop of Luni, in Tuscany, rebuking him for permitting Christian slaves to come into the power of Jewish masters, contrary to his duty. Those who had been long in the possession of such masters, were to be considered as villains attached to the soil (the Jews, it would seem, were considerable landed proprietors or cultivators of the land in Italy). But if the Jew resisted, or abused his seignorial right to transplant the slave from the soil to which he belonged, he was to lose his lease of land, as well as his right over the slave. Gregory distinguishes between the possession and the trade in slaves. No Jew or heathen who was desirous of becoming a Christian was to be retained in slavery. Lest the Jew should complain that he is robbed of his property, this rule is to be observed; if heathen slaves, bought as an article of trade, within three months after the sale, and before they find another purchaser, wish to embrace Christianity, the Jew shall receive the full price from a Christian slave purchaser; if after that time—he shall immediately obtain his freedom, as it is evident that the Jew keeps him, not for sale, but for service. This was as it were, within the dominions of the papacy; at least almost bordering on his own particular diocese. In the Gallic provinces, as probably his power was less implicitly acknowledged, so his tone is less peremptory. The slaves in such cases were to be repurchased out of the goods of the church. Gregory writes to Candidus, a presbyter in Gaul—"Dominic, the bearer of this letter, has with tears made known to us, that his four brothers have been bought by the Jews, and are at present their slaves at Narbonne. We direct you to make inquiry into the transaction, and, if it be true, to redeem them at a proper price, which you will charge in your accounts, i. e. deduct from the annual payment made to Rome."

Scarce had the world begun to breathe, after the successive shocks which its social state had received from the inroads of the northern barbarians—scarce had it begun to assume some appearance of order, as the kingdoms of the Goths, the Van-
dals, the Lombards, and the Franks, successively arose upon
the broken ruins of the Roman empire—when Mahometanism
suddenly broke forth, and, spreading with irresistible rapidity
over great part of Asia, the north of Africa, and Spain, effected
a complete revolution in the government, the manners and the
religion of half the world. The Persian kingdom fell at once,
and the Magian religion was almost extinguished. In the
Asiatic provinces, Christianity, excepting in Armenia, sank
into an inconsiderable and persecuted sect; a magnificent
mosque replaced the Jewish temple on the summit of Moriah;
the flourishing churches of Africa, the dioceses of Cyprian and
Augustine, were yielded up to the interpreters of the Koran;
and the Cross found a precarious refuge among the mountains
of the Asturias, while the Crescent shone over the rich valleys
of Spain, and the splendid palaces of Granada and Cordova.
Such a revolution, as it submitted them to new masters, could
not but materially affect the condition of the Jews. In most re-
spects the change was highly favorable; for, though sometimes
despised and persecuted by the Saracenic emperors and caliphs,
in general their estate was far less precarious and depressed
than under the Christians; and they rose to their great era of
distinction in wealth, cultivation, and in letters, under the mild
dominion of the Arabian dynasty in Spain.

In order to trace the influence of this great revolution, we
return to the East, and survey the state of the Jews—first, un-
der the Byzantine empire; second, under the late Persian
monarchs; and third, in Arabia. The Greek empire was rap-
idly verging to decay; the imperial court was a scene of in-
trigue and licentiousness, more like that of an Asiatic sultan
than of the heir of the Roman name; the capital was distracted
by factions, not set in arms in support of any of those great
principles which dignify, if they do not vindicate, the violence
of human passions; but in assertion of the superior skill
of dancers and charioteers—the circus, not the senate, was the
scene of their turbulence—the actor, not the orator, was the
object of popular excitement. An eunuch, Narses, and a Thra-
cian peasant, Belisarius, alone maintained the fame of Rome
for valor and ability in war. The Church was rapidly increas-
ing in power, but by no means, notwithstanding the virtues
and talents of men like Chrysostom, in the great attributes of the Christian religion—wisdom, holiness, and mercy. The Jews, probably by their industry as traders, and their connexion with their brethren in the East, ministered considerably to the splendor and luxury of the imperial court; but the fall of the patriarchate, and the dispersion of the community in Palestine, which seems entirely to have lost the center of unity which it possessed in the religious capital, Tiberias, lowered the whole race in general estimation. They were no longer a native community, or, it might almost be said, a State, whose existence was recognized by the Supreme Power, and who possessed an ostensible head, through whom the will of the sovereign might be communicated, or who might act as the representative of the nation. They sank into a sect little differing from other religious communities which refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the established Church. In this light they are considered in the imperial laws. Hitherto they enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship; but the emperors now began to exclude from offices of honor and dignity all who did not conform to the dominant faith. In the sixth year of Justin the Elder, a law was promulgated to the following effect: "All unbelievers, heathens, Jews, and Samaritans, shall henceforth undertake no office of magistracy, nor be invested with any dignity in the State; neither be judges nor prefects, nor guardians of cities, lest they may have an opportunity of punishing, or judging Christians, and even bishops. They must be likewise excluded from all military functions. In case of the breach of this law, all their acts are null and void, and the offender shall be punished by a fine of twenty pounds of gold." This law, which comprehends Samaritans as well as Jews, leads us to the curious fact of the importance attained by that people during the reigns of Justin and Justinian. Hitherto their petty religious republic seems to have lurked in peaceful insignificance; now, not only do its members appear dispersed along the shores of the Mediterranean, sharing the commerce with their Jewish brethren in Egypt, Italy, and Sicily, but the peace of the empire was disturbed by their fierce and frequent insurrections in Palestine.

It is not improbable that the Christians, who were always
zealously disposed to invade the sanctuary of unbelief, and to purify, by the erection of a church, every spot which had been long profaned by any other form of worship, might look with holy impatience for the period when a fane in honor of Christ should rise on the top of Mount Gerizim. The language of our Lord to the woman of Samaria, according to their interpretation, prophetically foreshadowed the dedication of that holy mountain to a purer worship. No motive can be suggested, so probable as the apprehension of such a design, for the furious, and, we are told, unprovoked attack of the Samaritans on the Christian church in Naplous. They broke in on Easter-day—slew great numbers—seized the bishop, Terebinthus, in the act of celebrating the Holy Sacrament—wounded him, cut off several of his fingers, as they clung with pious tenacity to the consecrated emblems, which the invaders misused with such sacrilegious and shameless fury as a Christian dared not describe.

The rankling animosity between the two religions—aggravated, no doubt, by the intolerant laws of Justinian hereafter to be noticed—broke out into a ferocious, though desperate, insurrection. A certain Julian, by some reported to have been a robber chieftain, appeared at the head of the Samaritans. He assumed, it is averred, the title of king, and even had some pretensions to the character of a Messiah. All around Naplous they wasted the possessions of the Christians with fire and sword, burned the churches, and treated the priests with the most shameless indignities. By one account, Julian is said to have entered Naplous while the games were celebrating. The victor was named Nicias; Julian summoned him before his presence, and demanded his religion; on his reply that he was a Christian, he struck his head off at a blow. The whole district was a desert; one bishop had fallen in the massacre, and many priests were thrown into prison or torn in pieces. A great force was sent into the province; and, after a bloody battle, the Samaritans were defeated, Julian slain, and Silvanus, the most barbarous enemy of the Christians, taken and put to death. One, however, of the insurgents, named Arsenius, found his way to Constantinople. He was a man of great eloquence and ability, and succeeded in convincing the emperor,
who was usually entirely under the priestly influence, as well as the empress, that the Christians were the real authors of this insurrection. The ecclesiastics of Palestine were seized with amazement and terror at the progress of this man—whom they characterize as a “crafty and wicked liar”—in the favor of the emperor. They had recourse to St. Sabas, and induced him to undertake a mission to Constantinople in their defense. The venerable age (he was ninety years old) and the sanctity of Sabas triumphed over, it may be feared, the reason and justice of Arsenius. The Samaritans were condemned; the leaders of the insurrection adjudged to death; the rest of the people expelled, and interdicted from settling again in Naplous; and by a strange edict, the Samaritans were no longer to inherit the property of their fathers. Arsenius himself bowed to the storm and embraced Christianity; many of the Samaritans, at the preaching of Sabas, or more probably to secure their property to their children, followed his example, or pretended to do so, with hypocrisy which may offend, but can not surprise.

This apparent success in converting the great part of an obstinate race of unbelievers to the true faith, with some other events of the same nature, no doubt encouraged Justinian in his severe legislative enactments against the Jews and Samaritans. These nations were confounded with the recreant or disobedient sons of the Church, the heretics; they were deprived of all civil dignities, at the same time compelled to undertake the offices attached to those dignities.

In litigations between Christians and Jews, or Christians among each other, the testimony of a Jew or a Samaritan is inadmissible, in the litigations of Jews among each other, the Jew’s testimony is valid; that of a Samaritan, or of a Manichean, of no value. Another statute enacted, that the synagogues of the Samaritans should be destroyed, and whoever attempted to rebuild them should be severely punished. The Samaritans were entirely deprived of the right of bequeathing their property; only true believers shall presume to administer to the effects of a heretic, whether he die with or without a will.

These cruel statutes—which sowed dissension in the bosom of every family, caused endless litigations among the nearest
relatives, almost offered a premium on filial disobedience, and enlisted only the basest motives on the side of true religion—were either too flagrantly iniquitous to be put in execution, or shocked the cooler judgment of the imperial legislator.

A decree was issued a few years after, modifying these enactments, but in such a manner as perhaps might tempt the sufferers to quote, if they had dared, the sentence of their own wise king, that “the tender mercies of wicked men are cruel.” In this edict, after some pompous self-adulation on his own clemency, Justinian declared, that on account of the good conduct of the Samaritans, attested by Sergius, bishop of Cesarea, who, to his honor, seems to have interested in their behalf, the rigor of the former laws was mitigated.

A deceitful peace, maintained by the establishment of a proconsul in Syria, with a considerable body of troops, lasted for about twenty-five years. At the end of that time a new insurrection took place in Cesarea; the Jews and Samaritans rose, attacked the Christians, demolished the churches, surprised and massacred the prefect Stephanus in his palace, and plundered the building. The wife of Stephanus fled to Constantinople; Adamantius was commissioned to inquire into the origin of the tumult, and to proceed against the guilty with the utmost rigor. Of the real cause we know nothing. Adamantius condemned the insurgents, executed many, confiscated the property of the most wealthy, probably for the restoration of the churches, and reduced the whole province to peace.

The two great means of conversion were penal laws and miracles. Among the boasted triumphs of the reconquest of Africa from the Vandals, was the reduction to the true faith of Borium, a town on the borders of the Pentapolis, where the Jews are said to have had a splendid temple, no doubt a synagogue more costly than usual. The miracles of the age are almost too puerile to relate; we give one specimen as a characteristic of the times. It was the custom of the Church to distribute the crumbs of the consecrated Host, which might remain, to children summoned for that purpose from their schools. While Menas was bishop of Constantinople, the child of a Jewish glass-blower went to the church with the rest, and partook of the sacred elements. The father, inquiring the cause of his
delay, discovered what he had done. In his fury he seized him
and shut him up in the blazing furnace. The mother went
wandering about the city, wailing and seeking her lost off-
spring. The third day she sat down by the door of the work-
shop, still weeping and calling on the name of her child. The
child answered from the furnace; the doors were forced open,
and the child discovered sitting unhurt amid the red-hot ashes.
His account was, that a lady in a purple robe, of course the
blessed Virgin, had appeared and poured water on the coals
that were immediately around him. The unnatural father was
put to death, the mother and child baptised. Such were the
legends which were to convince that people, who had rejected
the miracles of Christ and his apostles.

The laws were probably little more effective, and deeply im-
bued with the darkness of the age. An imperial decree, not
easily understood, and not worth much pains to understand,
was issued, to establish a uniformity in the time at which the
Jewish Passover and the Christian Easter were celebrated.

From the death of R. Asche, who commenced the Babylo-
ian Talmud, dark were the days of the children of the Captivity.
During the reigns of the Persian kings from Izdigerds to Ko-
bad, from about 480 to 580 (A. C.) the dominant Magian reli-
gion oppressed alike the Christian and the Jew. The Sabbath,
say the Jewish traditions, was taken away. Still, however, the
Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity, maintained his state,
and the famous schools of Nahardea, Sura, and Pumbeditha,
were open. Civil discords had nearly destroyed the enfeebled
state; and the house of David, from whose joins the Princes
of the Captivity deduced their rank, was well nigh extinct.
Here, as elsewhere, great jealousies existed between the tem-
poral and spiritual power; the former attempted, the latter
would not endure, encroachment. The rupture took place
when it might have been expected that they would have lived
in the greatest harmony; for the Prince of the Captivity, R.
Huna, had married the daughter of R. Chanina, the Master of
the Schools. But ambition listens not to the claims of blood
and kindred. The Resch-Glutha, or his judge, attempted to
interpret the Talmud in the presence of the Wise Man. Cha-
nina resisted this usurpation of his province. The Resch-Glutha
23
decoyed Chanina into his power, plucked his beard, and cast him forth, interdicting all the inhabitants of the city from affording him shelter, or the necessaries of life. Chanina, we have no better history than this legend to offer, wept and prayed. A pestilence broke out in the royal family, and every soul perished, except a child, with which the widowed daughter of Chanina, the prince's wife, was pregnant. Chanina dreamed a dream—he saw himself in a garden, where he cut down all the stately cedars; one young plant alone remained. He was awakened as by a violent blow on the head; it seemed to reproach him for having thus cut off all the lofty cedars of the house of David, and forcibly reminded him of his duty to watch over the single scion of the royal stock. He waited night and day by his daughter's door; neither the fiery heat of noon, nor torrents of rain, could induce him to remove till the child was born. He took him and superintended his education with the most diligent care. In the mean time, a certain Paphra, distantly allied to the royal house, bought, like the Roman Didius, the princely dignity, and enjoyed it for fifteen years. At that convenient time he came to a most ignoble end; a fly flew into his nose, and made him sneeze so violently that he died!

The young Zutra ascended the throne. During his reign of twenty years an enthusiast named Meir brought ruin on the whole community. He proclaimed himself, most probably, a Messiah; he pretended that a fiery column preceded his march, and with four hundred desperate followers he laid waste the country. The Persian King, Kobad, speedily suppressed the insurrection. Meir was put to death, and all the heads of the captivity were involved in his fate. The Prince of the Captivity, Zutra, and R. Chanina, his tutor, were hanged. This great insurrection took place in 580, a year before Nushirvan's accession. At this disastrous period many of the Babylonian Jews wandered from their afflicted settlements; some, it is believed, found their way to the coast of Malabar. A son of Zutra fled to Tiberias, where he renewed the Semicha, or laying on of hands, and, it is supposed, contributed to disseminate the Babylonian Talmud among the Jews of the West. Chosroes the Just, or Nushirvan, who ascended the throne of Persia in the fifth year of Justinian, 531, was not more favorable
to the Jews of Babylonia; their schools were closed by author-
ity, but so great was the impatience of the Palestinian Israel-
ites under the oppressive laws of Justinian, that they looked
with anxious hopes to, and are reported by Christian writers to
have urged, by an offer of fifty thousand men, and by the
splendid prospect of the plunder of the Christian Jerusalem,
the hostile advance of the Persian monarch. These hopes
were frustrated by the conclusion of an "everlasting peace"
between Justinian and Nushirvan, in which the pride of Rome
was obliged to stoop to the payment of a great sum of money.
The "everlasting peace" endured barely seven years, and the
hopes of the Jews were again excited; but their day of venge-
ance was not yet come. After extending his conquests to
Antioch, Nushirvan was constrained by the ability of Belisa-
rium to retreat. Peace was again concluded; Jerusalem re-
ained un plundered, and the Jews and Samaritans were
abandoned to the vindictive justice of their former masters.
Under Hormisdas, the successor of Chosroes Nushirvan, the
Babylonian Jews were restored to their prosperity; the schools
in Pumbeditha, Sura, and Nahardea were re-opened; a new
order of doctors, the Gaonim, the Illustrious, arose; and their
prince resumed his state. After the fall and death of the weak
Hormisdas, the Jews espoused the party of the usurper Bah-
ram, or Varanes, against the son of Hormisdas, Chosroes II.,
the rightful heir of the throne, and by no means, we believe
with Gibbon, the parricide, who fled to implore, and obtained,
the assistance of Maurice, Emperor of the East. Among the
executions which followed the triumphant restoration of Chos-
roes to the throne of his ancestors, the Jews had their full
share. There was a new Antioch built by Nushirvan, and
peopled with the inhabitants of the old city, whom he trans-
ported thither, and who were struck with agreeable astonish-
ment at finding the exact counterpart of every house and
street of their former residence. The Jews formed a consid-
erable part of this community, and when the storm first burst on
the city, Nabod, the general of Chosroes, inflicted on them the
most dreadful penalties for their disloyalty; some were cut off
by the sword, others tortured, others reduced to slavery. But
this was vengeance, not persecution; the Jews submitted, and
made their peace with Chosroes. When that king, summoned alike by gratitude and ambition, prepared to burst on the Byzantine empire, to revenge on the barbarous usurper Phocas the murder of his friend and protector Maurice, and that of his five sons, the Palestinian Jews were in a state of frantic excitement, still further aggravated by the persecutions of Phocas, who compelled a great number of their brethren to submit to baptism. Ever rash in their insurrections, they could not wait the appointed time; they rose in Antioch, set the splendid palaces of the principal inhabitants on fire, slew numbers, treated the Patriarch Anastasius with the worst indignity, and dragged him through the streets till he died.

Phocas sent Bonosus and Cotto against the insurgents, who defeated them with great loss, and revenged, as far as they had time, the outrages which had been committed in all quarters. But they were compelled to retreat; and the Jews beheld, in a paroxysm of exultation, unresisted squadrons of Chosroes pouring over the frontier. Antioch surrendered without a blow.

Chosroes turned towards Constantinople; his general, Carusia, advanced to the conquest of Palestine and Jerusalem. The Jews arose at his approach; from Tiberias, and Nazareth they joined him in great numbers, till their force amounted, according to report, to twenty-four thousand men. Before the fall of Jerusalem, new causes of exasperation were added to the dreadful arrears of ancient vengeance. In Tyre, it is said, that the incredible number of forty thousand Jews had taken up their dwelling. They sent secret messengers to all their brethren in Palestine, in Damascus, in Cyprus, in the mountainous districts of Galilee, and in Tiberias, to assemble suddenly before the walls of that city, on the night of the Christian Easter. The conspiracy reached the ears of the Christians. The bishop and powerful citizens seized the most wealthy of the Jews, threw them into prison, and put the gates and walls in the best possible state of defense. The Jews appeared and revenged themselves by the destruction of the suburbs for the failure of their surprise. But every time a Christian church, the great object of their animosity, was set on fire, the besieged struck off the heads of a hundred Jewish prisoners, and cast
them over the wall. This horrible retaliation produced no ef-
tect; twenty churches sank into ashes, and the heads of two
thousand Jews lay bleaching on the sand. At length, on a ru-
mor of the advance of the imperial forces, the Jews retreated
to join their brethren in the easier achievement of entering, un-
der the protection of their Persian allies, the streets of Chris-
tian Jerusalem. It had come at length, the long expected
hour of triumph and vengeance; and they did not neglect the
opportunity. They washed away the profanation of the holy city
in Christian blood. The Persians are said to have sold the mis-
erable captives for money. The vengeance of the Jews was
stronger than their avarice; not only did they not scruple to
sacrifice their treasures in the purchase of these devoted bonds-
men, they put to death without remorse all they had purchased
at a lavish price. It was a rumor of the time that ninety thou-
sand perished. Every Christian church was demolished; that
of the holy sepulchre was the great object of furious hatred;
the stately building of Helena and Constantine was abandoned
to the flames; "the devout offerings of three hundred years
were rifled in one sacrilegious day." But the dream of Jewish
triumph was short; the hope of again possessing, if not in in-
dependence, under the mild protection of the Persian monarch,
the holy city of their forefathers, vanished in a few years. The
emperor Heraclius, who seemed to slumber on the throne of
Byzantium, like another Sardanapalus, suddenly broke the
bonds of sloth and pleasure; after a few campaigns, conducted
by the Roman with equal boldness and ability, the Persian
monarch, instead of arraying his victorious troops under the
walls of Byzantium, trembled within his own insecure capital,
and the provinces which he had overrun, Syria and Egypt,
passed quietly under the sway of their former masters. Heracl-
lius himself visited Jerusalem as a pilgrim, where the wood of
the true Cross, which had been carried away to Persia, was re-
instated with due solemnity, and the Christian churches re-
stored to their former magnificence. If the clergy enforced
upon the kneeling and penitent emperor the persecution of the
Jews, it must be acknowledged that provocation was not want-
ing; for how many of them had been eye-witnesses of, perhaps
sufferers in, the horrible atrocities committed on the capture
of the city. Yet we have no authentic account of great severities exercised by Heraclius. The law of Hadrian was re-enacted, which prohibited the Jews from approaching within three miles of the city, a law which, in the present exasperated state of the Christians, might be a measure of security or mercy, rather than of oppression.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JUDAISM AND MAHOMETANISM.

During the conflict between the Persian and Roman emperors, a power was rapidly growing up in the secret deserts of Arabia, which was to erect its throne upon the ruins of both. Mahomet had already announced his religious doctrine, "There is but one God, and Mahomet is His prophet," and the valleys of Arabia had echoed with the triumphant battle-cry of his followers, "The Koran or death." The Jews were among the first of whom Mahomet endeavored to make proselytes—the first opponents—and the first victims of the sanguinary teaching of the new apostle. For centuries a Jewish kingdom, unconnected either with the Jews of Palestine or Babylonia, had existed in that district of Arabia called, in comparison to the stony soil of one part, and the sandy waste of the other, Arabia the happy. Of their origin we have no distinct account, but among the various afflictions and dispersions of the Jewish people, it would have been extraordinary if a place of refuge so near, and at the same time so secure, had not tempted them to venture on the perils of the desert, which, once passed, presented an almost insuperable barrier to the pursuit of an enemy. Their mercantile brethren, who visited the ports of the Red Sea, might bring home intelligence of the pleasant valleys which ran down to the coast, and from which gales of aromatic sweetness were wafted to their barks as they passed along. Ancient tradition pointed, and probably with truth, to these
regions, as the dwelling of that famous Queen of Sheba, who had visited their great king in his splendor, and in the hospitable dominions of her descendants the race of Solomon's subjects might find refuge. In some respects the Arabian tribes were their brethren; they seem to have entertained great respect, if they did not learn it from the Jews, for the memory of Abraham; they practised circumcision in Sabæa, like the Jews, on the eighth day, and they abhorred swine's flesh. However they came there, Jewish settlers, at least one hundred and twenty years before Christ, had built cities and castles, and established an independent kingdom.

The feuds of Christians and Jews spread into these retired and fertile valleys, and connected, perhaps, with political circumstances, inflamed the warlike habits of tribes in which the old Arabian blood was far from extinct. Christianity had first penetrated into Yemen in an Arian form, probably during the reign of Constantinus, son of Constantine the Great. With the Arians, the Jews, as usual, seem to have lived on terms of amity. The Catholic faith spread from the other side of the Red Sea, under the protecting influence of the powerful kings of Ethiopia or Abyssinia. Ellesbaan, the king of that country, had extended his conquests over the opposite shore of the Red Sea, and Dunsan, the Jewish king of Homeritis, after many defeats, had been obliged to pay tribute to the Ethiopian. But his restless spirit disdained submission; every defeat only kindled the burning desire of vengeance and independence. The invasions of the Ethiopian, dependent on the precarious navigation of the Red Sea, were often suspended, probably at certain periods were entirely cut off. Dunaan resolved on the bold measure of attempting the sudden extermination of the Christian power in Yemen; after the loss of their allies the Abyssinians would find it difficult to maintain their footing in the country. He seized a favorable opportunity, rose, and executed all the Christians within his power, and appeared before the walls of Nagra, their chief city, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men. He summoned the inhabitants to take down the cross which stood on a height above the city, and to deny the Christian religion. A singular negotiation ensued. The besieger demanded the acknowledgment of the unity of God as
the supreme head of the Church, and the denial of a plurality of persons in the Godhead. The Christians readily acknowledged the unity, but refused to yield on the other point. On their refusal Dudaan gave the signal of the execution of many of his Christian captives in the sight of their brethren, and the sale of others as slaves.

At length, on a promise of freedom of conscience, the Christians opened their gates; but the perfidious Arab violated the terms—threw Areth, and others of the leaders into chains, and then demanded Paulus, the bishop, who had formerly been among his most eloquent opponents. The bishop had been for two years in his grave, but Dunaan revenged himself on his lifeless bones, which were disinterred and burned. Many priests, monks, and nuns, as the most active of his adversaries, suffered the same fate; and obtained in the estimation of their brethren, the honor of martyrdom. Dunaan then tried arguments on Areth, and the rest of his prisoners, to convince them of the absurdity of worshiping a crucified God. On the rejection of his arguments, he had recourse to more summary means of conviction—threats of instant death; these likewise were unavailing. Areth and his companions submitted cheerfully to execution—they could not well do otherwise—for their wives and daughters had before crowded forth, as if they were hastening to a bridal, to partake in the glory of suffering for their faith. Such, with many more particulars, is the tenor of a letter ascribed to Dunaan himself, and addressed to Al Mender, a prince of the Saracens, whose alliance he courted. With the spring, Eles-baan, and a formidable force of one hundred and twenty thousand men, invaded the region. Dunaan, after an obstinate defense, was defeated, and lost his life; and in his person expired the Jewish kingdom of the Homerites. After his death, Abraham, son of Areth, founded a Christian kingdom, which scarcely acknowledged the sovereignty of the feeble son of Eles-baan. The Christian dynasty in its turn was overthrown by the conquering arms of the Persians, and Arabia was reckoned among the subject realms of Chosroes the Second.

But though they had lost their royal state, the Jews were still numerous and powerful in the Arabian peninsula; they formed separate tribes, and maintained the fierce independence
of their Ishmaelitish brethren. Mahomet manifestly designed to unite all those tribes under his banner. While his creed declared implacable war against the worshipers of fire, it respected the doctrines of the Jews, and at least of the less orthodox Christians. The Apostle of God was the successor, greater indeed, of the former delegates of heaven, Moses and Isha (Jesus). It was only the fire of the Magians which was at once extinguished, and the palace of Chosroes, which shook to its foundations at his birth. All the traditions which the old Arabian creed had preserved from immemorial ages, or with which it had been impregnated from the Jews resident in Arabia, still find their place in the Koran—and Abraham, the common father of the two races, holds the most conspicuous rank in their religious history. Jerusalem was appointed the first kebla of prayer, and in the nocturnal journey, during which the prophet was transported to the holy city of the Jews, the mysterious winged horse, the Borkak, arrested its course to pay homage to Mount Sinai, and to Bethlehem, the birth place of Jesus. To the first part of the new creed, every Jewish heart would at once respond, “there is but one God”—why should not their enthusiasm, their impatience in waiting the too long delayed Messiah, their ambition, or their avaricious eagerness to be glutted with the plunder of misbelievers, induce them to adopt the latter clause, “and Mahomet is His prophet.” But the Jews stood aloof in sullen unbelief; they disclaimed a Messiah, sprung from the loins of Hagar, the bondwoman. Nothing remained but to employ the stern proselytism of the sword; the tone of Mahomet changed at once—the Israelites were taunted with all the obstinacy and rebellion of their forefathers, and the Koran bitterly mocks their vain hope, “that the fires of hell shall touch them only for a few days.” The storm fell first on the Kainoka, a tribe who dwelt in Medina. In the peremptory summons to embrace Islamism were these words: “Lead to the Lord on good interest.” “Surely,” said the sarcastic Phineas, the son of Ayubah, “the Lord must be poor to require a loan!” The fiery Abubeker struck him a violent blow, and declared that, but for the treaty existing between the tribes, he would have smote off his head. An accidental tumult gave rise to the first open warfare. A Jewish goldsmith
insulted an Arabian maiden—the Arabs slew the offender. The Jews were in a violent commotion, when Mahomet sent them the peremptory alternative, "Islamism or war." "We are ignorant of war," answered the Jews, "we would eat our bread in peace—but if you force us to fight, you shall find us men of courage." They fled to a neighboring citadel, and made a gallant defense for fifteen days, at the end of which they were forced to surrender. Mahomet issued immediate orders for a general massacre—he was hardly prevailed upon by the powerful Abdallah, son of Obba, to spare their lives— their wealth was pillaged. Their arms fell to the lot of the conquerors, and Mahomet arrayed himself in a cuirass, which either the Jews or his followers asserted to have belonged to King David; they added, in defiance of Jewish history, that he had it on when he slew Goliath. The miserable tribe, thus plundered and defenseless, was driven to find a settlement on the frontier of Syria.

The turn of the tribe of Nadhir came next; but they provoked their fate by a treacherous attempt to assassinate the prophet at a peaceful banquet. They were besieged in their castle, and constrained to surrender, though with all the honors of war; their wealth was confiscated, by a special revelation of the Koran, to the sole benefit of the prophet himself and the poor, while the merciless edict pursues them into the next world, and, for their resistance to the prophet, condemns them to everlasting hell-fire. The vanquished Nadhirites retreated from the neighborhood of Medina; they joined the Koreish, the inveterate enemies of Mahomet, and the Jews of Koraidha, in a new war against the prophet. On the very evening of the day on which Mahomet won the memorable battle of the "Ditch," against the Koreish, he advanced to extirpate the Jews of Koraidha; his followers even neglected, without rebuke, the evening prayer, in their thoughts of vengeance. The angel Gabriel, they believed, led the way, and poured terror into the hearts of the Koraidhites. Even Caab, the son of Asad, the brave author of the war, counseled surrender. They descended from their castle, hoping to obtain mercy through the intercession of their allies. The judgment was left to the venerable Saad, the son of Moadh. Saad was brought sick
and wounded into the camp. "Oh, Abu-Amra" (it was the name of Saad), cried the Jews, "have mercy upon us!" Saad uttered his judgment with awful solemnity: "Let all the men be put to death, and the women and children be slaves." "A divine judgment," exclaimed the fierce prophet—"a judgment from the highest of the seven Heavens." Seven hundred Jews were dragged in chains to the market-place of Medina; graves were dug—the unhappy wretches descended into them—the sword did its office, and the earth was heaped over their remains. The inflexible prophet looked on without emotion, and this horrible butchery is related with triumph in the Koran. The next Jewish victim was the powerful Salam—he was assassinated in his bed by order of the prophet. The Jews of Khaibar now alone preserved their independence. Khaibar was a district, six days' journey to the south-east of Medina; rich in palm-trees, and fertile in pastures, and protected by eight castles, supposed to be impregnable. The apostle led forth to war, two hundred horse, and fourteen hundred foot; as he entered the territory of Khaibar, he exclaimed to his troops: "On with redoubled speed." He then turned to heaven in prayer; "Lord of the heavens, Lord of the earths, Lord of the demons, and all that they lead into evil, Lord of the winds, and all they disperse and scatter—grant us the spoil of this city, and preserve us from evil." Allah had before promised him great booty; the evil he apprehended was, the poison which was afterward given to him by a Jewish woman. The prayer ended, he cried again: "Forward, in the name of Allah." The Jews of Khaibar were slumbering in peaceful repose—their first castle, Naem, was taken by assault; the second, Nataa, the castle of Asad, son of Moadh, made a more vigorous defense. The Moslemite were reduced to great extremities, for the country had been wasted, and all the palm-trees destroyed. At length Nataa fell, and Mahomet became master of an immense booty in corn, dates, oil, honey, flocks of sheep, cattle, and asses, armor of all sorts—one author adds, that they brought to the prophet a camel-skin full of collars, bracelets, garters, ear-rings, and buckles, all of gold, with an immense number of precious stones. Alkamus, the third citadel, made a still more gallant resistance. It was here that Ali distinguished himself—he planted the stan-
dard on the walls—he clove the skull of Marhab, the great champion of the Jews, through his buckler, two turbans, and a diamond, which he wore in his helmet, till the sword stuck between his jaws. Abu-Rafe, an eye-witness, declares that the "Strong Lion" seized the gate of the city, which eight men could not lift, and used it as a buckler. On the capture of Alkamus, Kenana, the chief, was horribly tortured to induce him to betray the secret hiding-place of his treasures; but the patient Jew endured to the utmost, and a more merciful Islamite relieved him by striking off his head. Three more of the castles fell. The two last surrendered on the promise that the lives of the besieged should be spared. The inhabitants of the cities of Fadai and Khaiber capitulated, on the condition of surrendering half the revenue of their fields and pastures, which they were still to cultivate, to the use of the prophet; but the prophet reserved the right of exiling them according to his good pleasure—a right which was afterward exercised by the caliph Omar, who alleged the dying injunction of the prophet, that but one faith should be permitted to exist in Arabia. The Jews of Khaiber were transplanted to Syria; yet it is supposed that some vestiges of their creed may still be traced among the Arab tribes of that district.

But the persecution of the Jews by the Mahometans was confined to the limits of the Arabian peninsula. Under the empire of the caliphs, which rapidly swallowed up the dominions of Persia, and many provinces of the eastern empire, this people might rejoice in the change of masters; Jerusalem yielded an easy conquest to the triumphant Omar, and though the Jews might behold with secret dissatisfaction the magnificent mosque of the conqueror usurp the sacred hill on which the temple of Solomon stood, yet still they would find consolation in the degradation of the Christians, and the obscurity into which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was thrown; and even, perhaps, might cherish the enthusiastic hope that the new temple might be destined for a holier use.
CHAPTER XIX.

GOLDEN AGE OF JUDAISM.

We enter upon a period which we shall venture to denominate the Golden Age of the modern Jews. To them the Moslem crescent was a star, which seemed to sooth to peace the troubled waters on which they had been so long agitated. Throughout the dominions of the caliphs, in the east, in Africa, and in Spain; in the Byzantine empire; in the dominions of those great sovereigns, Charlemagne, his predecessor and successor, who, under divine providence, restored vigor and solidity to the Christian empire of the west, and enabled it to repel the yet unexhausted inroads of Mahometanism; every where we behold the Jews, not only pursuing unmolested their lucrative and enterprising traffic, not merely merchants of splendor and opulence, but suddenly emerging to offices of dignity and trust, administering the finances of Christian and Mahometan kingdoms, and traveling as ambassadors between mighty sovereigns. This golden age was of very different duration in different parts of the world; in the east it was before long interrupted by their own civil dissensions, and by a spirit of persecution which seized the Moslemite sovereigns. In the Byzantine empire, we are greatly in want of authentic information, both concerning the period in question, and that which followed it. In the west of Europe, it was soon succeeded by an age of iron. In Spain, the daylight endured the longest—to set in deep and total darkness.

The religious persecutions of the Jews by the Mahometans were confined within the borders of Arabia. The prophet was content with enforcing uniformity of worship within the sacred peninsula which gave him birth, and where the holy cities of Mecca and Medina were not to be profaned by the unclean footstep of an unbeliever; or rather his immediate successors rose, or degenerated, shall we say, from stern fanatics to ambitious
conquerors. "The Koran or the sword" was still the battle cry; but whoever would submit to the dominion of the triumphant caliph, or render himself useful in the extension of his conquests, might easily evade the recognition of the prophet's title. The Jews had little reason to regret, or rather had ample cause to triumph, in the ruin of their former masters—though, doubtless, in the general plunder their wealth did not escape, yet here, as in the north, they would not scruple to make up their losses, by following in the train of the yet fierce and uncivilized conqueror, and, by making use of their superior judgment or command of money, to drive a lucrative bargain with the plunderer. Whenever a commissariat was wanting to the disorganized hordes, which followed the crescent with irresistible valor, the corn-ships or caravans of the Jews would follow in the wake of the fleet or army. At the capture of Rhodes, the celebrated fallen Colossus, which once bestrode the harbor of that city, one of the wonders of the world, was sold to a Jew of Emessa, who is reported to have loaded nine hundred camels with the metal. The greater and more certain emoluments of the mercantile life would lead the Jews to addict themselves more and more to traffic, and to abandon the cultivation of the soil, which they had hitherto pursued in many places—for as the Moslemite sovereigns levied a disproportioned tribute on the believer and the unbeliever, the former paying only a tenth, the latter a fifth, or even a third, of the produce, the Jew would readily cede his land, which remunerated him so ill, for trade which offered at least the chance of rapid wealth.

A singular story is told of Omar II., which illustrates the high degree of credit which the Jews were permitted to attain in the court of the caliphs. Omar, a secret follower of Ali, whose name was still cursed in the mosques, was anxious to reconcile his people to the name of the prophet's vicar upon earth. An innocent comedy was got up in his court, in which a Jew played a principal part. The Jew came boldly forward, while the throne was encircled by the splendid retinue of courtiers and people, and asked in marriage the daughter of the caliph. Omar calmly answered: "How can I give my daughter in marriage to a man of another faith?" "Did not Mahomet," rejoined the Jew, "give his daughter in marriage to
Ali?" "That is another case," said the caliph, "for Ali was a Moslemite, and the commander of the faithful." "Why, then," rejoined the Jew, "if Ali was one of the faithful, do ye curse him in your mosques?" The caliph turned to the courtiers, and said: "Answer ye the Jew!" A long silence followed, broken at length by the caliph, who arose, and declared the curse to be rejected as impious, and ordered these words to be substituted in the prayer: "Forgive us, Lord, our sins, and forgive all who have the same faith with us." At a later period, A. C. 758, under Abu Giafar Almansor, we find the Jews intrusted with the office of exacting a heavy mulct laid upon the Christians.

If their own writers deserve credit, at a period not very distant from this, the Jews in the east attained to a still greater height of power and splendor. Judaism ascended the throne of a great kingdom on the west of the Caspian Sea—a kingdom before the strength of which the Persian monarchy trembled, and endeavored to exclude its inroads by building a vast wall, the remains of which still excite the wonder of the traveler—while the Greek empire courted its alliance. The name of this realm was Khazar, or Khozar; it was inhabited by a Turcoman tribe, who had greatly abandoned their nomadic habits, and maintained considerable commerce; their capital, Bilangiar, was situated at the mouth of the Wolga, and a line of cities stretched across from thence to the Don. They exchanged dried fish, the furs of the north, and slaves, for the gold and silver, and the luxuries of the southern climatee. Merchants of all religions—Jews, Christians and Mahometans—were freely admitted, and their superior intelligence over his more barbarous subjects, induced one of their kings, Bulan (A. C. 740), to embrace the religion of the strangers. By one account, he was admonished by an angel; by another, he decided in this singular manner between the conflicting claims of Christianity, Moslemism, and Judaism. He examined the different teachers apart, and asked the Christian if Judaism was not better than Mahometanism—the Mahometan whether it was not better than Christianity. Both replied in the affirmative, on which the monarch decided in its favor—by one statement secretly, by another openly, embraced the faith of Moses, and influenced
learned teachers of the Law to settle in his dominions. Judaism became a necessary condition on the succession to the throne; but there was the most liberal toleration of all other forms of faith. The dynasty lasted for above two centuries and a half, and when R. Hasdai, a learned Jew, was in the highest confidence with Abderrahman, the caliph of Cordova, he received intelligence of this sovereignty possessed by his brethren, through the ambassadors of the Byzantine emperor. After considerable difficulty, Hasdai succeeded in establishing a correspondence with Joseph, the reigning king. The letter of Hasdai is extant, and an answer of the king, which does not possess equal claims to authenticity.

To the flourishing commerce of the Israelites, the extended dominions of Charlemagne opened a wide field; from the ports of Marseilles and Narbonne, their vessels kept up a constant communication with the east; in Narbonne, they were so flourishing that, of the two prefects or mayors of the city, one was always a Jew; and, as we shall presently see, the most regular and stately part of the city of Lyons, was the Jewish quarter. The superior intelligence and education of the Jews, in a period when nobles and kings, and even the clergy, could not always write their names, pointed them out for offices of trust.

The golden age of the Jews endured, in still increasing prosperity, during the reign of Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Debonnaire, or the Pious. At his court the Jews were so powerful, that their interest was courted by the presents of nobles and princes. His most confidential adviser was a Jewish physician, named Zedekiah. The wondering people attributed his influence over the emperor to magic, in which he was considered a profound adept.

They were permitted to build synagogues; their appeals were listened to with equal—their enemies said, with partial—justice; they had free power to traffic, and to dispose of real or personal property. They had even interest to procure the alteration of certain markets which were customarily held on the Sabbath, to another day. Besides this general protection, several charters are extant, granting special privileges to certain Jewish communities and individuals.

Agobard, bishop of Lyons, beheld with jealous indignation
Jews in Spain.

this alien people occupying the fairest part of his city, displaying openly their enviable opulence; their vessels crowded the ports—their bales encumbered the quays—their slaves thronged the streets. In a Christian city, the church seemed to veil its head before the synagogue. He endeavored, by the exercise of his episcopal authority, to prevent that approximation of the two races which seemed rapidly advancing. He forbade his flock, among other things, to sell Christian slaves to the Jews, to labor for the Jews on Sunday, to eat with them during Lent, to buy the flesh of animals slain by them, or to drink their wine. The Jews considered these laws an infringement of their rights; they appealed to their royal protector for redress. A commission of inquiry was issued; the bishop was commanded to withdraw his obnoxious edicts.

In the reign of Charles the Bald, the Jews maintained their high estate, but dark signs of the approaching age of iron began to lower around. The active hostility of the clergy was no longer checked by the stern protection of the royal authority. In Lyons, many converts were made, by whose agency so many children were seduced from their parents, that the Jews were obliged to send their offspring for education to the less zealous cities of Vienne, Macon, and Arles. Remigius, the bishop of Lyons, announced his triumph to the king, and desired that the bishop of Arles might be admonished to follow the example of his zeal. The councils began again to launch their thunders; that of Meaux re-enacted the exclusion of the Jews from all civil offices. This decree was followed up by that of Paris.

It was in Spain that the golden age of the Jews shone with the brightest and most enduring splendor. Yet, during its earlier period, from the conquest by the Moors, till toward the end of the tenth century, when, while Christian Europe lay in darkness, Mahometan Cordova might be considered the center of civilization, of arts and of letters, though we are certain that the Jews, under the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges, rivaled their masters, or rather their compatriots, in their advancement to wealth, splendor, and cultivation; though they had their full share, or, perhaps, as more intelligent, a disproportionate share in the high ministerial and confidential offices of the court; though by the perpetual intercourse kept up
with their brethren in the east, we may safely infer that by land along the north of Africa, and by sea along the coast of the Mediterranean, their commerce was pursued with industry and success; yet we have not much distinct information concerning their state and proceedings. In fact, it is difficult to discriminate them from the race among whom they lived on terms of the closest amity during these halcyon days.

Three Babylonian rabbins of great distinction, of whom R. Moses was one, fell into the hands of a Spanish pirate. The wife of Moses accompanied him in his voyage—the high-minded woman, dreading defilement, looked to her husband for advice; Moses uttered the verse of the psalm: "The Lord said I will bring again from Bashan, I will bring again from the depths of the sea." She plunged at once into the ocean and perished. Moses was brought as a slave to Cordova, and redeemed, though his quality was unknown, by a Jew. One day he entered the synagogue clad in a scanty sackcloth—Nathan, the judge of the Jews in Cordova, presided. In the course of the debate, the slave displayed such knowledge, that Nathan exclaimed, "I am no more judge—yon slave in sackcloth is my master, and I his scholar." Moses was installed by acclamation as head of the community.

We revert to a sadder spectacle—the rapid progress of the Iron Age of Judaism, which, in the east and in the west, gradually spread over the Jewish communities, till they sank again to their bitter, and, it might almost seem, indefeasible inheritance of hatred and contempt; they had risen but to be trampled down by the fiercer and more unrelenting tread of oppression and persecution. The world, which before seemed to have made a sort of tacit agreement to allow them time to regain wealth that might be plundered, and blood that might be poured forth like water, now seems to have entered into a conspiracy, as extensive to drain the treasures and the blood of this devoted race.

Kingdom after kingdom, and people after people followed the dreadful example, and strove to peal the knell of this devoted race; till at length, what we blush to call Christianity, with the inquisition in its train, cleared the fair and smiling provinces of Spain of this industrious part of its population, and self-inflicted a curse of barrenness upon the benighted land.
CHAPTER XX.

IRON AGE OF JUDAISM.

Our Iron Age commences in the east, where it witnessed the extinction of the Princes of the Captivity, by the ignominious death of the last sovereign, the downfall of the schools, and the dispersion of the community, who from that period remained an abject and degraded part of the population. Pride and civil dissension, as well as the tyranny of a feeble despot, led to their fall. About the middle of the ninth century, both the Jews and Christians suffered some persecution under the sultan Motavakel (A. C. 847). An edict was issued, prohibiting their riding on lordly horses, they were to aspire no higher than humble asses and mules; they were forbidden to have an iron stirrup, and commanded to wear a leathern girdle. They were to be distinguished from the faithful by a brand mark, and their houses were defaced by figures of swine, devils, or apes; the latter addition throws some improbability on the story. About this time, Saccai was Prince of the Captivity; toward the middle of the tenth century (934), David Ben Saccai held that high office. It has been conjectured that the interval was filled by a line of hereditary princes. The learned aristocracy, the heads of the schools, seem likewise to have been hereditary.

The Jewish communities in Palestine suffered a slower but more complete dissolution. If credit is to be given to any of the facts in that extravagant compilation, the travels of Benjamin of Tudela, which bears the date of the following century, from (A. C. 1160 to '73), we may safely select his humiliating account of the few brethren who still clung, in poverty and meanness, to their native land. There is an air of sad truth about the statement, which seems to indicate some better information on this subject, than others. In Tyre, Benjamin is said to have found four hundred Jews, glass-blowers. The Samaritans still occupied Sichem, but in Jerusalem there were only
two hundred descendants of Abraham, almost all dyers of wool, who had bought a monopoly of that trade. Ascalon contained one hundred and fifty-three Jews; Tiberias, the seat of learning and of the kingly patriarchate, but fifty. This account of Benjamin is confirmed by the unfrequent mention of the Jews in the histories of the later Crusades in the Holy Land, and may, perhaps, be ascribed in great measure to the devastations committed in the first of these depopulating expeditions.

In the Byzantine empire, if we may place any reliance on the same doubtful authority, the numbers of the Jews had greatly diminished. Corinth contained three hundred Jews; Thebes two thousand silk workers and dyers. Two hundred cultivated gardens at the foot of Parnassus. Patras and Lepanto contained a small number. Constantinople, two thousand silk workers and merchants, with five hundred Karaites. They inhabited part of Pera, were subject to the ordinary tribunals, and were often treated with great insult and outrage by the fanatic Greeks.

We pursue our dark progress to the west, where we find all orders gradually arrayed in fierce and implacable animosity against the race of Israel. Every passion was in arms against them. The monarchs were instigated by avarice; the nobility by the warlike spirit generated by chivalry; the clergy by bigotry; the people by all these concurrent motives. Each of the great changes which were gradually taking place in the state of society, seemed to darken the condition of this unhappy people, till the outward degradation worked inward upon their own minds; confined to base and sordid occupations, they contracted their thoughts and feelings to their station. Individual and national character must be endowed with more than ordinary greatness, if it can long maintain self-estimation after it has totally lost the esteem of mankind; the despised will usually become despicable. We proceed in a few brief sentences (all our limits will allow) to explain the effects of the more remarkable changes in society, which developed themselves during these dark ages, as far as they affect the character and condition of the Jewish people. 1st. The feudal system. 2d. Chivalry. 3d. The power of the clergy. 4th. The almost general adoption of the trade of money-lending and usury by the Jews.
THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

themselves; and then pursue the course of time which will lead us successively to the different countries in which the Jews were domiciliated.

I. In that singular structure, the feudal system, which rose like a pyramid from the villains or slaves attached to the soil to the monarch who crowned the edifice, the Jews alone found no proper place. They were a sort of out-lying caste in the midst of society, yet scarcely forming part of it; recognized by the constitution, but not belonging to it; a kind of perpetual anomaly in the polity. Their condition varied according to the different form which the feudal system assumed in different countries. In that part of Germany which constituted the empire, the Jews, who were always of a lower order than their brethren in Spain, and the south of France, were in some respects, under the old Roman law. By this law their existence was recognized, freedom of worship in their synagogues was permitted, and they were exempted from all military service. The last was a privilege not likely to be extorted from them. The noble profession of arms would be profaned by such votaries.

The whole Jewish community were considered as special servants of the imperial chambers, i.e. the emperor alone could make ordinances affecting the whole body, and the whole body could demand justice or make appeal to their liege lord. But this imperial right would not have been recognized by the great vassals, as allowing the emperor to seize, punish, plunder, or in any manner to interfere with the Jews domiciliated in their several feuds. In fact, while the community was subject to the liege lord, the great feudatories and the free cities either obtained by charter, of which there are numerous instances, or assumed with a strong hand, or were persuaded by the Jews themselves, to accept dominion over the Israelitish inhabitants of their domains. The high and remote tribunal of the emperor would afford inadequate protection for any oppressed Jew; he was glad to have a nearer and more immediate court of appeal. Traveling, as the Israelites perpetually did, from town to town, from province to province, the fierce baron might respect the passport, which was always absolutely necessary, of some powerful noble, some princely bishop, or some wealthy community of free burghers, while he
would have smiled in scorn at the general imperial edict for allowing Jews to pass unmolested.

In some cities, as in Worms, there were regular officers appointed to protect the Jews, who could not perform any of their ceremonies or processions in public without these guardians to protect them from the violence of the populace. In Italy, at least in the south, besides the doubtful protection of the emperor, they acknowledged the more powerful authority of the Pope. They were supposed to be in some manner under the special jurisdiction of the see of Rome. In the south of France they seem to have been considered as a kind of foreign vassals of the great feudatories; in the north, of the king. For while the edicts of the sovereign for their expulsion and re-admission into the land were recognized in the north, they seem to have been executed either imperfectly or not at all in the south.

II. Chivalry, the parent of so much good and evil, both in its own age and in the spirit which has descended from it and become infused into the institutions and character of modern Europe, was a source of almost unmitigated wretchedness to the Jew, unless in so far as the splendor which the knight might display in his arms and accoutrements was a lucrative source of traffic. The enterprising Jew often probably made a considerable commission on the Milan corslet, the Damascus or Toledo blade, the gorgeous attire which the knight wore, or the jewels in which his lady glittered in the tournament. Magnificence was the fashion of the times, and magnificence would often throw the impoverished noble into the power of the lowly man of traffic. But the knight was bound by the tenure of his rank to hate and despise the Jew. Religious fanaticism was inseparable from chivalry.

III. The power of the clergy, no doubt, tended greatly to increase this general detestation against the unhappy Jew; their breath was never wanting to fan the embers of persecution. In that age of darkness, hatred of heresy and unbelief was the first article in the creed of him who taught the religion of love. But it is remarkable, that not only were there splendid and redeeming instances of superiority to this unchristian spirit (they will hereafter be noticed), but it was only in the dark and
remote parts of the Christian world that this total gloom prevailed.

IV. But avarice and usurious practices were doubtless charged, not without justice, against the race of Israel. In the nation and the individual, the pursuit of gain, as the sole object of life, must give a mean and sordid cast to the character. To acquire largely, whether fairly or not, was the highest ambition of the Jew, who rarely dared or wished to spend liberally.

This necessity of perpetual deception could not but have a baneful effect on the manners and mind of the people. Their chief trade seems to have been money-lending, of which, till they were rivaled and driven out of the open market by the Lombards, they were the sole possessors. This occupation was not likely to diminish either their own sordid meanness or their unpopularity. The ignorance of the age denounced all interest for money alike as usury. The Jew was judged out of his own Law, and all scriptural denunciations against usury were brought forward, especially by the clergy, to condemn a traffic of which they felt and submitted to the necessity. The condemnation of usury by the Church, as unlawful, contributed, with the violence of the times, to render the payment of the usurer's bond extremely insecure.

It is time to proceed to our melancholy task, the rapid picture of the iron age of Judaism in the west. The first dark scene of our tragic drama is laid in a country where we should least expect to find it, the Arabian kingdom of Granada. It was brought on by the imprudent zeal of the Jews. The nation was in the highest degree of prosperity and esteem; R. Samuel Levi, was at once prince of his own nation and vizier of the king, when one of the wise men, Joseph Hallevi, attempted to make converts among the Moslemites. The stern orthodoxy of Islamism took fire, the rash teachers were hanged, the race persecuted, and one thousand five hundred families, of whom it was said that he who had not heard of their splendor, their glory, and their prosperity, had heard nothing, sunk into disgrace and destitution.

A few years after, the Christian monarch, Ferdinand the Great, as though determined not to be outdone in religious zeal
FIRST CRUSADE.

by his rival, the Moslemite king, before he undertook a war against the Moors, determined to let loose the sword against the Jews in his own territories. To their honor, the clergy interfered, prevented the massacre, and secured not only the approval of their own consciences, but likewise that of the Pope, Alexander II., who, citing the example of his predecessor, Gregory the Great, highly commended their humanity.

Of all people, the zealous Jews must have beheld with the greatest amazement the preparations for the Crusades, when the whole Christian world, from the king to the peasant, was suddenly seized with a resolution to conquer the Holy Land of their fathers, in order that they might be masters of the sepulchre of the crucified Nazarene. But the times must have opened a most extensive field for traffic and usury; and no doubt the Jews, suppressing their astonishment, did not scruple to avail themselves of such an opportunity of gain. Nothing was too valuable, too dear, or too sacred, but that it might be parted with to equip the soldier of the Cross.

Arms and money must be had; and the merchant or usurer might dictate his own terms. But little did this prudent people foresee the storm which impended over them. The nation was widely dispersed in Germany; some statutes of King Ladislaus show their existence in Hungary; in Bohemia they had rendered good service, and lived on amicable terms with the Christians; in Franconia they were numerous; but their chief numbers and wealth were found in the flourishing cities along the banks of the Moselle and the Rhine. When the first immense hordes of undisciplined fanatics of the lowest order, under the command of Peter the Hermit, and Walter the Penniless, and the guidance of a goose and a goat, assembled near the city of Treves, a murmur rapidly spread through the camp that while they were advancing to recover the sepulchre of their Redeemer from the infidels, they were leaving behind worse unbelievers, the murderers of the Lord. With one impulse the Crusaders rushed to the city, and began a relentless pillage, violation, and massacre of every Jew they could find. In this horrible day men were seen to slay their own children, to save them from the worse usages of these savages; women, having deliberately tied stones around them-
selves that they might sink, plunged from the bridge to save their honor and escape baptism. The rest fled to the citadel as a place of refuge. They were received by the bishop with these words; "Wretches, your sins have come upon you; ye who have blasphemed the Son of God and calumniated His mother. This is the cause of your present miseries—this, if ye persist in your obduracy, will destroy your body and soul forever." He reproached them with their disregard of Daniel’s prophecy of our Lord’s coming, and promised protection to their persons, and respect to their property, on their conversion and baptism. Micha, the head of the Jews, mildly requested instruction in the Christian tenets. The bishop repeated a short creed; the Jews, in the agony of terror, assented. The same bloody scenes were repeated in Mentz, in Cologne, in Worms, in Spire. In Cologne two hundred were dragged from the river, into which they had thrown themselves, and hewn in pieces. In Worms they took refuge in the bishop’s palace; but it was besieged, and to escape worse horrors they slew each other. In Spire they were more successful—they offered a large sum for the bishop’s protection; the appeal was irresistible. The locust band passed on; every where the tracks of the Crusaders were deeply marked with the Jewish blood. A troop, under Count Emico, offered the same horrid sacrifices to the God of mercy, in the cities on the Maine and the Danube, and even as far as Hungary, where the influence of the king, Coloman, could not arrest his violence. How little horror these massacres excited, may be judged from the coolness with which they are related by the faithful representatives of the spirit of the times, the monkish historians. The emperor, Henry IV., alone saw their atrocity; in an edict issued from Batisbon, he permitted such Jews as had been baptised by force to resume their religion, and ordered their property to be restored. At this period many took refuge in Silesia and Poland.

Half a century elapsed for the Jews to multiply again their devoted race, and to heap up new treasures to undergo their inalienable doom of pillage and massacre. A second storm was seen gathering in the distance; and like a bird of evil omen, which predicts the tempest, the monk Rodolph passed through the cities of Germany to preach the duty of wreaking ven-
geance on all the enemies of God. The terrible cry of "help," the signal for the massacre of the Jews, supposed to be an abbreviation of "Hierosolyma est perdita—Jerusalem is lost,"—ran through the cities of the Rhine. The Jews knew who were included under the fatal designation of Christ's enemies; some made a timely retreat, but frightful havoc took place in Cologne, Mentz, Worms, Spire and Strasburg. They found an unexpected protector, the holy St. Bernard, who openly reprobated these barbarities, and in a letter to the bishop of Spire, declared that the Jews were neither to be persecuted nor put to death, nor even driven into exile. The Pope, Eugenius the Third, espoused the same humane part, and it has been conjectured that his release of all debts due to Jewish usurers, was a kind of charitable injustice, to diminish the general odium against this unhappy people. The turbulent Rodolph was shut up in his cloister.

We must now behold a mighty sovereign and his barons uniting in deeds, if less sanguinary, not less unjust. Both in the north and south of France, the Jews were numerous and wealthy. In the south they were the most flourishing, they were more mingled with the people, were not entirely dispossessed of their landed property, and were sometimes called to manage the finances of the great feudatories. In the north, though, as in Paris, often obliged to inhabit a separate part of the city, they were spread through the whole country, and had not entirely given up their literary pursuits; their academy at Troyes had produced some of their most eminent writers. But public detestation lowered upon them with a threatening aspect. Stories were propagated, and found an easy belief among ignorant and prejudiced minds, of the most blasphemous and sanguinary crimes perpetrated by the Jews. A renegade monk accused them of intelligence with the infidel sovereigns of Palestine. It was generally believed that they often decoyed Christian children into their houses, and crucified them alive; that, by bribery or theft, they would obtain possession of the consecrated Host, and submit it to every kind of insult. Yet both king and nobles felt that to this odious race they stood in the humiliating relation of debtors. The lavish expenditure caused by the Crusades, and the heavy exactions of the government,
made it necessary to raise money on any terms. Their only alternative lay between the Jews and the few Lombard money-lenders, whom St. Bernard seems to mean, when he denounces certain Christians as more extortionate usurers than the Jews.

Such was the state of affairs on the accession of the ambitious Philip Augustus. During his youth, it is said that a Jew (whether, as is often the case, the frequent mention of a crime had excited some man of disordered imagination to perpetrate it) had crucified a youth named Richard, at Pontoise; the body was brought to Paris, and wrought many miracles. No sooner had Philip ascended the throne, than he took a short way to relieve his burdened subjects by an edict, which confiscated all debts due to the Jews, and commanded them to surrender all pledges in their hands. Among the effects, a golden crucifix and a gospel, adorned with precious stones, were found. The Jews were peacefully assembled in their synagogues on the Sabbath (February 14), when suddenly all these buildings were surrounded by the royal troops, the Jews dragged to prison, while the officers took possession of their houses. A new edict followed (April), which confiscated all their immoveable goods, and commanded them instantly to sell their moveables and to depart from the kingdom. In vain they appealed to the nobles and ministers of the Gospel; holy bishops as well as fierce barons closed their ears against the supplications of unfortunate creditors and obstinate unbelievers. Obliged to part with their effects at the lowest prices, the Jews sadly departed, amid the execrations of the people, and bearing away little but their destitute wives and children, from the scenes of their birth and infancy. The decree was rigidly executed in the royal domains; in the south of France, the great vassals paid less respect to the royal edict, and the Jews were still found in those provinces, sometimes in offices of trust.

But, strange as it might appear to them, the nation was neither more wealthy nor the public burdens less grievous, after this summary mode of wiping off the national debt. Before twenty years had elapsed, France beheld her haughty monarch bargaining with this detested race for their re-admission into the country, and what is no less extraordinary, the Jews, forgetting all past injustice in the steady pursuit of gain, on the
faith of such a king, settling again in this inhospitable kingdom, and filling many streets of Paris which were assigned for their residence. It was not till twenty years after, that an edict was issued to regulate their usurious exactions and the persons to whom it might be lawful to lend money.

On the accession of Louis VIII. he gratified his impoverished barons with a new decree, which at once annulled all future interest on debts due to the Jews, and commanded the payment of the capital within three years, at three separate installments. The Jews were declared attached to the soil, and assigned as property to the feudatories. In the Crusade against Raymond, the seventh count of Toulouse, it was among the terms of his submission, that he should no longer employ Jewish officers.

Louis IX. ascended the throne, a man whose greatness and whose weakness make us alternately applaud and reprove his claim to the designation of Saint. But his greatness was his own, his weakness that of his age. Unhappily, it was this darker part of his character which necessarily predominated in his transactions with the Jews. Already during his minority an edict had been passed, again prohibiting all future interest on debts due to Jews. Louis himself entered into the policy of forcing them to give up, what was considered the nefarious trade of usury. Another law (soon after his accession) recognized the property of each baron in his Jews, whom he might seize by force on the estate of another. In 1234, Louis, for the welfare of his soul, annulled one-third of all debts due to Jews. No bailiff might arrest or maltreat a Christian for any debt due to a Jew, or force him to sell his movables. The populace readily concurred with their devout monarch in the persecution of their creditors. Louis was actuated by two motives, both grounded on religion; one, implacable hatred towards the enemies of Christ, the other, a conscientious conviction of the unlawfulness of usury. The Lombards and Cahorsins shared in the devout abhorrence of the saintly monarch. Much of his injustice may be traced to a desire of converting the Jews from usurious money-lenders into laborious artisans. But policy entered little into the minds of the populace. In 1239, they rose upon the Jewish quarter in Paris, and committed frightful rav-
ages; their example was followed in Orleans and many other considerable cities. The great vassals were not behind in lawless barbarity. The assize of Brittany surpassed the worst fanaticism or injustice of sovereign people. It was held by John the Red, at Ploermel. It complained that husbandry was ruined by the usurious exactions of the Jews. It banished them from the country, annulled all their debts, gave permission to those who possessed their property to retain it; it prohibited any molestation or information against a Christian who might kill a Jew; in other words, it licensed general pillage and murder. The next ordinance of the pious Louis was aimed not only at the usuries, but also at the religion of the Jews. Something of awe mingled with the general feeling of detestation against this devoted race. The Jews were suspected of possessing much dark knowledge, which they employed to wreak their revenge on Christians. They were in alliance with the evil spirits. They were the masters of many fearful secrets and cabalistic spells. A council prohibited their practising as physicians; for who knew by what assistance they might heal? The great source, as well of their blasphemies against Christ, as of these dangerous and mysterious secrets, was their dark and unintelligible Talmud. An edict was issued for the destruction of these volumes. Four-and-twenty carts full of ponderous tomes were committed to the flames in Paris.

Could St. Louis have completed his task, and eradicated the Talmud from the hearts of the Jewish people, he might have shaken the rabbinical power, and inflicted a fatal blow upon the religion. Many of the wise men fled, to secure their treasures of knowledge. The emigration was well timed for Louis, who wanted money for his Crusade. The goods of the emigrants and their debts were seized by the crown. One thing was yet wanting to crown the cup of misery. Notwithstanding his marked and indelible features, in the common dress of the country, the Israelite might escape the blind fury of the populace. To complete his outlawry, and to mark him out as an object of inevitable persecution, it was ordained that he should wear a conspicuous outward brand upon his dress; this was called the rouelle. It was to be worn by both sexes, and consisted of a piece of blue cloth on the front and on the back
of the garment. This device originated in the clergy. It was enacted by the Council of Lateran, under Innocent the Third, a pontiff more hostile than his predecessors to the Jews, as a general usage throughout Christianity. It was enforced by other councils, as at Rouen and at Arles. It was finally made a law of the realm, by St. Louis, in the year before his death, who thus bequeathed to the miserable subjects, whom he had oppressed during his life, a new legacy of shame and calamity.

The Council of Vienna (A. C. 1267), urged still farther that most dangerous plan of persecution, the total separation of the Jews from the society, and consequently from the sympathies of their fellow men. The were interdicted the use of Christian baths and inns; they might employ no Christian servant, nor farm any toll. A severe mulct was thought necessary against their criminal connection with Christian women. They were commanded to wear a distinctive dress, a pointed cap. There were other clauses enforcing the payment of dues to the Christian clergy, respect for Christian ceremonies, and the prohibition to all Christians to join in social intercourse or to buy meat of the Jews.

In Spain, the darkness gathered more slowly; as the Christian kingdoms gradually encroached on the still retreating Mahometans, the Jews seem to have changed their masters with no great reluctance, and the moderation or the policy of the sovereigns of Castile and Aragon, usually refrained from any act which might array these useful subjects against them.

We return to France, to witness a repetition of the same extraordinary proceedings which signalized the reign of Philip Augustus; the monarch, oppressing and finally expelling the Jews, his successor reduced by his poverty to enter into an ignominious treaty with these exiles, and the indefatigable Jews as readily returning to undergo the same or worse calamities. Philip III. enforced and increased the severity of the laws of Louis IX. Philip IV. (the Fair), after some vain attempt to wean the Jews from their usurious dealings, and to enforce their adoption of commercial habits, after selling his protection to individuals, and even limiting the power of the clergy over their persons, adopted the policy of Philip Augustus—the total expulsion of the race. In one day (the 22d July, 1306), the most
wealthy Jews of Languedoc were seized, their goods sold, and their debts confiscated to the crown. The same scene took place in Paris; their synagogues were converted into churches, their cemeteries desecrated, their grave-stones torn up and used for building.

Yet scarcely had the son of Philip the Fair, Louis X., ascended the throne, than the disordered state of the royal finances constrained the submission of the king and all his nobles to the re-admission of the Jews; and the Jews without hesitation consented to purchase at a considerable price, the happiness of inhabiting a land where they had already been thus plundered and maltreated. Unhappy race—the earth perhaps offered them no safer asylum! They were permitted to settle in the kingdom of France for twelve years; their cemeteries, their synagogues, and their sacred books were restored; they were encouraged to reclaim before the tribunals such debts as had not been recovered by the royal commissioners, of which they were to receive one-third, the other two-thirds went to the king. The secret motive of this mercy is sufficiently clear. But dearly did they purchase the precarious life which they led in this unsettled land.

The next king, Philip the Long, issued an ordinance in some degree favorable to the Jews on the royal domains, but they were exposed to the tyranny of their lords, the barons, to the jealousy of the clergy, and to the usurpations of the Inquisition, eagerly watching an opportunity to comprehend them within its fatal sphere. But these evils, through strong faith—it may be feared, through far stronger avarice—might have been endured. A worse and more unforeseen devastation burst upon their heads. This was the rising of the peasants. Long before, during the captivity of St. Louis, a multitude of the lowest orders had assembled, and announced their intention, or rather their divine commission, to rescue their beloved saint and king. They had signalized their zeal by great barbarities against the Jews. Now a more general commotion took place; under the guidance of a priest and a monk, the peasants and shepherds drew together from all quarters; their design they probably knew not themselves. Some vague prophecies were said to be received among them, that the Holy
Land was to be conquered only by shepherds and by the poor in spirit. They traveled in still increasing masses, committing no violence or outrage, entreating bread at the gates of the wondering cities for the love of God. They had neither arms nor discipline; many were without shoes. The flocks, the labors of the field, were abandoned as they passed; young and old fell into their ranks. They marched in a kind of order behind a banner with a white cross. So they traversed the kingdom from Bourges—one party northward to Paris, where the government was appalled by their appearance; the greatest number spread into Languedoc. They were driven only by famine to excesses against their Christian brethren, but by the sternest fanaticism to the most relentless barbarities against the Jews. Every where this unhappy race, which the government could not have protected if it would, were pillaged, massacred, or put to the torture. Where they could they fled to the fortified places; five hundred made their escape to Verdun, on the Garonne; the governor gave them a tower to defend; the shepherds assailed them, and set fire to the gates; the desperate Jews threw their children, in hopes of mercy, down to the besiegers, and slew each other to a man.

In almost all the cities of Languedoc these frightful scenes took place; yet this was but the beginning of sorrows. An epidemic pestilence followed in the ensuing year. But a people in such a state of excitement could not look to the natural causes of such a visitation—the universal distress and famine consequent on the general abandonment of labor, and the widespread devastation. Dark rumors were propagated that the fountains, and even the rivers of the kingdom, had been poisoned. Public detestation pointed at once to the authors of this dire crime—the lepers and the Jews—the lepers as the agents, the Jews as the principals. A correspondence was said to have been detected between the King of Tunis and other infidel kings and the Jews, offering them large rewards for their co-operation in this diabolic scheme. The poor lepers were first tortured to confess, and on their confession condemned. The Jews' turn came next; the Pope, John XXII., had seized the opportunity of their misery, during the preceding year, to aggravate it, by denouncing their detestable sorce-
ries and magic, and by commanding their Talmuds to be burned. The papal sanction was thus given to the atrocities which followed. In many provinces, says a chronicler, especially in Aquitaine, the Jews were burned without distinction. At Chinon a deep ditch was dug, an enormous pile raised, and one hundred and sixty of both sexes burned together. Many of them plunged into the ditch of their own accord, singing hymns, as though they were going to a wedding. Many women, with their children, threw themselves in to escape forcible baptism. At Paris, those alone were burned who confessed their crimes; but the richest were detained in prison to verify their confiscated debts. The king received from their spoils one hundred and fifty thousand livres.

In the midst of this, Philip V. died, and the heir, King Charles IV., graciously pardoned the survivors, on condition of a large payment. Fifty-seven thousand livres were assessed on the Jews of Languedoc; they were permitted to leave their prisons to collect the sum required; and then, as the height of mercy, allowed to gather together the rest of their effects and leave the kingdom. A third time the strange scene was enacted. A second pestilence, in 1348, completed the wretchedness of the few Jews that remained in this desolated country; while themselves were perishing by hundreds, the old accusation of poisoning the wells was renewed, and the sword of vengeance let loose to waste what the plague had spared.

The Jews, driven in this merciless manner from the country, where their portion had been the unrestrained excesses of the boors, and legal punishment as authors of a great national calamity, the pestilence, by which themselves had suffered so dreadfully—loaded, in short, with every popular outrage and calumny, began, nevertheless, to steal back into a land where their sordid industry still found a harvest; and no sooner were the distresses of the kingdom at their height, through the civil wars, the conquests of the English, and the captivity of the king (John), than they opened a negotiation with the regent to purchase the privilege of returning to this land of lawlessness and blood.

The price of admission into the kingdom was fixed at fourteen florins for a man and his wife; for children and servants,
one florin two tournoins; the price of residence, at seven florins annually for man and wife—children and servants, one florin. The treaty was for twenty years. The Jews might buy houses, possess synagogues, cemeteries, and their sacred books. They were no longer under baronial jurisdiction, but under the king, represented by his officer, the guardian of the Jews. They were free from all other taxes except land tax. The interest of money was fixed at four deniers the livre weekly—double the former standard. They might defend their houses and property from unlawful attacks. They could not be challenged to trial by battle. They were not to be compelled to hear Christian sermons. Finally, all their former privileges were confirmed. For some time the position of the Jews seemed materially improved; though still pursued by the clergy and the people with unmitigated hatred, they had detached the crown from the hostile confederacy.

During the administration of the Duke of Anjou a tumult took place arising out of the heavy burdens of the people. The nobles cried aloud for the expulsion of the Jews; the people wreaked their rage partly on the archives where their debts were registered, partly on the Jews, who were pillaged and slain; their children torn from their mother's arms, and carried to the churches to be baptized. The strong arm of authority layed for a time, but could not suppress, the brooding storm of popular emotion. During the early part of the reign of Charles VI, the Jews were treated with equity and consideration; in the frequent disputes which arose about the registering and recovery of their debts, they obtained equal justice; in one respect alone they were unfortunate—they were withdrawn from the special jurisdiction of the king, and submitted to the ordinary tribunals. But the distresses of the country still increased; with the distresses the difficulty of obtaining money. Every order lay at the mercy of the money-lender.

An accusation made without proof against the Jews of Paris, of the murder of a convert to the Church, aggravated the popular fury. Four of the most wealthy were scourged two successive Sundays, in all the crossroads of Paris, and bought their lives at the price of eighteen thousand francs. The rest were allowed a month to wind up their affairs; and
the whole Jewish community crossed for the last time the borders of France, for a long and indefinite period of banishment.

The history of the German Jews during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries displays the same dreary picture of a people, generally sordid, sometimes opulent, holding their wealth and their lives on the most precarious tenure.

Of the means by which the general hatred was exasperated and kept alive, we will select one legend (the story has its parallel in almost every country), which is commemorated, to their infinite shame, in the enlightened city of Brussels to the present day, by a solemn procession of the clergy and the exposition of the Host. It is taken from a book regularly reprinted and sold, and which all faithful members of the Church are directed to receive as undoubted truth, because "charity believeth all things!" A Jew, named Jonathan of Enghein, desired to possess himself of the consecrated Host, in order to treat it with the sacrilegious insult by which that impious race delights to show their hatred to Christianity. He applied to one John of Louvain, whose poverty could not resist the bribe of sixty golden coins, called moutons d'or. John mounted by night into the chapel of St. Catherine, stole the pix, with its sacred contents, and conveyed it to Jonathan. The Jew, triumphant in his iniquity, assembled his friends, when they blasphemed the Host in the most impious manner, but abstained from piercing it with their knives till the approaching Good Friday. In the meantime, on account of the murder of their son, Jonathan's wife persuaded him to migrate to Brussels. There the Host was borne into the synagogue, treated with the grossest insult, and then pierced with knives. The blood poured forth profusely, but the obdurate Jews, unmoved by the miracle, dispersed tranquilly to their homes. Having done this, they resolved to send their treasure to Cologne. They made choice of a woman, unfortunately for them, secretly converted to the Catholic faith, as the bearer. Her poverty, but not her will, consented; but during the night, seized with remorse of conscience, she determined to denounce the crime to the clergy. The consequences may be anticipated; all the Jews were arrested, put to the torture, convicted, condemned to be torn by red-hot pincers, and then burned alive. The picture of their
sufferings, as they writhed on the stake, is exhibited with horrid coolness, or rather, satisfaction, in the book of the legend. And this triumph of the faith, supported, it is said, by many miracles, is to the present day commemorated in one of the first Christian cities in Europe.

CHAPTER XXI.

JEWS IN ENGLAND.

In the dark ages, England was not advanced beyond the other nations in Europe, in the civil or religious wisdom of toleration. While the sovereign authority—that of the Pope in Italy, of the Emperor in Germany, and of the Kings in Spain—frequently held in check the fierce animosities of the nobles, the clergy, and the populace, against their Israelitish subjects; with rare exceptions, the kings of England, like those of France, joined in the inhuman and impolitic confederacy against them. There were Jews in England under the Saxons. The ecclesiastical constitutions of Egbert, archbishop of York (A. C. 740), prohibited Christians from appearing at Jewish feasts. They are named in a charter to the monks of Croyland (A. C. 833). They are said to have purchased from William the Conqueror, the right of settlement in the country. His son, William Rufus, shocked the devout feelings of his people, by his open intercourse with the enemies of Christ. He appointed a public debate in London, between the two parties, and profanely swore, by "the face of St. Luke," that if the rabbins defeated the bishops, he would turn Jew himself. The Jews boasted that they obtained the victory, while the trembling people, in a thunderstorm and an earthquake, recognised the wrath of God against the irreligious king. But William was unmoved; he received at Rouen, the complaint of certain Jews, that their children had been seduced to the profession of Christianity. Their petition was supported by a liberal offer of money.
Many, either from conviction or confiding in the king's protection, abjured their new faith. One, Stephen, offered sixty marks for his son's restoration to Judaism, but the son had the courage to resist the imperious monarch. "Get thee hence, quickly," said the king, "and obey, or by the face of St. Luke, I will cause thine eyes to be plucked out of thine head." The young man temperately adhered to his determination. The king yielded, on which the Jew demanded back his money. The king unwillingly restored half. Rufus gave still deeper offense, by farming to Jews the vacant bishoprics.

As history is silent about them for a short period, we may conclude that they were growing in opulence, and consequently in public detestation. In the 10th of Stephen the same dark tales began to be bruited abroad which were so readily credited on the continent; they are said to have crucified a youth at Norwich. "This crime," their historian shrewdly observes, "they are never said to have practised but at such times as the king was manifestly in want of money." The same atrocity was imputed to them at Gloucester, and at St. Edmunsbury. At the latter place the churchmen derived further advantage besides aggravating the general hatred against the Jews; the body of the youth was interred with great solemnity, and his tomb wrought frequent miracles.

They are charged with having lent money to some of the adventurers for Ireland, who undertook that enterprise contrary to the king's order; and with receiving in pledge some of the sacred treasures of the church of St. Edmunsbury; it is to be hoped that this transaction had no connection with the horrible charge related above.

Henry's death, instead of relieving them from oppression, was the accidental cause of a worse calamity; it gave an occasion for all the passions, which had long been brooding within the hearts of the people, to break forth into fierce and undisguised hostility. The whole nation crowded to the coronation of the brave Richard the First. Among the rest, the Jews were eager to offer their allegiance, and to admire the splendor of the spectacle. They came in such apparel as suited the occasion, and were prepared with costly offerings to the new sovereign. But the jealous courtiers, and the whole people, demanded the
exclusion of such notorious sorcerers from the royal presence, who were likely to blast all the prosperity of the reign, by their ill-omened appearance. Peremptory orders were issued that none should be admitted. A few strangers incautiously ventured, supposing themselves unknown, into the abbey; they were detected, maltreated, and dragged forth half dead, from the church. The news spread like wild-fire; the populace rose at once, broke open the houses of the Jews, which they suspected, and found to conceal, under a modest exterior, incalculable wealth; they pillaged and set fire on all sides. The king sent the chief justiciary, Sir Richard Glanville, to arrest the tumult. Avarice and hatred were too strong for authority; and during the whole night the scene of plunder and havoc went on. The king, when the people, satiated with their booty, had retired, ordered a strict investigation. Many were apprehended, three were hanged; but such seems to have been the state of the public feeling, that the government either would not, or dared not, revenge the wrongs inflicted on the Jews; of the three, two suffered for robbing a Christian on pretext of his being a Jew; the other, for setting fire to the house of a Jew which burned down the next, belonging to a Christian. One Benedict to save his life, had submitted to baptism. He appealed to the king to release him from his compulsory engagement. The king referred this new case to the archbishop of Canterbury, who was present. The archbishop, Baldwin, who was more used to handle the battle-axe than to turn over tomes of casuistry, answered, though bluntly, perhaps with more plain sense than his more learned brethren might have done, "Why, if he is not willing to become a servant of God, he must even continue a servant of the devil." The intelligence of the vengeance wrought by the citizens of London, on the enemies of the Lord, probably likewise of the rich spoil they had obtained, spread rapidly throughout the country. All England was then swarming with fanatic friars preaching the Crusade, and fierce soldiers, of all classes, who had taken up the cross. The example of London sounded like a tocsin, and directed their yet untried zeal and valor against the wealth and the infidelity of the Jews. At Norwich, at Edmondsbury, at Stamford, the Jews were plundered, maltreated,
slain. At Lincoln, they took timely warning, and, with the connivance of the governor, secured themselves and their more valuable effects in the castle. At York, more disastrous scenes took place. Benedict, the relapsed convert, was a native of that city, but died in London, of the ill usage he had received. His friend Jacinus (Joachim) returned to York with the sad intelligence; but scarcely had he arrived when he found the city in a state of the most alarming excitement. The house of Benedict, a spacious building, was attacked; the wife and children of Benedict, with many others who had fled there as to a place of strength, were murdered; the house burned to the ground. Joachim, with the wealthiest of the Jews, took refuge in the castle, with their most valuable effects; those who were not sufficiently expeditious were put to the sword, neither age nor sex was respected; a few only escaped by submitting to baptism.

The Jews within the citadel, whether on good grounds or not, suspected that secret negotiations were going on between the governor of the castle, and the populace, for their surrender; the governor, it was subtly spread abroad among them, was to be repaid for his treachery by a large share of the plunder. The desperate men felt that they had but one alternative; they seized the opportunity of the governor's absence in the town, closed the gates against him, and boldly manned the citadel. The sheriff of the county happened to be in town with an armed force. At the persuasion of the indignant governor and the populace, he gave the signal for attack; but, alarmed at the frantic fury with which the rabble swarmed to the assault, he endeavored to revoke his fatal order—but in vain. A more influential body, the clergy, openly urged on the besiegers. A canon regular, of the Premonstratensian order, stood in the midst of the ferocious multitude, in his surplice, shouting aloud, "Destroy the enemies of Christ! destroy the enemies of Christ!" Every morning this fierce churchman took the sacrament, and then proceeded to his post; where he perished at length, crushed by a great stone from the battlements. The besieged, after a manful resistance, found their fate unavoidable. A council was summoned. Their rabbi, a foreigner, a man educated in one of their schools of learning, and universally res-
pected for his profound knowledge of the Law, rose up: "Men of Israel," he said, "the God of our fathers, to whom none can say, 'What doest thou?' calls upon us to die for our Law. Death is inevitable; but we may yet choose whether we will die speedily and nobly, or ignominously, after horrid torments and the most barbarous usage—my advice is, that we voluntarily render up our souls to our Creator, and fall by our own hands. The deed is both reasonable, and according to the Law, and is sanctioned by the example of our most illustrious ancestors." The old man sat down in tears. The assembly was divided; some declared that he had spoken wisely; others that it was a hard saying. The rabbi arose again, and said, "Let those who approve not of my proposal, depart in peace." Some few obeyed, and left the place; the greater number remained unmoved upon their seats. They then arose, collected their most precious effects, burned all that was combustible, and buried the rest. They set fire to the castle in many places, cut the throats of their wives and children, and then their own. The rabbi and Joachim alone survived. The place of honor was reserved for the rabbi; he first slew Joachim, then pierced himself to the heart. The next morning the populace rushed to the assault with their accustomed fury. They beheld flames bursting from every part of the castle; and a few miserable wretches, with supplications and wild cries, running to and fro on the battlements, who related the fate of their companions; they entreated mercy; they offered to submit to baptism. No sooner were the terms accepted, and the gates opened, than the fanatic multitude poured in, and put every living being to the sword. Not content with this triumph, they rushed to the cathedral, demanded all the bonds and obligations which had been laid up there in the archives, and cast them all into an enormous bonfire. The king might perhaps have forgiven their former crime, the massacre of his unoffending subjects, but this was an inexpiable offence—treason against his exchequer—as all their debts would have fallen to the crown. Geoffrey Rydal, bishop of Ely, the Chancellor, was sent to York, to investigate the affair; but the ringleaders of the riot fled for a time to Scotland, the chief citizens entered into recognizances, nor does it appear that any persons paid the penalty of the law for this
atrocious massacre, by which five hundred or one thousand five hundred men, the numbers vary, were put to death.

On his return from captivity, Richard directed his attention to the affairs of the Jews; the justices on their circuits were ordered to inquire who were the murderers, and what became of the property which had been seized; all who were in possession of these effects, and had not compounded by a fine, were to be brought to justice. The whole community was placed under certain statutes. The Jews were formally recognised as belonging to the crown.

John, previous to his accession, had probably many dealings with the Jews; he knew their value as a source of revenue, and commenced his reign with heaping favors upon them, by which more were daily tempted to settle in the kingdom; it might almost seem, that this weak and unprincipled, but crafty prince, had formed a deliberate scheme of allowing them to accumulate ample treasures, in order that hereafter he might reap a richer harvest of plunder, and render himself independent of his unruly subjects.

The first act of the guardians of the realm, under Henry the Third, was to release the Jews who were in prison, and to appoint twenty-four burgesses of every town where they resided, to protect their persons and property. They were exempted from spiritual jurisdiction, and amenable only to the king and his judges; but they were commanded to wear a distinctive mark on their dress—two stripes of white cloth or parchment. But the avowed protection of the crown could not shield them from the jealousy of the merchants whose traffic they injured, the hatred of the people, and the bigotry of the clergy.

A crime was now laid to their charge, much more probable than the tales of their crucifying children, their tampering with and clipping the coin of the realm. A sudden demand was made (A. C. 1280) of a third of their movables to be paid into the exchequer. It was followed in two years by another of eighteen thousand marks. In 1286, by a third of ten thousand marks. Yet, the royal confidence in the inexhaustible resources of the Jews, and the popular prejudice that they could only be supplied by nefarious, if not by magical or supernatural means, were confirmed, not only by the discharge of these enormous
demands, but by other indications of opulence, which could not
be drained even by such unprecedented exactions. The daughter
of Hamon, a Jew of Hereford, paid to the king, five thousand
marks as a relief. A baron's heir paid for his barony only one
hundred marks, knight's fee one hundred shillings. Aaron of
York, compounded for a payment of one hundred marks a year
to be free from taxes. Aaron solemnly declared to Mathew
Paris, that the king had exacted from him in seven years, thirty
thousand marks of silver, besides two hundred of gold, paid to
the queen. Yet, a few years after, the nation beheld the curious
spectacle of a Jewish parliament regularly summoned. Writs
were issued to the sheriffs, with most extraordinary menaces of
punishment in case of disobedience, to return six of the richest
Jews from the more considerable towns, two from those where
they were fewer in number. This parliament met, and like
other parliaments, was graciously informed by the sovereign,
that he must have money—twenty thousand marks was the sum
demanded—his majesty's faithful Jews could boast no para-
liamentary privileges, nor were permitted to demand freedom of
debate. They were sent home to collect the money as speedily
as possible; it was to be assessed and levied among themselves,
and as this enormous charge was not immediately forthcoming,
the collectors were seized, with their wives and children, their
goods and chattels, and imprisoned.

The next year a new demand of eight thousand marks was
made, under pain of being transported to Ireland; and lest they
should withdraw their families into places of concealment, they
were forbidden, under the penalty of outlawry and confiscation,
to remove wife or child from their usual place of residence.
During the next three years, sixty thousand marks more were
levied. How then was it possible for any traffic, however lucra-
tive, to endure such perpetual exactions? The reason must be
found in the enormous interest of money, which seems to have
been considered by no means immoderate at fifty per cent.

The distresses of the king increased; and as his parliament
resolutely refused to maintain his extravagant expenditures,
nothing remained but to drain still farther the veins of the Jews.
The office was delegated to Richard, earl of Cornwall, his
brother, who, from his wealth, the king might consider pos-
seized of some secret for accumulating riches from hidden sources. The Rabbi Elias was deputed to wait on the prince, expressing the unanimous determination of all the Jews to quit the country, rather than to submit to further burdens; their trade was ruined by the Catorsini; they could scarcely live on the miserable gains they now obtained. Their departure from the country was a vain boast; for whither should they go? The edicts of the king of France had closed that country against them, and the inhospitable world scarcely afforded a place of refuge. Earl Richard treated them with leniency, and accepted a small sum. But the next year the king renewed his demands, his declaration affected no disguise, "It is dreadful to imagine the debts to which I am bound. By the face of God, they amount to two hundred thousand marks, if I should say three hundred thousand, I should not go beyond the truth. Money I must have, from any place, from any person, or by any means." The king's acts display as little dignity as his proclamation. He actually sold to his brother Richard all the Jews in the realm for five thousand marks, giving him full power over their property and persons; the records still preserve the terms of this extraordinary bargain and sale.

The rest of the reign of Henry the Third passed away with the same unmitigated oppressions of the Jews; which the Jews, no doubt, in some degree revenged by their extortions from the people. The contest between the royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Jews was arranged by certain constitutions, set forth by the king in council. By these laws, no Jew could reside in the kingdom, but as king's serf. Service was to be performed in the synagogue in a low tone, so as not to offend the ears of Christians. The Jews were forbidden to have Christian names for their children.

The Jews had probably passed back to the crown on the election of Richard, as King of the Romans. They were again sold to Prince Edward. By Prince Edward—as they probably thought, a more dire calamity—made over to certain merchants of Dauphiny. Yet, after the battle of Lewes, the Jews of London, Lincoln, and Northampton, were plundered, as having conspired with the king against his barons.

The last solemn act of Henry of Winchester, was a statute of
great importance; it disqualified the Jews altogether from holding lands or even tenements, except the houses of which they were actually possessed, particularly in the city of London, where they might only pull down and rebuild on the old foundations. All lands or manors were actually taken away; those which they held by mortgage, were to be restored to the Christian owners, without any interest on these bonds. Henry almost died in the act of extortion; he had ordered the arrears of all charges to be peremptorily paid, under pain of imprisonment. Such was the distress caused by this inexorable mandate, that even the rival bankers, the Catorsini, and the friars themselves, were moved to commiseration, though some complained that the wild outcries raised in the synagogue on this doleful occasion, disturbed the devotion of the Christians in the neighboring churches.

The death of Henry released them from this Egyptian bondage; but they changed their master, not their fortune. The first act of Edward's reign regulated the affairs of the Jews exactly in the same spirit; a new tallage was demanded, which was to extend to the women and children; the penalty of nonpayment was exile, not imprisonment.

They were permitted to practice merchandise, or labor with their hands, and to hire farms for cultivation for fifteen years. On these terms they were assured of the royal protection; but manual labor and traffic were not sources sufficiently expeditious for the enterprising avarice of the Jews. Many of them, thus reduced, took again to a more unlawful and dangerous occupation—clipping and adulterating the coin. In one year, two hundred and eighty were executed for this offense in London alone. But not all the statutes, nor public executions, nor the active preaching of the Dominican friars, who undertook to convert them, if they were constrained to hear their sermons, could either alter the Jewish character, still patient of all evil, so that they could extort wealth; or suppress the still increasing clamor of public detestation, which demanded that the land should cast forth from its indignant bosom this irreclaimable race of rapacious infidels. The king listened to the public voice, and the irrevocable edict of total expulsion from the realm was issued. Their whole property was seized at once,
and just money left to discharge their expenses to foreign lands, perhaps equally inhospitable. The Jews were pursued from the kingdom with every mark of popular triumph in their sufferings; one man, indeed, the master of a vessel at Queensborough, was punished, for leaving a considerable number on the shore at the mouth of the river, when as they prayed to him to rescue them from their perilous situation, he answered, that they had better call on Moses, who had made them pass safe through the Red Sea; and sailing away with their remaining property, left them to their fate. The number of exiles is variously estimated at fifteen thousand and sixty and sixteen thousand five hundred and eleven; all their property, debts, obligations, and mortgages, escheated to the king. The convents made themselves masters of their valuable libraries, one at Stamford, another at Oxford, from which the celebrated Roger Bacon is said to have derived great information; and long after, the common people would dig in the places they had frequented, in hopes of finding buried treasures. Thus terminates the first period of the history of the Jews in England.

CHAPTER XXII.

JEWS EXPELLED FROM SPAIN.

France and England had thus finally, it might appear, purified their realms from the infection of Jewish infidelity. Two centuries after their expulsion from England, one after that from France—Spain, disdaining to be outdone in religious persecution, made up the long arrears of her dormant intolerance, and asserted again her evil pre-eminence in bigotry. The Jews of Spain were of a far nobler rank than those of England, of Germany, and even of France. In the latter countries they were a caste—in the former, as it were, an order in the state. Prosperous and wealthy, they had not been generally reduced to the sordid occupations and debasing means of extorting
riches, to which, with some exceptions, they had sunk in other countries. They were likewise the most enlightened class in the kingdom—they were cultivators and possessors of the soil; they were still, not seldom, ministers of finance; their fame as physicians was generally acknowledged, and probably deserved; for they had in their own tongue, or in Arabic, the best books of the ancient writers on medicine; and by their intercourse with the east, no doubt obtained many valuable drugs unknown in the west. Though they had suffered in Navarre and the adjacent districts by the insurrection of the shepherds, which spread through that region, and were accused in that province, as in the south of France, of causing the dreadful epidemic which ensued, by poisoning the fountains, they were long protected, by the wise policy of the kings, both in Aragon and Castile, from the growing jealousy of the nobles, and the implacable animosity of the clergy. This protection of the Jews was charged as a crime against Pedro the Cruel by his brother, Henry of Trastamara. Bertrand du Guesclin and his followers, when they marched into Spain to dethrone Pedro, assuming a white cross as the symbol of a holy war, announced their determination to exterminate the Jews. "Pedro," said Bertrand to the Black Prince, "is worse than a Saracen, for he holds commerce with the Jews." They acted up to their declaration—no quarter was given to Moor or Jew—"kill all like sheep and oxen," was the relentless order, "unless they accept baptism." But however Henry might conciliate his French allies by entering into their intolerant spirit to gain his throne, he was too wise to follow it when the throne was won.

Religious zeal was still further animated by pride, avarice, and jealousy—they began to preach against them with fatal, if not convincing, energy.

The ministers of confiscation and execution spread through Spain; many of the new Christians fled to France, to Portugal, and to Africa. Some, condemned for contumacy, ventured to fly to Rome, and to appeal to the Pope against their judges. The Pope himself trembled at his own act. He wrote to the sovereigns, complaining that the inquisitors exceeded their powers. It was but a momentary burst of justice and mercy. Under the pretext of securing their impartiality,
the number of inquisitors was increased; the whole body was placed under certain regulations; and at length the Holy Office was declared permanent, and the too celebrated Thomas de Torquemada placed at its head. Its powers were extended to Arragon; but the high-spirited nobles of that kingdom did not submit to its laws without a resolute contest, for many of those who held the highest offices were descended from new Christians. The cortes appealed to the king, and to the Pope, particularly against the article which confiscated the property of the criminals, contrary, as they asserted, to the laws of Arragon. While their appeal was pending, the inquisitors proceeded to condemn several new Christians. The pride of the nation took fire; an extensive conspiracy was organized, and the Inquisitor Arbues was assassinated in the Cathedral of Saragossa. But the effects of this daring act were fatal, instead of advantageous to the new Christians. The horror of the crime was universal. The old Christians shrank from their share in the conspiracy, and left their confederates to bear all the odium and the penalty of the atrocious deed. The inquisitors proceeded to exact a frightful retribution. Two hundred victims perished.

The unconverted Jews, however they might commiserate these sufferings, still, no doubt, in their hours of sterner zeal, acknowledged the justice of the visitation which the God of their fathers had permitted against those who had thus stooped to dissemble the faith of their forefathers. But their turn came. In 1492 appeared the fatal edict commanding all unbaptized Jews to quit the realm in four months, for Ferdinand and Isabella, having now subdued the kingdom of Granada, had determined that the air of Spain should no longer be breathed by any one who did not profess the Catholic faith. The whole race was condemned on charges, some a century old, all frivolous or wickedly false—crucifixions of children at different periods, insults to the Host, and the frequent poisoning of their patients by Jewish physicians. The Jews made an ineffectual effort to avert their fate. Abarbanel, a man of the greatest learning, the boast of the present race of Jews, and of unblemished reputation, threw himself at the feet of the king and queen, and offered in the name of his nation an immense
sum to recruit the finances of the kingdom, exhausted by the wars of Grenada. The inquisitors were alarmed. Against all feelings of humanity and justice the royal hearts were steeled, but the appeal to their interests might be more effectual. Thomas de Torquemada advanced into the royal presence, bearing a crucifix. "Behold," he said, "Him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver. Sell ye Him now for a higher price, and render an account of your bargain before God."

The sovereigns trembled before the stern Dominican, and the Jews had no alternative but baptism or exile. For three centuries their fathers had dwelt in this delightful country, which they had fertilized with their industry, enriched with their commerce, adorned with their learning. Yet there were few examples of weakness or apostasy, the whole race, variously calculated at three hundred thousand, six hundred and fifty thousand, or eight hundred thousand, in a lofty spirit of self-devotion (we envy not that mind which can not appreciate its real greatness), determined to abandon all rather than desert the religion of their fathers. They were allowed four months to prepare for this everlasting exile. The unbaptized Jew found in the kingdom after that period was condemned to death. The persecutor could not even trust the hostile feelings of his bigoted subjects to execute his purpose; a statute was thought necessary, prohibiting any Christian from harboring a Jew after that period. They were permitted to carry away their movables, excepting gold and silver, for which they were to accept letters of change, or any merchandise not prohibited. Their property they might sell; but the market was soon glutted, and the cold-hearted purchasers waited till the last instant to wring from their distress the hardest terms. A contemporary author states that he saw Jews give a house for an ass, and a vineyard for a small quantity of cloth or linen. Yet many of them concealed their gold and jewels in their clothes and saddles; some swallowed them, in hopes thus, at least, to elude the scrutiny of the officers.

The Jews considered this calamity almost as dreadful as the taking and ruin of Jerusalem. For whither to fly? and where to find a more hospitable shore? Incidents which make the blood run cold, are related of the miseries which they suffered.
Sufferings in Morocco. 401

Some of those from Aragon found their way into Navarre; others to the sea-shore, where they set sail for Italy, or the coast of Morocco; others crossed the frontier into Portugal. "Many of the former were cast away or sunk," says a Jewish writer, "like lead into the ocean." On board the ship, which was conveying a great number to Africa, the plague broke out. The captain ascribed the infection to his circumcised passengers, and set them all on shore, on a desert coast, without provisions. They dispersed; one, a father, saw his beautiful wife perish before his eyes—fainted himself with exhaustion—and waking, beheld his two children dead by his side. A few made their way to a settlement of the Jews. Some reached the coast of Genoa, but they bore famine with them; they lay perishing on the shore, the clergy approached with a crucifix in one hand, provisions in the other—nature was too strong for faith—they yielded, and were baptized. In Rome they were received with the utmost inhospitality by their own brethren, fearful that the increased number would bring evil on the community; even the profligate heart of Alexander the Sixth was moved with indignation, he commanded the resident Jews to evacuate the country; they bought the revocation of the edict at a considerable price. Those who reached Fez were not permitted to enter the town; the king, though by no means unfriendly, dreaded the famine they might cause among his own subjects. Worse than all, they were exposed to the most wanton barbarities of the savage people. An Arab violated a maiden before her parents' face, returned and stabbed her to the heart, lest he should have gotten a child infected with the Jewish faith. Another woman, unable to bear the sight of her pining child in his agony, struck him dead to the earth with a large stone. Many sold their children for bread. The king of the country afterward declared all such children free. A pirate of Salle, allured a number of youths—one hundred and fifty—on board his ship, with the promise of provision, and amid the shrieks of the parents on the shore, set sail, and sold his booty in some distant port. Another party were cast out by a barbarous captain of a ship, naked and desolate, on the African coast; the first who ascended a hill to survey the country, were devoured by wild beasts, who came howling down upon the rest of the miserable
crew. They plunged into the sea, and stood shivering in the water till the wild beasts retreated; they then crept back to the beach. For five days they remained in this miserable plight, and were rescued by the humane activity of the captain of another vessel, who sent his boat to their relief.

In Portugal they trusted to the faith of kings. They offered to Joan II. a large sum, for permission to enter his kingdom. The more intolerant of his advisers urged him to refuse all terms; but the poverty of the king triumphed over his bigotry. They were admitted at the price of eight crusados a head—children at the breast alone excepted. They brought the plague with them, and many lay perishing by the way-side. Eight months elapsed, and many still lingered in the country, either too poor to obtain a passage, or terrified by the tales of horrid cruelty inflicted on their brethren by the Moors. All these were made slaves; the youth were baptized by force, and drafted off to colonize the unwholesome Island of St. Thomas. The new king, Emmanuel, commenced his reign with a hopeful act of mercy; he enfranchised the slaves; he seemed inclined to protect the resident Jews within his realm. But he wedded the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and brought home a dowry of cruelty and intolerance. The son-in-law must follow the example of his parents; he deserved to win their favor by surpassing them even in their own barbarity. He named a day for all Jews to quit the kingdom, and appointed certain ports for their embarkation. Before that time he issued another secret order to seize all children under fourteen years of age, to tear them from the arms, the bosoms of their parents, and disperse them through the kingdom, to be baptized and brought up as Christians. The secret transpired, and, lest they should conceal their children, it was instantly put in execution. Great God of mercy, this was in the name of Christianity! Frantic mothers threw their children into the wells and rivers; they destroyed them with their own hands; but, though stifled in the heart of the monarch, the voice of nature still spoke in that of the people, however bigoted. They assisted the Jews to conceal their children.

By a new act of perfidy, Emmanuel suddenly revoked the order for their embarkation at two of the ports which had been
named. Many were thrown back upon Lisbon, and the delay made them liable to the law. The more steadfast in their faith were shipped off as slaves, but the spirits of many were broken; on condition that they might receive back their children, and that government would not scrutinize their conduct too closely for twenty years, they submitted to baptism. Yet most of these were reserved, if possible, for a more dreadful fate. About ten years after, some of them were detected celebrating the passover; this inflamed the popular resentment against them. In this state of the public mind, it happened that a monk was displaying a crucifix to the eyes of the wondering people, through a narrow aperture in which a light streamed—the light, he declared, of the manifest Deity. While the devout multitude were listening in blind devotion, one man alone was seen to smile; he had, in fact, discovered a lamp behind the mysterious crucifix. In a rash moment, he dropped the incautious expression, that if God would manifest himself by water (the year had been unusually dry and sultry) rather than by fire, it would be for the public advantage. The scandalized multitude recognized in the infidel speaker a new Christian. They rushed upon him, dragged him by the hair into the market-place, and there murdered him. His brother stood wailing over the body—he instantly shared his fate. From every quarter, the Dominicans rushed forth with crucifixes in their hands, crying out, "Revenge, revenge! down with the heretics; root them out; exterminate them." A Jewish authority asserts, that they offered to every one who should murder a Jew, that his sufferings in purgatory should be limited to a hundred days. The houses of the converts were assailed; men, women, and children involved in a promiscuous massacre—even those who fled into the churches, embraced the sacred relics, or clung to the crucifixes, were dragged forth and burned. The king was absent; on his return he put on great indignation. The ring-leaders of the riot were punished; and the few Christians who escaped, became for the future more cautious. Yet in the peninsula, Judaism still lurked in the depth of many hearts, inaccessible even to the searching scrutiny of the Inquisition. Secret Jews are said to have obtained the highest offices of the state, and even of the church; to have worn the cowl of the
monk, and even to have sat on the tribunal of the Inquisition. The celebrated Jewish physician, Orobio, stated that he had personal knowledge of many of his brethren who thus eluded the keen eye of the blood-hounds of the holy office.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PRESENT CONDITION.

Proscribed in so many kingdoms of Europe, the Jew again found shelter under the protection of the crescent. In the north of Africa, the communities which had long existed were considerably increased. Jews of each sect, Karaite as well as Talmudists, are found in every part of this region; in many countries they derive, as might naturally be supposed, a tinge from the manners of the people with whom they dwell; and among these hordes of fierce pirates and savage Moors, their character and habits are impregnated with the ferocity of the region. In Egypt their race has never been exterminated; they once suffered a persecution under Hakim (A. C. 1020), which might remind them of the terrors of former days, but they seem afterward to have dwelt in peace; Maimonides was the physician of Saladin. But the Ottoman empire, particularly its European dominions, was the great final retreat of those who fled from Spain. Fifty thousand are estimated to have been admitted into that country, where the haughty Turk condescends to look down on them with far less contempt than on the trampled Greeks. The Greeks are Yeshir, slaves, they hold their lives on sufferance; the Jews, Monsaphir or visitors. They settled in Constantinople and in the commercial towns of the Levant, particularly Salonichi. Here the rabbinical dominion was re-established in all its authority; schools were opened; the Semicha, or ordination, was re-enacted; and R. Bereb hoped to re-establish the Patriarchate of Tiberias.
The Osmanlis beheld with stately indifference this busy people, on one hand, organizing their dispersed communities, strengthening their spiritual government, and laboring in the pursuit of that vain knowledge, which, being beyond the circle of the Koran, is abomination and folly to the true believer, even establishing that mysterious engine, the printing press; on the other, appropriating to themselves, with diligent industry and successful enterprise, the whole trade of the Levant. Their success in this important branch of commerce reacted upon the wealth and prosperity of their correspondents, their brethren in Italy. As early as 1400, the jealous republic of Venice had permitted a bank to be opened in their city by two Jews. In almost every town of Italy they pursued their steady course of traffic. They were established in Verona, Genoa, Pisa, Parma, Mantua, Pavia, Padua, Sienna, Bassano, Faenza, Florence, Cremona, Aquila, Ancona, Leghorn, besides their head-quarters at Rome.

The conduct of the Popes varied, as bigotry, policy, or humanity predominated in the character of the pontiff. In 1442, Eugenius the Fourth, deprived them of one of their most valuable privileges, and endeavored to interrupt their amicable relations with the Christians; they were prohibited from eating and drinking together; Jews were excluded from almost every profession, were forced to wear a badge, to pay tithes; and Christians were forbidden to bequeath legacies to Jews. The succeeding Popes were more wise or more humane. In Naples the celebrated Abarbanel became the confidential adviser of Ferdinand the Bastard and Alphonso the Second; they experienced a reverse, and were expelled from that city by Charles the Fifth. The stern and haughty Pope, Paul the Fourth, renewed the hostile edicts; he endeavored to embarrass their traffic, by regulations which prohibited them from disposing of their pledges under eighteen months; deprived them of the trade in corn and in every other necessary of life, but left them the privilege of dealing in old clothes. Paul first shut them up in their Ghetto, a confined quarter of the city, out of which they were prohibited from appearing after sunset. Pius the Fourth relaxed the severity of his predecessors. He enlarged the Ghetto, and removed the restrictions on their commerce. Pius the Fifth
expelled them from every city in the papal territory, except Rome and Ancona; he endured them in these cities with the avowed design of preserving their commerce with the East. Gregory the Thirteenth pursued the same course; a bull was read, and suspended at the gate of the Jews' quarter, prohibiting the reading of the Talmud, blasphemies against Christ, or ridicule against the ceremonies of the church. All Jews, above twelve years old, were bound to appear at the regular sermons delivered for their conversion; where, it does not seem, notwithstanding the authority of the Pope, and the eloquence of the cardinals, that their behaviour was very edifying. At length the bold and statesman-like Sextus the Fifth, annulled at once all the persecuting or vexatious regulations of his predecessors, opened the gates of every city in the ecclesiastical dominions to these enterprising traders, secured and enlarged their privileges, proclaimed toleration of their religion, subjected them to the ordinary tribunals, and enforced a general and equal taxation.

The great events of this period, the invention and rapid progress of printing, and the reformation, could not but have some effect on the condition of the Jews. This people were by no means slow to avail themselves of the advantages offered to learning, by the general use of printing. From their presses at Venice, in Turkey, and in other quarters, splendid specimens of typography were sent forth, and the respect of the learned world was insensibly increased by the facilities thus afforded for the knowledge of the Scriptures in the original language, and the bold opening of all the mysteries of rabbinical wisdom to those who had sufficient inquisitiveness and industry to enter on that wide and unknown field of study.

The reformation affected the people of Israel rather in its remote than in its immediate consequences. It found the Jews spread in great numbers in Germany and Poland. They were still liable to the arbitrary caprice of the petty sovereigns or free cities of the empire; but we have no space to enlarge on the oppressions of the landgrave of Thuringia, the popular commotions in Nuremberg, Frankfort, and Worms, the expulsion of the Jews from the mark of Brandenburg. Excluded from one city or state, they found refuge in another till the
storm blew over; wherever they had an opportunity, though usually more addicted to money-lending and the sale of gold trinkets and jewelry, they opened larger branches of traffic; in Poland they seem early to have entered into the great corn trade of that kingdom.

During the thirty years' war the Jews assisted with great valor in the defense of Prague, and obtained the protection and favor of the grateful emperor. Before this the reformation had been the remote cause of another important benefit—the opening of the free cities of Holland, where a great number of Portuguese Jews settled, and vied in regularity, enterprise, and wealth, with the commercial citizens of that flourishing republic. The Jews of Amsterdam and other cities bore a high rank for intelligence and punctuality in business.

From Holland they long looked for some favorable opportunity which might open the exchange, the marts, and the havens of England to their adventurous traffic. But the stern law of Edward I. was still in force, and though, no doubt, often eluded, the religious feeling of the country, as well as the interests of the trading part of the community, would have risen in arms at a proposition for its repeal. It was not till the Protectorate of Cromwell that the Jews made an open attempt to obtain a legal re-establishment in the realm. The strength of ancient prejudice co-operating with the aversion of a large part of the nation toward the government, gave rise to the most absurd rumors of their secret proposals to the Protector. It was bruited abroad, and widely believed, that they had offered five hundred thousand pounds on condition of obtaining St. Paul's Church for their synagogue, and the Bodleian Library to begin business with; Harry Martin and Hugh Peters were designated as the profane or fanatic advisers of this strange bargain.

In Germany and Switzerland, where the struggle was not terminated by any decisive triumphs; the medieval treatment of the Jews was continued longest, its worst features being maintained and developed in Austria (excepting in the reign of Joseph II.), where, down to the revolution of 1848, the Jews were excluded from all civil rights, numerous professions, and various provinces, districts, towns, villages and streets,
paying, besides a tax for toleration in Hungary, in spite of the remonstrances of legislatures, a tax upon their Sabbath lights in Galicia; and a residence tax when visiting Vienna; while their houses in Moravia were often searched in the night of the Sabbath for the purpose of surprising the returned Jewish peddlers, who had been secretly married before the extinction of all older brothers, which was prohibited by a Pharaonic law.

The general progress of freedom was promoted in the age of philosophy by Spinoza and Mendelssohn (1729–86) among this long despised people. The influence of the latter upon Jews and Christians, through his works, example, fame, and friends, was immense, and his admirers could say: "Between Moses (the lawgiver) and Moses (Mendelssohn) there was only one Moses (Maimonides). Progress now became general among the Jews, and the noble philosopher lived to see the first dawn of freedom in the land of Franklin and Jefferson. The great revolution in that of Voltaire and Rousseau came next, and the triumph of republican and imperial France destroyed the medieval institutions on the Rhine and Po.

Liberty, crushed in Poland by the Russians, when five hundred of Kosciusko's volunteers fell, fighting to the last on the ramparts of Praga, in 1794, was successively victorious in the West. Proclaimed in the United States and France, the rights of the Jews were recognized in Holland, Belgium, Denmark, parts of Germany, Canada, and Jamaica; in 1848–9, throughout Germany, Italy, and Hungary, and finally in Norway and England.

Among the most zealous defenders of the rights of the Jews were the Frenchman Gregoire, the Pole Czacki, the German Welcker, the Irishman O'Connell, the English Lord John Russell, the Italian D'Azeglio, and the Hungarian Eotvos, all Christians; Jews by descent, Borne and D'Israeli, and the professing Jews, Jacobssohn, Zungenhold, Riesser, Philipsohn, Montepiore, and Cremieux.

The revolutionary movement of 1848–9 proved the immense progress of the Jews, as well as of public opinion, since Mendelssohn and Lessing. The Jews, Cremieux, Goudchaux, and Fould, were among the ministers of the French republic. Pincherle was a member of the provisional government in
False Messiahs.

Venice; Jacobi of Konigsberg was the leader of the opposition in the Berlin Parliament; Riesser was vice-president in that of Frankfort; Doctor Fischhof stood at the head of affairs in Vienna after the flight of the court. Miesels, the Rabbi of Cracow, was elected to the Austrian Diet by Polish patriots; and Hungarian barons and counts willingly fought under Jewish officers of higher rank, of whom the adjutant of General Nagy—Sardor, Freund, afterward became Mahmoud Pasha during the war in Turkey. The subsequent, reaction, as in Austria, where it was checked by the events of 1859, was mostly temporary, and the Mortara case in Italy, in 1858, has excited a very general expression of opposition to the antique legislation by which it was decided.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FALSE MESSIAHS.

We have not thought it expedient to interrupt the course of our history with the account of every adventurer who, from time to time, assumed the name of the Messiah. It is probable that the constant appearance of these successive impostors tended, nevertheless, to keep alive the ardent belief of the nation in this great and consolatory article of their creed. The disappointment in each particular case might break the spirit and confound the faith of the immediate followers of the pretender, but it kept the whole nation incessantly on the watch. The Messiah was ever present to the thoughts and to the visions of the Jews; their prosperity seemed the harbinger of His coming; their darkest calamities gathered around them only to display, with the force of stronger contrast, the mercy of their God, and the glory of their Redeemer. In vain the Rabbinical interdict repressed the dangerous curiosity, which, still baffled, would still penetrate the secrets of futurity. “Cursed be he who calculates the time of the Messiah’s com-
ing," was constantly repeated in the synagogue, but as con-
stantly disregarded. That chord in the national feeling was
never struck but it seemed to vibrate through the whole com-
munity. A long list of false Messiahs might be produced—in
France, in Fez, in Persia, in Moravia—but their career was so
short, and their adventures so inseparably molded up with
fiction, that we pass them by. But there was one who ap-
ppeared in more enlightened days, in the middle of the seven-
teenth century, who demands a more extended notice. This
man formed a considerable sect, which, notwithstanding that
the conduct of its founder might, it would have seemed, have
sabused the most blind and frantic enthusiasm, long existed,
and still continues to exist.

In the year 1655, a certain Samuel Brett published a narra-
tive of a great meeting of Jewish rabbins in the plain of Ageda,
about thirty miles from Buda, in Hungary, to discuss their long-
baftled hopes of the Messiah, and to consider the prophetic pas-
sages applied by Christian writers to their Redeemer. The au-
 thor declared himself an eye-witness of the pomp of this ex-
traordinary general assembly, where three hundred rabbins
pitched their tents, and gravely debated, for seven days, this
solemn question. But the authority of Samuel Brett is far from
exceptionable. The Jews, particularly Manasseh Ben Israel,
disclaim the whole transaction as a groundless fiction. Many
circumstances of the narrative—the setting Pharisees and Sad-
ducees in array against each other, and the manifest design of
the whole to throw odium on the Church of Rome concur in
inducing us entirely to reject the story. But a few years after
the date of this real or fictitious event, in 1666, the whole Jew-
ish world, co-extensive almost with the globe itself, was raised
to the highest degree of excitement by the intelligence of the
appearance and rapid progress of a youth, who had appeared
in Smyrna, and assumed the name and authority of the Mes-
siah. Sabbathai Sevi was the younger son of Mordechai Sevi,
who first followed the mean trade of a poultier at Smyrna,
afterward became broker to some English merchants. He was
born in A.C. 1625. Sabbathai was sent to school, where he
made such rapid progress in the Cabala, that in his eighteenth
year he was appointed a Hachim or Rabbi; he even then had
many followers among the youth; and indeed among the elders of the place, with whom he practised rigid fasts, and bathed perpetually in the sea. At twenty years old he married a woman of great beauty and rank among his people, but declined all conjugal connection with her. The father cited him for this neglect of his duty; he was forced to give a bill of divorce. A second time he married; and a second time on the same plea, the marriage was dissolved. Sabbathai announced that "the voice from heaven" assured him that neither of these were the meet and appointed partners of his life. His partisans asserted that he was actuated by a holy desire of triumphing over human passion; his enemies gave a different turn to the affair; still his fame increased. He sometimes fasted from Sabbath to Sabbath, and bathed till his life was endangered; yet his beauty, which was exquisite, seemed daily to increase. His whole body was said to breathe a delicious odor, which the physician of the family, suspecting to be perfume, declared, on examination, to be a natural exhalation from the skin. He now began to preach and announce himself openly as the Son of David, and had the boldness to utter, in proof of his divine mission, the ineffable name, Jehovah. The offended Rabbins, horror-struck at this double crime declared him worthy of death, and denounced him before the Turkish tribunal. Sabbathai took refuge in Thessalonica. There the Rabbins again arose against him. He fled to Egypt; thence to Jerusalem. As he passed by Gaza, he made an important proselyte, named Nathan Benjamin, who, admitted trembling to his presence, declared, by the great Almighty and dreadful God, that he had seen the Lord in his cherub-borne chariot, as Ezekiel of old, with the ten Sephiroth murmuring around him like the waves of the sea; a voice came forth: "Your Redeemer is come; his name is Sabbathai Sevi, he shall go forth as a mighty one, inflamed with wrath as a warrior; he shall cry, he shall roar, he shall prevail against his enemies.

The fame of Sabbathai spread throughout the world. In Poland, in Germany, in Hamburg, and Amsterdam, the course of business was interrupted on the exchange, by the gravest Jews breaking off to discuss this wonderful transaction. From Amsterdam inquiries were sent to their commercial agents in
the Levant; they received the brief and emphatic answer: "'Tis he and no other." In the meantime, rich presents were poured into the court of Sabbathai, and embassies were sent from the different communities of the Jews; some of these were detained three or four weeks before they could obtain an audience. His picture was surmounted by a crown of gold; the twenty-first Psalm was sung before him, and a public prayer offered in the synagogue, in which he was acknowledged as the Messiah. In all parts, as if to accomplish the memorable words of Joel, prophets and prophetesses appeared—men and women, youths and maidens, in Samaria, Adrianople, Thessalonica, Constantinople, and in other places, fell to the earth, or went raving about in prophetic raptures, exclaiming, it was said, in Hebrew, of which before they knew not a word: "Sabbathai Sevi is the true Messiah of the race of David, to him the crown and the kingdom are given." Even the daughters of his bitterest opponent, R. Pechina, were seized, as Sabbathai had predicted, with the same frenzy, and burst out in rapturous acknowledgment of the Messiah in the Hebrew language, which they had never learned.

One wealthy Israelite, of Constantinople, more cautious than the rest, apprehending that this frenzy would bring some dreadful persecution against the Jews, went to the grand vizier and requested a certificate, that he had never been a believer in the Messiah. This reached the ears of the partisans of Sabbathai; they accused their crafty opponent of treasonable designs against the Turks, brought forward false witnesses, and the overcautious unbeliever was sentenced to the galleys. Among the Persian Jews the excitement was so great, that the husbandmen refused to labor in the fields. The governor, a man it would seem, of unusual mildness, remonstrated with them for thus abandoning their work, instead of endeavoring to pay their tribute. "Sir," they answered, with one voice, "we shall pay no more tribute, our deliverer is come." The governor bound them in obligation, to which they readily acceded, to pay two hundred tomans, if the Messiah did not appear within three months. But Sabbathai had now advanced too far to recede, his partisans were clamorous for his passing over to Constantinople, to confront the grand seignor. He arrived, escorted by
a vast number of his friends, and was received with the loudest acclamations by the Jews of Constantinople. The sultan was absent; he demanded an audience of the grand vizier. The vizier delayed till he had received instructions from his master. The sultan sent orders that the Sabbathai should be seized and kept in safe custody. The grand vizier dispatched an aga and some janissaries to the dwelling of Sabbathai, but the superstitious aga was so overawed by the appearance of Sabbathai; "bright," he said, "as an angel," that he returned trembling and confounded to his master. Another aga was sent and returned in the same manner. Sabbathai, however, surrendered himself of his own accord; he was committed to the castle of Sestos, as a sort of honorable prison, where his partisans had free access to him. From thence he issued a manifesto, suspending the fast religiously kept on the 9th of August, on account of the destruction of Jerusalem, and ordered the day to be celebrated with the utmost festivity, as the birthday of the Messiah, Sabbathai Sevi. In Sestos he admitted a deputation from Poland into his presence, whom he astonished with his profound knowledge and ready application of the Cabala. But there was in Constantinople one stubborn unbeliever, named Nehemiah, who, for three days resisted all the arguments of the Messiah, and at the end, openly proclaimed him an impostor. The partisans of Sabbathai rose in the utmost fury; and, when Sabbathai threatened his opponent with death, rushed forward to put his mandate in execution. The rabbi ran out of the chamber and fled, pursued by the adherents of Sabbathai; escape was hopeless, when he suddenly seized a turban from the head of a Turk, placed it on his own, and cried aloud: "I am a Moslem;" the Turks instantly took him under their protection, and he was sent to Adrianople to the sultan, who summoned Sabbathai to his presence. Sabbathai stood before the grand seignior; he was ignorant of Turkish, and a Jewish renegade was appointed as interpreter. But the man, before whom the awe-struck agas had trembled, now before the majesty of the sultan, in his turn, totally lost his presence of mind; when the sultan demanded whether he was the Messiah, he stood in trembling silence, and made no answer. He had some reason for his apprehensions, for the sultan made him the following
truly Turkish proposals: "That he should shoot three poisoned arrows at the Messiah; if he proved invulnerable he would himself own his title. If he refused to submit to this ordeal, he had his choice to be put to death, or to embrace Mahometanism." The interpreter urged him to accept the latter alternative. Sabbathai did not hesitate long, he seized a turban from a page, and uttered the irrevocable words, "I am a Mussulman." The grand seignior, instead of dismissing him with contempt, ordered him a pelisse of honor, named him Aga Mahomet Effendi; and gave him the title of capidji basha. Consternation at this strange intelligence spread through the followers of Sabbathai; prophets and prophetesses were silent, but Sabbathai was daunted only by the death-denouncing countenance of the sultan. He issued an address to his brethren in Israel. "I, Mahomet, capidji basha, make it known unto you, that God hath changed me from an Israelite to an Ismaelite. He spake and it was done; He ordered and it was fulfilled. Given in the ninth day of my renewal, according to His holy will." He most ingeniously extracted prophetic intimations of his change, both from tradition and scripture. In the book called Pirke Elieser, it was written, "that the Messiah must remain some time among the unbelievers." From the scripture the example of Moses was alleged, who "dwelt among the Ethiopians;" and the text of Isaiah, "he was numbered among the transgressors." For some time, he maintained his double character with great success, honored by the Moslemites as a true believer, by the Jews as their Messiah. Many of the latter followed his example and embraced Islamism.
CHAPTER XXV.
MODERN JUDAISM.

We have followed the sect of Sabbathaï and his followers to the close of the eighteenth century; we must retrace our steps, and terminate our labors by a rapid sketch of the more important events which influenced the condition of the Jews in the different countries of the world, during that period down to our own days. The lapse of centuries, and the slow improvement in almost the whole state of society, had made a material alteration in the relative position of the Jews toward the rest of mankind. They were still, many of them, wealthy; but their wealth no longer bore so invidious and dangerous a proportion to that of the community at large, as to tempt unprincipled kings, or a burdened people, to fill their exchequer, or revenge themselves for a long arrear of usurious exaction, by the spoliation of this unprotected race. A milder spirit of Christian forbearance with some, of religious indifference with others, allayed the fierce spirit of animosity, which now, instead of bursting forth at every opportunity, was slowly and with difficulty excited and forced to a violent explosion. Still in the midst of society, the Jews dwelt apart, excluded by ancient laws from most of the civil offices, by general prejudice and by their own tacit consent from the common intercourse of life; they were endured because mankind had become habituated to their presence, rather than tolerated on any liberal principles, still less courted by any overtures for mutual amity.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Poland and the adjacent provinces had for some time been the head-quarters of the Jews. As early as the fourteenth century, their privileges had been secured by Casimir the Great, who was deeply enamored of a Jewish mistress. In that kingdom they formed the only middle order between the nobles and the serfs. Almost every branch of traffic was in their hands. They were the corn mer-
chants, shop-keepers, inn-keepers; in some towns they formed
the greater part of the population, in some villages almost the
whole. Poland was likewise the seat of the rabbinical papacy.
The Talmud ruled supreme in the public mind; the synagogues
obeyed with implicit deference the mandates of their spiritual
superiors, and the whole system of education was rigidly con-
ducted, so as to perpetuate the authority of tradition. In the
west of Europe, in the meantime, those great changes were
slowly preparing, which, before the close of the century were
to disorganize the whole frame-work of society. The legislation
of Frederick the Great, almost, as it were, throws us back into
the middle ages. In 1750 appeared an edict for the general
regulation of the Jews in the Prussian dominions. It limited
the number of the Jews in the kingdom, divided them into
those who held an ordinary or an extraordinary protection from
the crown. The ordinary protection descended to one child,
the extraordinary was limited to the life of the bearer. Foreign
Jews were prohibited from settling in Prussia; exceptions were
obtained only at an exorbitant price. Widows who married
foreign Jews must leave the kingdom. The protected Jews
were liable to enormous and special burdens. In England,
since the time of Charles II., they had lived in peace in their
two communities of Portuguese and German origin. They
had obtained relief under James II., from an alien duty, which
restricted their traffic; the indulgence was revoked under Wil-
liam III. Under Queen Anne a regulation was made to facili-
tate conversions from the Jews.

In Italy, till the French Revolution, the Jews enjoyed their
quiet freedom. In Rome they were confined to their Ghetto,
and still constrained to listen to periodical sermons. In the
maritime towns they continued to prosper.

In Germany the public mind was surprised at the unusual
phenomenon of a Jew suddenly starting forward in the career
of letters, and assuming a high and acknowledged rank in the
rapidly awakening literature of that country, as a metaphysical
and philosophical writer. This was the celebrated Moses Men-
delssohn, who, by genius and unwearied application, broke
through the most formidable obstacles—poverty, dependence,
and the spirit of his sect.
Jews in France.

In the year 1780, the imperial avant courier of the revolution, Joseph II., ascended the throne. Among the first measures of this restless and universal reformer, was a measure for the amelioration of the condition of the Jews. In Vienna they had been barely tolerated since their expulsion by Leopold I. This monarch had a Jewish mistress, named Esther, who was shot crossing the bridge from Leopoldstadt to the capital. The crime was, most improbably, charged on the Jews, and the afflicted monarch revenge her loss by the expulsion of her brethren from the city.

A parallel has often been instituted between Cromwell and Bonaparte; it is a curious coincidence that both should have been engaged in designs for the advantage of the Jews. In the year 1806, while this extraordinary man was distributing to his followers the kingdoms of Europe, and consolidating the superiority of France over the whole continent, the world heard with amazement, almost bordering on ridicule, that he had summoned a grand Sanhedrin of the Jews to assemble at Paris. We are more inclined to look for motives of policy in the acts of Napoleon, than of vanity or philanthropy; nor does it seem unlikely that in this singular transaction he contemplated remotely, if not immediately, both commercial and military objects. He might hope to turn to his own advantage, by a cheap sacrifice to the national vanity, the wide extended and rapid correspondence of the Jews throughout the world, which notoriously outstripped his own couriers, and the secret ramifications of their trade, which not only commanded the supply of the precious metals, but much of the internal traffic of Europe, and probably made great inroads on his continental system. At all events, in every quarter of Europe, the Jews would be invaluable auxiliaries of a commissariat; and as the reconstruction of the kingdom of Poland might at any time enter into his political system, their aid might not be unworthy of consideration. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the twelve questions submitted to the Sanhedrin seem to refer to the Jews strictly as subjects and citizens of the empire. They were, briefly, as follows:

1. Is polygamy allowed among the Jews?
2. Is divorce recognized by the Jewish Law?
3. Can Jews intermarry with Christians?
4. Will the French people be esteemed by the Jews as strangers, or as brethren?
5. In what relation, according to the Jewish Law, would the Jews stand toward the French?
6. Do Jews born in France consider it their native country? Are they bound to obey the laws and customs of the land?
7. Who elect the Rabbins?
8. What are the legal powers of the Rabbins?
9. Is the election and authority of the Rabbins grounded on law or custom?
10. Is there any kind of business in which Jews may not be engaged?
11. Is usury to their brethren forbidden by the Law?
12. Is it permitted or forbidden to practise usury with strangers?

The answers of the deputies were clear and precise—as they throw much light on the opinions of the more enlightened Jews, they are subjoined with as much conciseness as possible, though we suspect that they were not universally recognized as the authoritative sentence of the nation.

1. Polygamy is forbidden, according to a decree of the Synod of Worms, in 1080.
2. Divorce is allowed; but in this respect the Jews recognize the authority of the civil law of the land in which they live.
3. Intermarriages with Christians are not forbidden, though difficulties arise from the different forms of marriage.
4. The Jews of France recognize, in the fullest sense, the French people as their brethren.
5. The relation of the Jew to the Frenchman is the same as of Jew to Jew. The only distinction is in their religion.
6. The Jews acknowledged France as their country when oppressed—how much more must they when admitted to civil rights!
7. The election of the Rabbins is neither defined nor uniform. It usually rests with the heads of each family in the community.
8. The Rabbins have no judicial power; the Sanhedrin is the only legal tribunal; the Jews of France and Italy, being
subject to the equal laws of the land, whatever power they
might otherwise exercise is annulled.
9. The election and powers of the Rabbins rest solely on
usage.
10. All business is permitted to the Jews—the Talmud en-
joins that every Jew be taught some trade.
11. The Mosaic institute forbids unlawful interest; but this
was the law of an agricultural people.
12. The Talmud allows interest to be taken from brethren
and strangers; it forbids usury.

It only remains to give the best estimate we can afford of the
number of Jews now dispersed throughout the four quarters
of the world. Such statements must of necessity be extremely
loose and imperfect. Even in Europe it would be difficult to
approximate closely to the truth; how much more so in Africa
and Asia, where our data depend on no statistic returns, and
where the habits of the people are probably less stationary.

It is calculated that there exists between four and a half and
six millions of this people, descended in a direct line from, and
maintaining the same laws with, their forefathers, who, about
three thousand years ago, retreated from Egypt under the guid-
ance of their inspired lawgiver.

In Africa, we know little more of their numbers than that
they are found along the whole coast, from Morocco to Egypt;
they travel with the caravans into the interior, nor is there
probably a region undiscovered by Christian enterprise, which
has not been visited by the Jewish trafficker. In Morocco they
are said to be held in low estimation, and treated with great
indignity by the Moors.

In Egypt, one hundred and fifty families alone inhabit that
great city, Alexandria, which has so often flowed with torrents
of Jewish blood, and where, in the splendid days of the Mac-
donian city, their still recruited wealth excited the rapacious
jealousy of the hostile populace or oppressive government.

In Cairo, the number of Jews is stated at two thousand, in-
cluding, it should seem, sixty Karaite families. The Falishas,
or Jewish tribe named by Bruce, inhabit the borders of Abyss-
sinia; and it is probable that in that singular kingdom, many
Jews either dwell or make their periodical visits. In Asia, the
Jews in Asia.

Jews still most likely might be found in considerable numbers on the verge of the continent; in China, where we are not aware that their communities have ceased to exist; and on the coast of Malabar, in Cochin, where two distinct races, called black and white Jews, were visited by Dr. Buchanan. The traditions of the latter averred that they had found their way to that region after the fall of Jerusalem, but the date they assigned for their migration singularly coincided with that of a persecution in Persia, about A. C. 508, from whence, most likely, they found their way to India. The origin of the black Jews is more obscure; it is not impossible that they may have been converts of the more civilized whites, or, more probably, descendants of black slaves. The Malabar Jews were about one thousand; they possessed a copy of the Old Testament. Many are found in other parts of the East Indies.

In Bokhara reside two thousand families of Jews; in Balkh, one hundred and fifty.

In Persia, they have deeply partaken of the desolation which has fallen on the fair provinces of that land; their numbers were variously stated to Mr. Woolff at two thousand nine hundred and seventy-four and three thousand five hundred and ninety families. Their chief communities are at Shiraz and Isphahan, Kashan, and Yazd. They are subject to the heaviest exactions, and to the capricious despotism of the governors. “I have traveled far,” said a Jew to Mr. Woolff; “the Jews are everywhere princes, in comparison with those in the land of Persia. Heavy is our captivity, heavy is our burden, heavy is our slavery; anxiously we wait for redemption.”

In Mesopotamia and Assyria, the ancient seats of the Babylonian Jews are still occupied by five thousand two hundred and seventy families, exclusive of those in Bagdad and Bassora. The latter are described as a fine race, both in form and intellect; in the provinces they are broken in mind and body by the heavy exactions of the pachas, and by long ages of sluggish ignorance. At Bagdad the ancient title of Prince of the Captivity, so long, according to the accounts of the Jews, entirely suppressed, was borne by an ancient Jew named Isaac. He paid dear for his honor; he was suddenly summoned to Constantinople and imprisoned.
At Damascus there are seven synagogues and four colleges.

In Arabia, whether not entirely expelled by Mahomet, or having returned to their ancient dwellings in later periods, the Beni-Khairb still retain their Jewish descent and faith. In Yemen reside two thousand six hundred and fifty-eight families, eighteen thousand souls.

In Palestine, of late years, their numbers have greatly increased; it is said, but we are inclined to doubt the numbers, that ten thousand inhabit Safet and Jerusalem. They are partly Karaites; some very pathetic hymns of this interesting Israelitish race have been published in the journals of Mr. Woolff, which must have a singularly affecting sound when heard from children of Israel, bewailing, upon the very ruins of Jerusalem, the fallen city, and the suffering people.

In the Turkish dominions, not including the Barbary States, the Israelites are calculated at eight hundred thousand. In Asia Minor they are numerous, in general unenlightened, rapacious, warred on, and at war with mankind.

In Constantinople, they are described as the most fierce and fanatical race which inhabit the city, hated by and hating the Greeks with the unmitigated animosity of ages, and lend themselves to every atrocity for which the government may demand unrelenting executioners. They were employed in the barbarous murder and maltreatment of the body of the Patriarch; on the other hand, the old rumors of their crucifying Christian children are still revived; the body of a youth was found pierced with many wounds; the murder was, with one voice, charged upon the Jews. Their numbers are stated at forty thousand.

At Adrianople resides eight hundred families, with thirteen synagogues.

In Salonichi, thirty thousand possess thirty synagogues; and in this city, the ancient Thessalonica, the most learned of the eastern rabbins are reported to teach in their schools, with great diligence, the old Talmudic learning.

In the Crimea, the Karaites still possess their wild and picturesque mountain fortress, so beautifully described by Dr. Clarke, with its cemetery reposing under its ancient and peaceful grove, and the simple manners of its industrious and blame-
less people, who are proverbial elsewhere, as in this settlement, for their honesty. Their numbers amount to about one thousand two hundred.

In the Russian Asiatic dominions, about Caucasus and in Georgia, their numbers are considerable. In Georgia some of them were, until the late imperial ukase, serfs attached to the soil; some, among the wild tribes about Caucasus, are bold and marauding horsemen like their Tartar compatriots.

But the ancient kingdom of Poland, with the adjacent provinces of Moravia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, is still the great seat of the modern Jewish population. Three millions have been stated to exist in these regions; but probably this is a great exaggeration. In Poland, they form the intermediate class between the haughty nobles and the miserable agricultural villains of that kingdom. The rapid increase of their population, beyond all possible maintenance by trade, embarrasses the government.

They can not ascend or descend; they may not become possessors; they are averse to becoming cultivators of the soil; they swarm in all the towns. In some districts, as in Volhynia, they are described by Bishop James as a fine race, with the lively, expressive eye of the Jew, and forms, though not robust, active and well-proportioned. Of late years, much attention, under the sanction of the government, has been paid to their education, and a great institution established for this purpose at Warsaw.

The number of Jews in their Austrian dominions is estimated, including Galicia, at seven hundred and fifty thousand. In the Prussian dominions at two hundred thousand. In the rest of Germany, two hundred and twenty-five thousand. The Emperor of Austria has afforded to Europe the novel sight of a Jew created a baron, and invested with a patent of nobility.

In Denmark and Sweden, the Jews are in considerable numbers; those resident in Copenhagen, were stated in 1819, at two thousand four hundred and ninety-one. They enjoy freedom of trade and the protection of the government.

The Netherlands contain eighty thousand.

In France, now deprived of the German and Italian provinces
of the empire, the Israelites are reckoned at about forty or fifty thousand.

In Spain, the iron edicts of Ferdinand and Isabella still excludes the Israelite; but with the dawning of the era of republican institutions, we may expect an amelioration of the religious fanaticism prevalent since the inquisition. At the extremity of the land, in Gibraltar, three or four thousand are found under the equitable protection of Great Britain.

In Portugal they have been tolerated since the time of the late king, John VI., who remunerated their services in introducing large cargoes of corn during a famine, by the recognition of their right to inhabit Lisbon.

In Italy their numbers are considerable. It is said that many have taken refuge in Tuscany, from the stern government of Sardinia; where, under the French dominion, among a Jewish population of five thousand five hundred and forty-three, there were one hundred and eighty-three landed proprietors, four hundred and two children attended the public schools. Nine thousand is given as their number in the Austrian territories in Italy.

In Great Britain, the number of Jews is variously stated from twelve to twenty-five thousand. They are entitled to every privilege of British subjects, except certain corporate offices and seats in parliament, from which they are excluded by the recent act, which requires an oath to be taken on the faith of a Christian. In the city of London, they are prevented by municipal regulations from taking out their freedom; a restriction which subjects them to great occasional embarrassment and vexation, as no one can legally follow a retail trade without having previously gone through this ceremony.

In America, the Jews are calculated at about seventy thousand; the few in the former dominions of Spain and Portugal, are descendants of those who, under the assumed name of Christians, fled from the inquisition; in Surinam a prosperous community is settled, under the protection of the Dutch; they were originally established at Cayenne; there are some in Jamaica. In the United States their principal settlements are, at New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Charleston.

Such, according to the best authorities to which we have
access to the number and distribution of the children of Israel; they are still found in every quarter of the world, under every climate, in every region, under every form of government, wearing the indelible national stamp on their features, united by the close moral affinity of habits and feelings, and at least the mass of the community, treasuring in their hearts the same reliance on their national privileges, the same trust in the promises of their God, the same conscientious attachment to the institutions of their fathers.

History, which is the record of the past, has now discharged its office; it presumes not to raise the mysterious veil which the Almighty has spread over the future. The destinies of this wonderful people, as of all mankind, are in the hands of the All-wise Ruler of the Universe; His decrees will be accomplished; His truth, His goodness, and His wisdom vindicated. This, however, we may venture to assert, that true religion will advance with the dissemination of knowledge; the more enlightened the Jew becomes, the less credible will it appear that the Universal Father intended exclusive religion, confined to one family among the race of man, to be permanent; the more evident that the faith which embraces the whole human race within the sphere of its benevolence, is alone adapted to a more advanced and civilized age. On the other hand, Christianity, to work any change on the hereditary religious pride of the Jew, on his inflexible confidence in his inalienable privileges, must put off the hostile and repulsive aspect which it has too long worn; it must show itself as the faith of reason, of universal peace and good-will to man, and thus unanswerably prove its descent from the All-wise and All-merciful Father.
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History of the Destruction of Jerusalem